



MONUMENTI VIVENTI

**promjenljivo lice sjećanja
the changing face of remembrance**

MONUMENTI **MONUMENTI**

promjenljivo lice sjećanja
the changing face of remembrance

MONUMENTI

promjenljivo lice sjećanja
the changing face of remembrance

Organizator / Organised by
Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (*forumZFD*)

U saradnji sa / In cooperation with
pax christi im Bistum Aachen
Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Sarajewo
Fondacija Publika
Helsinški parlament građana, Banja Luka
Regionalna mirovna inicijativa u BiH - ReMI mreža, Derventa

Finansira / Financed by
Savezno ministarstvo za privrednu saradnju i razvoj (BMZ)
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)

KATALOG / CATALOGUE

Izdavač / Publisher
Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst
Kralja Milutina 11
11000 Belgrade, Serbia

Urednici / Editors
Daniel Brumund, Christian Pfeifer

Korektura / Proofreading
Daniel Brumund, Milica Radulović

Tekstovi / Texts
© The authors | Autori

Fotografije / Photographs
© Marko Krojač
Fotografija strana 89 Daniel Brumund

Prevodi / Translations

Luan Morina, Kristina Thaqi (Albanian)
Jelena Frančić, Sanja Katarić, Vahidin Preljević, Milica Radulović (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian)
Denise Dewey-Muno (English)
Kristina Naceva, Rodna Ruskovska (Macedonian)

Umjetnički direktor / Art director
Aleksandar Milić - MILIĆ DESIGN

Štampa / Printing
Dobra knjiga d.o.o., Sarajevo

© Belgrade, Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (*forumZFD*)

10. izmjenjeno izdanje za Zapadni Balkan 2014 | 10th revised edition for Western Balkans 2014
ISBN 978-86-915567-4-7

sadržaj/content

Uvod	Introduction	4
-	-	-
Dr Lutz Schrader		
Spomenici i politika identiteta na zapadnom Balkanu	Monuments and Politics of Identity in the Western Balkans	6
-	-	-
Dr Bojana Pejić		
Jugoslovenski spomenici: Umetnost i retorika moći	Yugoslav Monuments: Art and the Rhetoric of Power	10
-	-	-
Mirjana Peitler-Selakov		
Memorijalna plastika u Srbiji od balkanskih ratova do danas	Memorial Art in Serbia from the Balkan Wars until Today	14
-	-	-
Dr Senadin Musabegović		
Simboličko značenje spomenika u Bosni i Hercegovini	Symbolic Significance of Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina	18
-	-	-
Dr Vjeran Pavlaković		
Osporavana istorija i monumentalna prošlost: Hrvatska kultura sećanja	Contested Histories and Monumental Pasts: Croatia's Culture of Remembrance	22
-	-	-
Shkëlzen Maliqi		
Rat simbola: Sećanje na Kosovu	The War of Symbols: Remembrance in Kosovo	26
-	-	-
Valentino Dimitrovski		
Povratak u prošlost: Spomenici i sećanje u Makedoniji	Back to the Past: Monuments and Remembrance in Macedonia	30
-	-	-
Fotografije	Photographs	34
-	-	-
Marko Krojač		
Biografija	Biography	92
-	-	-
Biografije autora	Authors' Biographies	94



Predgovor

Nakon više od 20 godina od pada socijalističkih i komunističkih sistema u centralnoj, jugoistočnoj i istočnoj Evropi, njihovi su spomenici i mjesta sjećanja postali atrakcije za turiste, i svoje posjetioce inspirišu na razmišljanje o nestanku ideološki motiviranih svjetskih nacra. Izložba na ovu temu istovremeno je od historijskog i estetskog interesa.

Spomenici i mjesta sjećanja su okamenjeno pamćenje. Pamćenje nije isto što i historijska istina – ono je u određenom smislu i volontarističko, pamćenje je ono što jedna zajednica želi sačuvati kao sjećanje u pogledu historijskog događaja. Izložba „MONUMENTI“, u okviru koje su prezentirani prikazi spomenika i mjesta sjećanja u regiji Balkana, razjašnjava prvenstveno sljedeće: Ulogu koju je imalo pamćenje i sjećanje u procesu izgradnje države u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji.

Vjerovatno ne postoji drugi region u Evropi, u kojem je i danas pamćenje i sjećanje toliko prisutno u dnevnoj politici nego što je to na Balkanu. Sjećanje na dva svjetska rata je u međuvremenu zasjenjeno ratovima u 90-tim godinama prošlog vijeka, ali je još uvijek prisutno. Izazov s kojima se društva suočavaju jeste da razviju kulturu sjećanja u pogledu historijske istine i istovremeno unapređuju društvenu povezanost, pomirenje i saradnju.

Izložba „MONUMENTI“ se kritički hvata u koštac sa realnom praksom pamćenja i sjećanja. Ta kritička distanca, ta refleksija je pretpostavka za iskreno i istovremeno produktivno suočavanje sa prošlašću. U tom smislu sam uvjeren, da će „MONUMENTI“ dati doprinos kulturni sjećanja na

Balkanu, koja je ujedinjena, a ne razjedinjena, i okrenuta ka budućnosti. Zahvaljujem se organizatoru „Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst“ i raduje me veliki broj posjetilaca ove izložbe.

Christian Hellbach

Ambasador Savezne Republike Njemačke u Bosni i Hercegovini

Prologue

More than 20 years after the fall of socialist and communist systems in Central, South- East and East Europe, their monuments and places of remembrance have become the tourist attractions, which inspire the visitors to reflect on disappearance of ideologically motivated global plans.

The exhibition which covers this topic is relevant both in terms of history and aesthetics.

The monuments, memorials and places of remembrances represent a petrified memory. The remembrance does not equal historical truth – it is something that is voluntary-based, to a certain extent. It is what a certain community wants to preserve as memory with regard to a specific historical event. MONUMENTI exhibition which presents the memorials and places of remembrance within the region of Balkans, primarily aims to clarify the following: the role of memory and remembrance in nation building process in former Yugoslavia.

Other regions in Europe can hardly compare with the extent to which the remembrance and memory have been present in everyday politics in the Balkans. In the meantime, the memory of two world wars was overshadowed by the wars

in the 1990s, but it continues to be present. The challenges that stand before societies include development of the culture of remembrance with regard to historical truth and improvement of social connectedness, reconciliation and cooperation.

MONUMENTI exhibition is critical reflection on practice of memory and remembrance in reality. This criticism is a prerequisite for honest, and, in the same time, productive dealing with the past. Therefore, I am convinced that the MONUMENTI exhibition will contribute to the culture of remembrance in the Balkans, which is united, and not fragmented, and which is also forward-looking. I express my gratitude to the organizer „Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst“ and I am pleased to see so many visitors have attended this exhibition.

Christian Hellbach

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Bosnia and Herzegovina

Vorwort

Über 20 Jahre nach dem Zusammenbruch der sozialistischen und kommunistischen Systeme in Mittel-, Südost- und Osteuropa sind deren Denkmäler und Gedenkstätten zu Touristenattraktionen geworden, die ihre Besucher zu Gedanken über das Scheitern von ideologischen motivierten Weltentwürfen inspirieren. Eine Ausstellung zum Thema ist gleichermaßen von historischem und ästhetischem Interesse.

Denkmäler und Gedenkstätten sind steingewordenes Gedächtnis. Gedächtnis ist nicht gleich historische Wahrheit - es ist in gewisser Weise

voluntaristisch, es ist das, was eine Gemeinschaft von einem historischen Ereignis als Erinnerung bewahren will. Die Ausstellung „MONUMENTI“, die Abbildungen von Denkmälern und Gedenkstätten der Balkan-Region präsentiert, verdeutlicht vor allem eines: die Rolle, die Gedächtnis und Gedenken im Prozess des Nation Buildings im ehemaligen Jugoslawien hatte. Es gibt wohl keine zweite Region in Europa, in der auch heute Gedächtnis und Gedenken derart in der Tagespolitik präsent sind wie auf dem Balkan. Die Erinnerung an die beiden Weltkriege wird mittlerweile überlagert von den Kriegen der 90er-Jahre, ist aber immer noch virulent. Die Herausforderung, der sich die Gesellschaften gegenübersehen, ist die Entwicklung einer Erinnerungskultur, die sich um historische Wahrheit bemüht und gleichzeitig gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt, Versöhnung und Zusammenarbeit fördert.

„MONUMENTI“ setzt sich kritisch mit der realen Praxis von Gedächtnis und Gedenken auseinander. Diese kritische Distanz, diese Reflexion ist Voraussetzung für einen aufrichtigen und zugleich produktiven Umgang mit der Vergangenheit. In diesem Sinne bin ich davon überzeugt, dass „MONUMENTI“ ein Beitrag zu einer Erinnerungskultur auf dem Balkan leisten kann, die in die Zukunft gerichtet ist und eint, statt zu entzweien. Ich danke dem Veranstalter, dem „Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst“, und freue mich über die vielen Besucher der Ausstellung.

Christian Hellbach

Botschafter der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bosnien und Herzegowina

introduction



Uloga spomenika je da slavi uspomenu na specifičan događaj ili ličnost iz prošlosti da bi se politički stvorili popustljivi koncepti identiteta u sadašnjosti. Dok ovi koncepti identiteta mogu podeliti narode i podstaći nasilje, oni također mogu imati pomirljivo dejstvo i voditi ka formiranju zajednica. Nakon raspada Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, stvorili su se koncepti identiteta sa naglašenim nacionalnim predrasudama u novonastalim državama. Ti identiteti bili su često definisani razilaženjem od drugih, obližnjih nacionalnosti – kroz naglašavanje religijske pripadnosti ili lingvističkih razlika, na primer. Iako to može biti razumljivo s obzirom na malu veličinu i istorijski tok građenja nacije zemalja na zapadnom Balkanu, negativno utiče na stvaranje neophodnih procesa modernizacije u sve više umreženom svetu. Štaviše, to otežava konstruktivnije suočavanje sa prošlošću koje je zaista neophodno da bi se ubrzao regionalni dijalog o hitnim političkim i ekonomskim pitanjima i uspostavio trajni mir.

Sa izložbom MOnuMENTI, *forumZFD* želi da prikaže kako su se koncepti identiteta razvijali u zemljama zapadnog Balkana tokom XX veka. S obzirom na njihovu ulogu, spomenici čine idealna sredstva za predstavljanje tih procesa na interesantan način. Jedan isti spomenik ponekad može posmatrača priseliti na drugačije koncepte identiteta specifičnih geografskih i vremenskih razmaka. Transformacija, uništavanje i zapuštenost postojećih spomenika predstavljaju „osvežavanje“ političkih koncepta identiteta i prema tome „važni su za identitet“ kao i uspostavljanje novih spomenika. Stoga je bitno da izložba MOnuMENTI ne prikaže samo

spomenik kao takav, već i njegovo okruženje. Sa Markom Krojačem, dobili smo uspešnog fotografa, koji ne pruža samo izvanredno poznavanje ove regije nego je u stanju da prikaže spomenike u njihovom prostornom kontekstu. Izložba MOnuMENTI koju organizuje *forumZFD* regionalna kancelarija za zapadni Balkan, biće izložena i na drugim projektnim lokacijama kao što su Skopje, Priština i Sarajevo osim Beograda. Potreba da se nađe drugi način suočavanja sa prošlošću i preispitivanje dominantnog koncepta identiteta koji postoji u svim zemljama u regiji. U konkretnom smislu, to znači da se kritički razmišlja o sopstvenoj prošlosti, priznaju žrtve drugih naroda, u skladu sa većim priznanjem povezujućih elemenata koji nesumnjivo postoje preko i dalje od etničkih granica.

Christian Pfeifer

Regionalni menadžer za zapadni Balkan
Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (*forumZFD*)

The role of monuments is to commemorate a specific event or personage from the past so as to create politically compliant concepts of identity in the present day. While these concepts of identity can divide peoples and foment violence, they can also have a reconciliatory effect and lead to the formation of communities. Following the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, concepts of identity with an acutely national bias were experienced in the succession states. These identities were often defined by the divergence from other, neighbouring nationalities – through the emphasis of religious affiliations or linguistic differences, for example. Though this may be understandable in light of the comparatively small size and the historical course of nation building of the countries in the Western Balkans, it has a negative impact on the realisation of necessary modernisation processes in an increasingly networked world. Moreover, it hinders a more constructive confrontation with the past that is urgently required to accelerate the regional dialogue on pressing political and economic issues and to bring about lasting peace.

With the MOnuMENTI exhibition, *forumZFD* wishes to show how concepts of identity have developed in the countries of the Western Balkans over the course of the 20th century. Given their role, monuments constitute the ideal means to present these processes in an interesting manner. One and the same monument can sometimes even conjure up different concepts of identity for specific geographic and temporal spaces. The transformation, destruction and neglect of existing monuments consti-

tute “updates” of political concepts of identity and are consequently as “relevant to identity” as the establishment of new monuments. Hence it is important for the MOnuMENTI exhibition to not only show the monument itself, but also the surrounding area. With Marko Krojač, we successfully acquired a photographer, who not only affords outstanding regional knowledge but is also able to present the monuments in their spatial context.

The MOnuMENTI exhibition was organised by *forumZFD*'s regional office for the Western Balkans and will also be shown in other project locations such as Skopje, Priština and Sarajevo in addition to in Belgrade. The need to find another way to deal with the past and to question dominant concepts of identities exists in all countries in the region. In concrete terms, this means reflecting critically on one's own past, acknowledging the victims of other nations, and according greater recognition to the binding elements that undoubtedly exist over and beyond the ethnic boundaries.

Christian Pfeifer

Regional Manager for the Western Balkans
Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (*forumZFD*)

Spomenici i politika identiteta na zapadnom balkanu

Dr Lutz Schrader

Nacionalna država, politika identiteta i spomenici

Politika sećanja i identiteta oduvek je bila domen vladajuće elite – najkasnije od nastanka institucionalne države kakva je nastala u antičkom Egiptu, Grčkoj ili Rimu. Ipak prelazak na moderne nacionalne države doneo je sa sobom promene. U srednjem veku i ranom novom veku „nacije“ su bile grupe naroda koje su se razlikovale po svojim kulturnim karakteristikama i koje su u značajnoj meri postojale nezavisno od političkih institucija kraljevina i kneževina. To se promenilo kada su nacionalni pokreti u nastanku otkrili kulturne resurse koji su čučali u etničkim zajednicama. Da bi modernoj birokratskoj „nacionalnoj državi“ udahnuo život, oni su „naciju“ prikazivali kao „sudbonosnu zajednicu“ koja pruža identitet.

Na „veštačko“ poreklo verovanja u etničku zajednicu“ rano je ukazao Maks Veber, uprkos nacionalističkom duhu vremena 19. veka. Po njegovom mišljenju to je u potpunosti odgovaralo „šemi pretvaranja racionalnih podruštvavanja u lične odnose u zajednici“. A za Vebera je formiranje modernih nacionalnih država podstaknuto političkim interesima moći, birokratije i ekonomije predstavljalo takav slučaj „svrsishodnog racionalnog udruživanja“ (Veber 1964: 309). Na mesto porekla, običaja i tradicije došli su interesi, prava i tržište kao osnova političkog i ekonomskog poretka.

U suštini se dešavalo upravo suprotno u odnosu na ono kako je izgledalo na površini. Nastanak industrijskog kapitalizma kao i anonimnih državnih birokratija i sekularnih masovnih društava vodilo je društvenom „raščaravanju“

i masovnom individualnom odvajanju od korena. Vladajuće elite tražile su načine kako bi rešile preteče nedostatke smisla i integrativne deficite. U tu svrhu dobro im je došla nacionalna zanesenost mladog građanskog emancipacijskog pokreta. Nacionalnoj državi, koja je nastala pretežno na ekonomskom pritisku i racionalnosti zakona, bio je potreban jak kulturni lepak koji bi je držao na okupu. Našli su ga u svuda prisutnim elementima „osećanja etničke pripadnosti“, u „jezičkoj zajednici“ i u „istovrsnosti ritualnih životnih pravila uslovljenih sličnim verskim predstavama“.

Za Maksa Vebera ni dinamika nacionalizma nije bila strana. Govorio je o „etničkoj časti“, u kojoj se sjedinjava „uverenost u nadređenost sopstvenih i nižu vrednost tuđih običaja“ i u izabranost sopstvenog naroda. Kao „specifična masovna čast“ etnička čast dostupna je svima onima, koji pripadaju „zajednici poretka u koju se subjektivno veruje“. Veber je njenu popularnost objašnjavao na osnovu toga što, za razliku od staleških razlika, etničku čast „sebi pripisuje svaki pripadnik suprotstavljenih grupa u istoj meri“. Pri tome se etničko odbijanje vezuje za sve zamislive razlike sve do načina nošenja brade i kose i pretvara svaki od tih detalja u predmet „etničkog dogovora“.

Da bi se nacija formirala kao novi politički subjekt izvan granica teritorije, jezika, kulture i vere, nacionalizovana je i istorija odn. napisana je iznova „kao instanca za legitimaciju nove stvarnosti“ (Kašuba 2001: 31). Preko svojih dramatisacija u književnosti, pozorištu, muzeju i na univerzitetu, koje su u javnosti veoma efektne, nacionalizovane istorijske predstave našle su put do glava ljudi. Posebnu ulogu igrala je pri tome arhitektura. Sa svakim novim pozorištem, muzejem ili železničkom

stanicom, nacija je sebi gradila novi spomenik. Pomeranjem centara i glavnih osa gradova dalje od zamaka i crkvi u raskošne parlamente, gradske većnice i univerzitete, bukvalno su u kamen tesani novi odnosi snaga i nacionalne elite koje se same po sebi podrazumevaju.

Vrhunac i završetak gradnje nekog reprezentativnog javnog objekta neretko je predstavljalo otkrivanje spomenika. Forma tog rituala do danas je ostala ista. Obično bi počelo inicijativom za izgradnju spomenika, potom bi usledile debate o njegovoj političkoj poruci i estetskom prikazu. Deo prikaza predstavlja uzbuđenost koju mediji prouzrokuju oko tog događaja. Kada je privučena pažnja, dogovor oko gradnje spomenika već je razvio svoj politički i pedagoški efekat, još pre nego što je postavljen prvi kamen. Sa javnim raspravama o pogodnom umetniku i lokaciji, o nacrtima i izvedbama, o pozivnicama i govorima na otvaranju dovodi se u pitanje i jača se, ruši i ponovo kreira nacionalni poredak značenja.

U jeku kreiranja modernih nacionalnih država spomenici su dobili novu funkciju. U prvi plan je došao izričiti nalog reprezentacije i edukacije u službi nacionalne ideje. Tu na pijedestal dolaze muškarci koji su zaslužni za odbranu nacije na bojnopolju, za ponovno rađanje i za razvoj nacionalnog jezika kao i za oblikovanje nacionalne književnosti, umetnosti i nauke. Široko rasprostranjena su i metaforička predstavljanja ključnih događaja iz nacionalne istorije. Zadatak je da se nacija okupi oko zajedničkih istorijskih iskustava, dostignuća i simbola. Pri tome se uspostavlja nova kartografija ne samo sveta u kome živi publika već i čitavog javnog prostora u istorijsko-političkom smislu.

Politika identiteta na zapadnom Balkanu – između nacionalizma i „jugoslovenstva“

Očigledno paralelan razvoj u zapadnoj, severnoj i srednjoj Evropi i na Balkanu završio se završetkom Balkanskih ratova i Prvog Svetskog rata. U vreme osnivanja prve zajedničke južnoslovenske države u decembru 1918. godine narodi te države bili su u dilemi. Na jednoj strani je bila Srbija, koja je bila suviše oslabljena u ratu da bi bila u stanju da realizuje svoju hegemoniju u odnosu prema zajedničkom nadnacionalnom identitetu. Na drugoj strani su bili Hrvati i Slovenci, koji su pod Habsburškom vlašću doživeli preveliku nacionalnu osvešćenost da bi ponovo pristali na potčinjen položaj. Na početku je izgledalo kao da ne postoji alternativa za srpsku dominaciju. Ali vremenom je zajednička jugoslovenska ideja izgubila na težini. Ono što je ostalo bilo je neodgovarajuće insistiranje konzervativnih srpskih snaga na centralističkoj zajedničkoj državi. To je dodatno podstaklo težnju Hrvata, Slovenaca i ostalih zajednica za autonomijom i samostalnošću.

Iz „nacije sa tri imena“ nastao je sve ogorčeniiji sukob između tri nacije u koji su se postepeno uključivali predstavnici ostalih narodnosti. Taj rivalitet i dan danas je vidljiv na novim spomenicima. Umesto da se toliko zagovaranoj zajednici jugoslovenskih naroda prida odgovarajuća simbolika, prevagnula je nacionalna metaforika. Čak i kod jugoslovenski orijentisanih Srba u prvom planu stajalo je izražavanje počasti sopstvenim zaslugama. Mitovi i simboli različitih „plemena“ na taj način nisu mogli biti ujedinjeni u zajednički identitet. Bez naslanjanja na poznate rituale, slike, zvukove, stihove i koreografije „jugoslovenstvo“ je ostalo prazna ljuštura, odsečena od sećanja i osećanja običnih ljudi.

Nakon Drugog Svetskog rata jugoslovenska ideja je doživela renesansu, koja ne bi bila moguća bez diskreditacije srpske monarhije i bez nacionalista svih boja koji su saradivali sa silama osovine. Komunistima je, osim toga, bio potreban određeni integrativni faktor za sprovođenje njihovog političkog programa. Značajan oslonac obnovljene jugoslovenske ideje postao je mit o partizanskom ratu protiv nemačkog i italijanskog okupatora. Da bi se etabliralo legitimno nasleđe nacionalne istorije južnoslovenskih naroda, komunisti su dodatno pozajmljivali iz različitih pravaca kulturnog i umetničkog nasleđa, od progresivnih građanskih tradicija i emancipacijskih nacionalnih pokreta 19. veka i sa početka 20. veka.

Mnoštvo izvora identiteta očitivalo se i na sadržajima i na jeziku formi novih spomenika, koji su nicali kao pečurke između Drave i Ohridskog jezera. Istorijski vladari i građanski pisci poput Ive Andrića zadržali su pravo da koriste tradicionalnu estetiku spomenika od mermera i bronz. Za nove junake i mitove biran je, međutim, konsekvantno moderan pristup. Većina ogromnih spomen-kompleksa doživljavala se kao obeležje postnacionalnog podrazumevajućeg pristupa, koji teži univerzalnom. Uprkos svekolikom avangardizmu oni svedoče o kontinuitetu u jednoj suštinski značajnoj stvari. Mnogo više od njihovih građanskih prethodnika komunisti su prihvatili industrijsku modernu. Njihova jugoslovenska verzija, doduše, vrlo brzo je okrnjena kao i beton na tim spomenicima, koji predstavljaju eksplicitno izraženo slavlje.

Taj odnos prema moderni napustili su neonacionalistički naslednici titoizma 90tih godina. Na mesto kulturno predstavljene nacionalne integracije preko države, tržišta,

civilnog društva došla je kultura redukovana na etnički aspekt kao suštinska, samodovoljna svrha integracije. Vraćanjem na stare, ponovo otkrivene i izmišljene tradicije načinjen je pokušaj da se postave kulise drugačijeg kulturnog postojanja. U to su spadali i spomenici. Njihova politička poruka i njihova estetika potvrdile su defanzivnu semantiku etno-nacionalističkih ideologija, okrenutu ka prošlosti. Ipak, spomenici starim i novim junacima nisu promašili svoju svrhu. Osvrtanje na zajednička istorijska iskustva, sa kojima su povezani spomenici, zrači emocionalnom snagom koja se ne sme potceniti.

Izgleda da je iskušenje do danas ostalo ogromno da se ta emocionalna snaga iskoristi za određene političke, verske i intelektualne krugove. To, međutim, ima svoju cenu. Ta vrsta poruke koja se odnosi na identitet i simbolike održava u životu granične afekte iz ratnih godina. Ponovo se politički i nacionalni ciljevi predstavljaju kao ispunjenje duboko usađenih težnji i proročanstava, kao prevazilaženje vekovnih uvreda, kao ponavljanje legendarnih pobeda ili kao nagrada za jedinstvena dostignuća i vrline sopstvenog naroda, kao da se ne može drugačije. Estetika takođe istrajava na formalnom jeziku okrenutom unazad. Spektar se kreće od statue junaka preko metafore sa nadgrobnim spomenikom pa sve do monstrozno pseudoantičkog citata.

Postoje, međutim, i novi spomenici, koji se svesno nadovezuju na savremenu umetnost izgradnje spomenika, kao na primer na spomenike Ivana Meštrovića. Neki drugi opet radikalno čupaju sve korene. Oni su rezultat potrage za savremenim sadržajima i izrazima, koji upravo stoga negiraju svako

naslanjanje na nacionalne, titoističke ili etno-nacionalističke tradicije. Njihovi tvorci izgleda da su izgubili poverenje u donekle formirani herojski gest. Tradicionalnom tipu junaka suprotstavljaju se predstave Rokija ili Boba Marlija. Statue su ravnopravne sa posmatračem. One pozivaju na dijalog i razmišljanje. Dekonstruktivna spomenika dešava se preko obrnutog procesa: nije cilj da se ideje zajednice, ličnosti i događaji idealizuju. Cilj je da se pozove u individualno približavanje i suočavanje sa onim što je predstavljeno. Na taj način perspektiva pojedinca postaje ne samo deo spomenika već deo tumačenja istorije...

Literatura

Kaschuba, Wolfgang (2001): *Geschichtspolitik und Identitätspolitik. Nationale und ethnische Diskurse im Kulturvergleich*, in: Binder, Beate/Kaschuba, Wolfgang/Niedermöller, Peter (Hrsg.): *Inszenierung des Nationalen. Geschichte, Kultur und die Politik der Identitäten am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts. Alltag und Kultur Bd. 7*, Köln: Böhlau Verlag, S. 19-42.

Weber, Max (1964): *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, Köln, Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch.

monuments and politics of identity in the western balkans

Dr Lutz Schrader

Nation state, politics of identity and monuments

The politics of memory and identity have long been the domain of the ruling elite – at the latest since the formation of institutionalised states such as those in ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome. The transition to the modern nation states nevertheless marked a turning point. In the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, “nations” were ethnic groups that differed in their cultural characteristics and otherwise existed to a large extent independently of the political institutions of kingdoms and principalities. This changed when the newly formed national movements discovered the cultural resources that lay dormant within the ethnic communities. To breathe life into the modern bureaucratic “nation state”, they portrayed the “nation” as an identity-endowing “community of fate”.

Contrary to the nationalist zeitgeist of the 19th century, Max Weber was one of the first, who referred to the “‘artificial’ origin of the belief in common ethnicity”. In his opinion, it corresponded to the “model of reinterpretation of rational socialisation in personal community relations”. For him, the formation of modern nation states driven by political power, bureaucracy and economic interests involved such a case of “purpose-rational association” (Weber 1964: 309). Interests, rights and markets replaced ancestry, customs and tradition as the bases of political and economic order.

Thus, exactly the opposite took place at the core than appeared to be the case on the surface. The development of industrial capitalism and anonymous state bureaucracies

and secularised mass societies led to widely spread individual uprooting and the “dis-enchantment of the world” (ibid). The ruling elites sought ways and means to compensate for the imminent lack of social meaning and integration. The national enthusiasm of the young civil emancipation movement served them well. The nation state primarily based on inherent economic necessity and the rationality of the law required strong cultural ‘cement’. This could be found in the elements of “ethnic affinity” with an impact everywhere, in the “language group” and in the “homogeneity of the ritual regulation of life, as determined by shared religious beliefs” (ibid).

Also the exclusive dynamics of nationalism did not go unnoticed by Max Weber. He spoke of “ethnic honour” in the “conviction of the excellence of one’s own customs and the inferiority of alien ones” and finally of the ‘chosenness’ of one’s own people. As “specific honour of the masses”, ethnic honour is accessible to anybody who belongs to the “subjectively believed community of descent”. Weber derives its popularity from the fact that in contrast to status differentiation, it can be “claimed to an equal degree by any and every member of the mutually despising groups”. Ethnic repulsion may consequently take hold of all conceivable differences – through to having a beard or particular haircut – and transform them into “ethnic conventions” (ibid).

To shape the nation as a new political subject over and above the spatial, linguistic, cultural and religious boundaries, the history was also nationalised, i.e. constructed and reconstructed “as legitimisation of a new present” (Kaschuba 2001: 31). The nationalised portrayals of history found their way into people’s heads

through their effective public dramatisation in literature, theatres, museums and universities. Architecture played a special role in this. With every new theatre, museum and railway station, the nation erected a monument in its honour. By relocating the centres and main axes of cities away from castles and churches to the palatial parliament, town hall and university buildings, the new power relations and self-conception of the national elites were literally carved in stone.

The construction of a new representative public building was often completed with the inauguration of a monument. The ritual has changed little to this day. It generally began with the initiative to construct a monument, followed by the debates on its political message and aesthetic form. The public excitement created by the media and opinion leaders formed part of realisation. Once attention had been drawn, the monument already began to have a political and educational impact – even before the first stone had been laid. In this process national hierarchies of meaning were questioned and confirmed, overturned and constructed. That is why all elements are hotly debated: artists and locations, designs and realisation, invitations to and speeches at the inauguration.

The reason for increased public interest had much to do with the new function of monuments during the formation of modern nation states. A decidedly representational and educational purpose in the name of the national idea came to the fore. Subsequently personalities – almost exclusively men – were put on the pedestal, who had rendered outstanding services to the nation by defending it on the battlefield, contributing to the rebirth

and development of the national language, or shaping the national literature, art and science. Metaphorical representations of key events in the national history were also popular. The nation was to be united around the historic experiences, achievements and symbols, so to speak. In the process not only the public’s mindset but also the entire public space was remapped historically and politically.

Politics of identity in the Western Balkans – between nationalism and “Jugoslavenstvo”

The obvious parallels between developments in Western, Northern and Central Europe and the Balkan region ended with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars and the First World War. At the time of the founding of the first united southern Slavic state in December 1918, the peoples involved found themselves facing a dilemma. On the one hand, Serbia had been too weakened by the burden of war to be able to assert its hegemony in favour of a shared transnational identity. On the other, Croats and Slovenes were already too advanced in their national self-discovery under the Habsburg yoke to subordinate themselves once again. At the beginning, the Serbian dominance appeared to be without alternative. Yet slowly but surely, the shared Yugoslav idea lost ground. What remained was the anachronistic insistence of conservative Serbian forces on a centralised unitary state. This merely fuelled the aspirations of Croats, Slovenes and other communities for autonomy and independence even more.

Successively, the “nation with three names” turned into an increasingly fierce conflict between three nations, into which other ethnic groups were drawn. The failure of an authentic synthesis can be deduced from the

monuments of this period. Instead of (re-) inventing an adequate symbolic form for the much conjured shared characteristics of the southern Slavic peoples, the different national self-images prevailed from the beginning. Even for the pro-Yugoslav Serbs, the focus was on celebrating their own merits for the common cause. Thus the myths and symbols of the different 'tribes' could not be linked and combined in a shared identity. Without recourse to the familiar rituals, images, sounds, phrases and choreographies, 'Jugoslavenstvo' remained an empty shell, cut off from the memories and emotions of the ordinary people.

After the Second World War, the Yugoslav idea experienced a renaissance in a way that would not have been possible without the discreditation of the Serbian monarchy and the collaboration of nationalists from all sides with the Axis Powers. And the communists needed an integrative reference to realise their political programme. The myth of a civil uprising against the German and Italian occupying forces became one of the most important pillars of a renewed Yugoslav identity. To establish themselves as the legitimate heirs of the national history of the southern Slavic peoples, the communists also drew inspiration from the different schools of cultural and artistic heritage, from progressive civil traditions, and from emancipatory national movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The variety of identity-endowing sources was reflected in the subjects and aesthetic language of the new monuments that now sprung up like mushrooms between the Drava River and Lake Ohrid. The traditional shape of pedestal made out of marble and bronze

were reserved for historic rulers and authors such as Ivo Andrić. In contrast, a consistently modern gesture was adopted for the new heroes and myths. The generally vast monument complexes were considered landmarks of a post-national and universalist self-conception. With all their avant-gardism, they nonetheless showed continuity in one essential point: Even more than their civil predecessors, the communists aspired to industrial modernism. However, their Yugoslav version cracked as rapidly as the concrete of the monuments almost emphatically celebrating it.

The reference to modernism was explicitly rejected by the neo-nationalist successors of Titoism in the 1990s. The culturally-mediated integration by state, market and civil society was replaced by a culture reduced solely to ethnicity as the actual, self-sufficient purpose. With return to old, rediscovered and invented traditions, attempts were made to erect the backdrops of cultural otherness. This also included monuments. Both their political message and aesthetics largely confirm the backward semantics of ethno-nationalist ideology. Yet still the monuments for heroes, old and new, did not fail to have an impact on visitors. An emotional resonance emanates from the evocation of shared historic experiences associated with the memorial sites.

To this very day, the temptation to take advantage from the charisma of those places seems great in certain political, religious and intellectual circles. As if one did not know better, once again they use monuments to present their political and national goals as the fulfilment of the heartfelt aspirations and prophecies, the overcoming of centuries-old insults, the re-enactment of legendary victories or the

acknowledgement of extraordinary accomplishments and virtues of their people. However, this type of politics of remembrance and identity has its price. It keeps the exclusive and divisive emotions of the war years alive. Also the aesthetics persist in a retrograde formalism. The spectrum ranges from statues of heroic figures via tombstone metaphors to monstrous pseudo-antique quotes.

However, there are also new monuments representing a forward-looking approach. Either they make conscious reference to contemporary monumental art – such as the work of Ivan Meštrović. Or they radically cut all roots. The latter are the result of the search for content and forms of expression, which deny any reference to national, Titoistic or ethno-nationalist traditions. Their creators seem to have lost their trust in a somewhat strange heroic attitude. Traditional heroes are counteracted with representations of Rocky and Bob Marley. Statues stand eye-to-eye with their beholders. They invite to dialogue and reflection. The deconstruction of monuments took place via a reversal: the focus is no longer on exaggeration of and rapture about community-creating ideas, personalities and events. Rather, it is far more about inviting to a rather individual approach and debate on the person or event represented. Thus the perspective of the individual not only becomes a part of the monument but also a part of the interpretation of history ...

Bibliography

Kaschuba, Wolfgang (2001): Geschichtspolitik und Identitätspolitik. Nationale und ethnische Diskurse im Kulturvergleich, in: Binder, Beate/Kaschuba, Wolfgang/Niedermöller, Peter (Ed.): Inszenierung des Nationalen. Geschichte, Kultur und die Politik der Identitäten am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts. Alltag und Kultur vol. 7, Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, p. 19-42.

Weber, Max, *Economy and Society. An outline of interpretive sociology*, Volume 2, edited by Guenther Roth and Klaus Wittich, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

jugoslovenski spomenici: umetnost i retorika moći

Dr Bojana Pejić

Naime, spomenik je javni fenomen; takav je po porudžbi koja ga je uzrokovala i kojoj je namijenjen. Fizički otvoreni prostor u kome postoji tehnički je jedini mogući medij socijalno-psihološke sfere kojoj je spomenik upravljen: duhovnoj realnosti svoje sredine. J a v n o s t s p o m e n i k a sva je njegova priroda; tako spomenik raste, stoji ili pada: u javnosti je sva veličina ili ništavilo spomenika. Nedostaje li mu dimenzija javnosti, on je u pravilu tek izvjesna masa, ponekad čak dobra skulptura ili što drugo, a uvijek nesporazum koji prestaje tek uklanjanjem.

Eugen Franković, „Javnost spomenika“, Život umjetnosti, No. 2, 1966, p. 18.

„Sećanje se vezuje za mesta...“ piše francuski istoričar Pjer Nora. Spomenici i memorijali su zaista takva mesta. Kada danas pokušavam da ponovo napišem istoriju umetnosti jugoslovenskih mesta sećanja, suočavam se sa obeshrabrujućom činjenicom: takva istorija zapravo nikada nije bila napisana. Odsustvo vrednih tekstova istorije i teorije umetnosti o političkim i „kulturnim“ spomenicima podignutim na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije ne odražava odsustvo spomenika. Naprotiv! I prva (1918-1941) i druga jugoslovenska država (1945-1991/92) ispoljila je istinsku pohlepu za komemoracijama i iskrenu strast za upostoravljene kolektivnih sećanja. Svaki takav projekat, međutim, zahtevao je sprovođenje naročite politike sećanja, a te politike su zavisne od onoga što je zamišljeno kao „kolektivni identitet“ zajednice, nacije ili države. Američki istoričar Džon R. Džilis naglašava da se i sećanjima i identitetima često pripisuje status nepromenljivih „materijalnih objekata“. On pobija ovaj koncept: „Moramo da se podsetimo da sećanja i identiteti nisu fiksne

stvari, već prikazi ili konstrukcije stvarnosti, subjektivne pre nego objektivne pojave“. Dakle, „mi stalno ispravljamo svoja sećanja da bi odgovarala našim aktuelnim identitetima“. Javni spomenici, i oni posvećeni političkim ličnostima i ljudima iz kulture, instrumentalni su u tim ispravkama: oni koji ne odgovaraju „novim identitetima“ moraju da se uklone kako bi se napravilo mesta za nove spomenike koji sada uobličavaju novokonstruisane identitete.

Diskurs o političkim memorijalima (ili bilo kojem drugom javnom spomeniku, što se toga tiče) koji danas možemo da uspostavimo, korenito se razlikuje od uobičajenog shvatanja spomenika tradicionalno diskreditovanih kao „umetnost po komandi“ ili „umetnost po narudžbini“ (Auftragskunst). Kao umetnička dela koja naručuje javna agencija (nacionalna zajednica, veteranska organizacija ili čak državna/federalna administracija) za spomenike se smatra da su u „službi“ određene moći, koju bi trebalo da „ilustruju“. Međutim, kada ispitujemo spomenike kao vizuelne reprezentacije, mi (bi trebalo da) razumemo spomenik kao mesto na kome moć postaje konstituisana. Kako tvrdi američki istoričar umetnosti Dejvid Samers, „zamenske slike“ (predstave vladara) i prostor na kojem su korišćene su „ipso facto ostvarenje moći, ne izraz moći, već stvaran oblik koji moć poprima na ovom ili onom mestu i vremenu“. Spomenici koje, kao i sve druge vrste vizuelnih predstava, susrećemo u javnoj sferi (kao što su poster, dokumentarni i igrani filmovi, fotografije u štampi i poštanske marke), igraju, prema tome, konstitutivnu, a ne samo reflektivnu ulogu posle svršenog čina.

Diskurs o mestima sećanja u dvema jugoslovenskim državama nije jedinstven. On se ne razlikuje mnogo od drugih zemalja: još od barem francuske revolucije, postupanje sa

javnim spomenicima ukazuje na činjenicu da je stvaranje slika jednako staro kao i razbijanje slika. Stvaranje i razbijanje su karakteristični i za jugoslovenske produkcije spomenika, pri čemu ne bi trebalo zaboraviti da su obe jugoslovenske države i mnoge od post-jugoslovenskih osnovane nakon ratova.

Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, poznata kao „troimeni narod“, osnovana je 1918. posle prvog svetskog rata. Novosagrađeni spomenici bili su namenjeni uspostavljanju javnog sećanja na heroizam i patnju rata, ali ovo sećanje, ovaj, moglo se ustanoviti samo u nekim delovima tek ujedinjene države, zapravo sastavljene od ratnih pobednika i ratnih gubitnika. Kada je ova država postala „jednoimeno narod“ i shodno tome bila preimenovana u Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju (1929-41), počela je da promovise ideologiju unitarnog jugoslovenstva, koja je konstituisana ne samo diktaturom, već i preko spomenika jugoslovenskim kraljevima iz srpske dinastije Karađorđevića: Petru I „Oslobodiocu“ (umro 1921) i Aleksandaru „Velikom ujedinitelju“ (ubijen 1934). Između 1923. i 1940, oko 215 obeležja spomenika ili memorijala posvećenih pokojnim vladarima podignuto je širom Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Nijedan od ovih spomenika nije preživio, ali vajari koji su ih kreirali (Ivan Meštrović, Lojze Dolinar, Frano Kršinić, Antun Augustinčić i Sreten Stojanović) jesu. Svi oni će ponovo biti angažovani u produkciji spomenika u „novoj“ Jugoslaviji.

Druga jugoslovenska država, proglašena 29. novembra 1943, takođe je bila država stvorena iz rata. Posle 1945, Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija prepustila se još jednom maniji podizanja skulptura, koja je sada negovala sećanje na pravedan rat i pobedu nad fašizmom. Stečena transnacionalnim i multietničkim partizanskim snagama, negovala

je „bratstvo i jedinstvo“ „svih“ jugoslovenskih naroda/narodnosti. Tako su se pojavila nova memorijalna mesta popunjena bezbrojnim spomenicima koji su, kao i svi takvi javni objekti u svetu, ponavljali kolektivno sećanje koje je, od 1945, postalo institucionalizovano kao „naša“ istorija: to je istorija pobednika, a pobednici su naklonjeni „selektivnom sećanju“. U predstavljanju ovog sećanja-kao-istorije, jugoslovenski spomenici koristili su razne „režime prikazivanja“. Oko 1952-54, bitka između socijalističkog (uglavnom akademskog) realizma i modernizma u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji završila se pobedom modernizma. Otuda su, od 1960-tih, glavni jugoslovenski memorijali koji obeležavaju „pale borce“ i „žrtve fašizma“ dobili apstraktne, tj. modernističke oblike; međutim, paralelno ovim produkcijama koje je pokrenuo i finansirao Savez boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata, spomenici zasnovani na figurativnom prikazivanju i dalje su se gradili širom Jugoslavije do kraja 1980-tih, i često su ih podržavale lokalne veteranske organizacije. Čak i ako se ti spomenici zasnovani na ikoničkim ili realističnim predstavama ljudskih tela (po pravilu muških tela) mogu činiti kao da nude lakšu identifikaciju i prijem kod „naroda“, apstraktno oblikovani spomenici i dalje sugerisu istu ideologiju: nedostatak „humanizma“ (shvaćen kao odsustvo telesnih predstava) doveo je do prisustva ogromnih apstraktnih skulptura nazvanih „organska tela“ (po pravilu zasnovanih na faličkim figurama kao što su obelisci, cilindri, uspravni oblici) koja su ponovo sugerisala retoriku moći, i, poslednje ali ne i najmanje važno – militarizam. Tematski pomak dogodio se krajem 1960-tih i početkom 1970-tih. Dok su „revolucionarne skulpture“ izrađivane do tada vraćale na scenu ratnu pobedu i poraz fašizma, kasnije modernističke produkcije memorijala, izgrađenih na „mestima revolucije“, težile su da prikažu sećanje na rat kao socijalističku

revoluciju: to se dogodilo tridesetak godina posle rata, kada su sećanja na njega počela da blede i malo su značila mlađim generacijama. Osim toga, memorijalni kompleksi, koje su kreirali umetnici i/ili arhitekte kao što su Bogdan Bogdanović, Dušan Džamonja, Slavko Tihec i Miodrag Živković, i koji su podignuti na mestima u prirodi na kojima su se odigrale partizanske pobede, nagoveštavaju još jedan aspekt: oni sugerišu da je revolucija prirodan proces. Dakle, trebalo bi napustiti tradicionalnu dvojnost između prikazivačke (figurativne) i neprikazivačke (apstraktne) procedure. Umesto toga, trebalo bi se zapitati na koje načine su spomenici aktivno ostvarivali konstituisanje komunističke ideologije, gde podela na ikoničke i neikoničke predstave jedva da igra ulogu.

Od uspona nacionalističkih ideologija u Jugoslaviji krajem 1980-tih, antifašistička tradicija postala je izložena kolektivnoj amneziji, i u većini post-jugoslovenskih država (ako ne i svim) skoro je potpuno negirana, ako ne i sasvim izbrisana. Razaranje i rušenje jugoslovenskih „komunističkih“ spomenika događalo se ne samo tokom jugoslovenskih ratova 1990-tih, već i kasnije. Novi spomenici podizani (ili ponovo podizani) u post-jugoslovenskim suverenim državama obeležavaju heroje i žrtve ratova (1991. do 1999) ali ne samo njih. Svaka nacija država gradila je sopstvene spomenike koji sada predstavljaju nacionalističku ideologiju gledanu očima žrtvovanja i nacionalnog stradanja pod „stranim silama“ (po pravilu susednim narodom/državom), pod „komunistima“, a čak i pod „međunarodnom zajednicom“.

Sećanja ponovljena u političkim spomenicima i memorijalima postavljenim na jugoslovenskim teritorijama u dvadesetom veku uglavnom su sećanja na nasilje i, u vezi sa njim, militarizam. Međutim, bilo bi istorijski pogrešno pretpostav-

iti da su prikaz nasilja i upućivanje na njega specifični za spomenike podignute u našem „ratobornom i brutalnom“ regionu Balkana. Osim toga, kao i u drugim delovima sveta, sami spomenici su često izloženi nasilju.

U svom članku „Nasilje javne umetnosti“, američki istoričar umetnosti V. Dž. T. Mičel razlikuje dva tipa nasilja usmerenog prema spomenicima i drugim javnim umetničkim delima. Jedan je „zvanično“ nasilje policijske, pravosudne ili zakonodavne vlasti, kao što je bio slučaj sa uklanjanjem „komunističkog panteona“ posle 1989, koje je uglavnom zasnovano na parlamentarnim odlukama. Drugi je „nezvanično“ nasilje koje vrše gnevne „mase“. On postavlja nekoliko pitanja: „Da li je javna umetnost sama po sebi nasilna, ili je provokacija nasilju? Da li je nasilje ugrađeno u spomenik po samom sopstvenom konceptu? Ili je nasilje prosto nezgoda koja snalazi neke spomenike, stvar istorijskih sudbina?“ U ovom kontekstu, on nas podseća da su monumentalne produkcije uglavnom posvećene jednoj temi: „Veliki deo javne umetnosti u svetu - memorijali, spomenici, slavoluci, obelisci, stubovi i skulpture - prilično direktno upućuje na nasilje u obliku rata ili osvajanja. Od Ozimandijasa do Cezara do Napoleona i Hitlera, javna umetnost služila je kao vid monumentalizacije nasilja, i nikada moćnije nego kada predstavlja osvajača kao čoveka mira, namećući svetu Napoleonov kodeks ili pax Romana.“ Mađarska istoričarka umetnosti, Katalin Šinko, koja razmatra uklanjanje spomenika koje je preduzeo komunistički režim u njenoj domovini, naglašava verovatno najznačajniji aspekt uklanjanja spomenika: „Uništavanje skulptura kao ritualni čin pokazuje se značajnim samo u sredini koja shvata i priznaje značenje takvih simboličnih činova“. Shodno tome, u prvim danima Kraljevine Jugoslavije, uklonjeni su svi znaci Austro-

Ugarske monarhije; one spomenike dinastiji Karađorđević koji nisu pali pod okupatorskim snagama u drugom svetskom ratu smesta su nagrdile komunističke vlasti posle 1945; a posle nasilnog raspada Jugoslavije, nacije-države u nastajanju počele su da stiču svoj novi identitet ispravljanjem (nacionalističkih) sećanja, baveći se na taj način „radom na sećanju“ koji je, kako ukazuje Džillis, „kao svaka druga vrsta fizičkog rada, ugrađen u složene odnose klase, pola i moći koji određuju šta je zapamćeno (ili zaboravljeno), kod koga, i zašto“.

Što se tiče pitanja postavljenog u konceptu ovog projekta, „Postoje li elementi pomirenja u današnjoj kulturi spomenika?“, moj odgovor je negativan. Dok se na neki način čini logično izgraditi Memorijal ubijenim Jevrejima Evrope (2006) u Berlinu, pitanje je gde bi bilo „logično“ podići memorijal žrtvama u Srebrenici. U Beogradu, naravno. Ali, ko bi ga sagradio tamo (ko bi se usudio)? Spomenici, verujem, ne mogu da ponude pomirenje, ali ljudi, ponekad, mogu. U javnom performansu održanom u Sarajevu 1998, hrvatski vizuelni umetnik Slaven Tolj pio je nekih 20 minuta bosansku šljivovicu i hrvatsku lozovaču, mešajući ih. U podnaslovu njegove predstave pisalo je: „U očekivanju Vilija Branta“. Mi i dalje čekamo...

Literatura

Baldani, Juraj, *Revolucionarno kiparstvo* (Zagreb: Spektar, 1977)

Franković, Eugen, „Javnost spomenika“, *Život umjetnosti*, No. 2, 1966, p. 18.

Gamboni, Dario, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism Since the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books. Gamboni, 1997)

Gillis, John R., „Memory and Identity: the History of a Relationship“, in Gillis, ed., *Com-*

memorations: The Politics of National Identity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Karge, Heike, *Steinerne Erinnerung – versteinerte Erinnerung? Kriegsdenken in Jugoslawien (1947-1970)*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010).

Nora, Pierre, „Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire“, in *Representations*, no. 26, Spring 1989.

Mitchell, W.J.T., „The Violence of Public Art“, in W.J.T Mitchell, ed., „Art and the Public Sphere“, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992)/

Pejić, Bojana, „Tito' or the Iconization of an Idea“, in Dejan Sretenović, Ed., *Novo čitanje ikone* (Beograd: Geopoetika, 1999), pp. 107-155.

Pejić, Bojana, „The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialization of Power in the SFR Yugoslavia“, doctoral dissertation (in preparation for publishing).

Rajčević, Balša, *Zatrvono i zatrto - o uništenim srpskim spomenicima* (Novi Sad: Prometej, 2001)

Sinkó, Katalin, „Political Rituals: The Raising and Demolition of Monuments“, in György, Peter and Turai, Hedvig, Eds., *Art and Society in the Age of Stalin*, (Budapest: Corvina, 1992) (German edition: Staatskunstwerk ~ Kultur in Stalinismus, Budapest, Corvina, 1992).

Summers, David, „The Real Metaphor: Towards a Redefinition of the ‚Conceptual Image‘“, in Bryson et al., Eds., *Visual Theory*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

yugoslav monuments: art and the rhetoric of power

Dr Bojana Pejić

A monument is namely a public phenomenon; the public is the commission which reasoned it and to which it is dedicated. The physical open space in which a monument exists is technically the only possible medium of the socio-psychological sphere which the monument is intended for: the spiritual reality of its milieu. Publicness is the monument's true nature; this is where the monument grows, stands, or falls: in publicness lies all the magnificence or nothingness of the monument. If it lacks this public dimension, the monument is just a mass, sometimes a good sculpture or something else, but always a misunderstanding that disappears with the monument's removal.

Eugen Franković, "Javnost spomenika" (The Publicness of Monuments)

"Memory attaches itself to sites ..." writes French historian Pierre Nora. Monuments and memorials are indeed such sites. When we try to rewrite today an art history of Yugoslav sites of remembrance, we are facing a depressing fact: such a history has actually never been written. The absence of valuable art historical and theoretical texts about political and "cultural" monuments erected on former Yugoslav territories does not mirror the absence of monuments. On the contrary! Both the first (1918-1941) and the second Yugoslav state (1945-1991/92) manifested a real greed for commemorations and genuine passion for spatialisation of collective memories. Any such project, however, necessitated the implementation of a particular politics of remembrance and these politics are dependent on what is imagined as "collective identity" of a community, a nation, or a state. American historian John R. Gillis stresses that both memories and identities are often attributed the status of unchangeable "material

objects". He dismantles this conception: "We need to be reminded that memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality, subjective rather than objective phenomena." Therefore, "we are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities." Public monuments, both those dedicated to political figures and men of culture, are instrumental in these revisions: those which do not suit to "new identities" must be removed in order to make place for new monuments which now spatialise newly constructed identities.

A discourse about political memorials (or any other public monument for that matter) we can establish today, radically differs from the usual comprehension of monuments traditionally discredited as "art on command" or "art on commission" (Auftragskunst). As artworks commissioned by a public agency (a national community, a veteran organisation, or even state/federal administration) monuments are believed to be in the "service of" a given power, which they should "illustrate." However, when examining monuments as visual representations, we (should) understand the monument as the site in which power becomes constituted. As American art historian David Summers argues, "substitutive images" (the representations of rulers) and the space in which they are used, are "ipso facto realization of power, not expression of power, but actual form taken by power in one or another place and time." Monuments, like other types of visual representations we encounter in the public sphere (such as posters, documentary and feature films, press photographs and postage stamps), play, thus, a constitutive and not merely a reflexive, after-the-fact role. A discourse on memorial sites in two Yugoslav states is not unique. It does not differ much from other countries: since at least the French Revolution, the treatment of public monuments

point to the fact that image-making is as old as image-breaking. Making and breaking are also characteristic of the Yugoslav memorial productions, whereby it should not be forgotten that both Yugoslav states and many of the post-Yugoslav ones were founded after wars.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, known as the "three-name nation" (troimeni narod) was founded in 1918 after the First World War. Newly built monuments were meant to establish public memory of war heroism and suffering, but this memory, alas, could be instituted only in some parts of the freshly reunited state, actually composed of war winners and war losers. When this state became a "one-name nation" (jednoimeni narod) and was accordingly renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-41), it started to promote the ideology of unitary Yugoslavism, which was constituted not only by the dictatorship but also via monuments to Yugoslav kings of Serbian Karadjordjević dynasty: Petar I "the Liberator" (died in 1921) and Aleksandar "the Great Unifier" (assassinated in 1934). Between 1923 and 1940, some 215 monuments or memorial marks dedicated to the deceased rulers had been erected all over the Yugoslav kingdom. None of these monuments survived, but the sculptors who designed them (Ivan Meštrović, Lojze Dolinar, Frano Kršinić, Antun Augustinčić and Sreten Stojanović) did. All of them would again become engaged in the production of memorials in "new" Yugoslavia.

The second Yugoslav state, proclaimed on 29 November 1943, was also a state born of war. After 1945, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia indulged yet again in a statue-mania, which now spatialised the memory of a just war and victory over fascism. Gained by transnational and multiethnic partisans' forces, it fostered "brotherhood and unity" of "all" Yugoslav

peoples/nations. Thus emerged new memorial sites populated with numberless monuments which, as any such public objects in the world, replayed a collective memory that, since 1945, became institutionalised as "our" history: this was the history of the winners, and winners are keen on "selective memories." In spatialising this memory-as-history, Yugoslav monuments exploited various "regimes of representation." Around 1952-54, the battle between Socialist (mainly academic) Realism and modernism in Socialist Yugoslavia ended with the victory of modernism. Hence, as of the 1960s, the major Yugoslav memorials commemorating "fallen soldiers" (pali borci) and "victims of fascism" (žrtve fašizma) obtained abstract, i.e., modernist shapes; however, parallel to these productions initiated and funded by the Association of Veterans of the People's Liberation War (Savez boraca Narodnooslobodilačkog rata), monuments based on figurative representation continued to be built all over Yugoslavia till the late 1980s, and often supported by local veterans organisations. Even if those monuments based on iconic or realistic representations of human bodies (as a rule male bodies) may appear to offer an easier identification and reception by the "people," abstractly shaped memorials continue to connote the same ideology: a lack of "humanism" (understood as the absence of bodily representations) brought about the presence of huge abstract sculptures called "organic bodies" (as a rule based on phallic shapes such as obelisks, cylinders, erected forms) which connoted again a rhetoric of power, and last but not least – militarism. A thematic shift occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Whereas "revolutionary sculptures" produced till then restaged the war victory and defeat of fascism, later modernist memorial productions, built on the "sites of the Revolution" tended to intercept the memory of war as socialist revolution: this happened

some thirty years after the war, when memories of it started to fade and meant little to younger generations. In addition, memorial complexes, designed by artists and/or architects such as Bogdan Bogdanović, Dušan Džamonja, Slavko Tihec and Miodrag Živković and erected on the natural sites where partisan's victories took place, imply yet another aspect: they suggest revolution to be a natural process. Therefore, one should abandon a traditional dualism between representational (figurative) and non-representational (abstract) procedures. Instead, one should ask in which ways monuments actively performed a spatialisation of Communist ideology, whereby the division between iconic and non-iconic representation hardly plays a role.

Since the rise of nationalist ideologies in Yugoslavia of the late 1980s, the antifascist tradition became exposed to collective amnesia, and in most (if not all) post-Yugoslav states it is almost completely negated, if not totally erased. The devastation and destruction of Yugoslav "communist" monuments occurred not only during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, but also later. New monuments erected (or re-erected) in post-Yugoslav sovereign states commemorate heroes and victims of wars (1991 till 1999) but not only them. Each nation-state built its own monuments which now constitute nationalist ideology viewed through the eyes of victimisation and national suffering under "foreign powers" (as a rule neighbouring nation/state), under "communists" and even under (sic) the "international community."

Memories re-enacted in political monuments and memorials put up on Yugoslav territories in the twentieth century are generally memories of violence and, linked to it, militarism. However, it would be historically wrong to assume that representation of and reference to violence is

specific for monuments erected in our "bellicose and brutal" Balkan region. In addition, as in other parts of the world, monuments themselves are as often as not exposed to violence.

In his article "The Violence of Public Art", American art historian W.J.T. Mitchell differentiates two types of violence directed against monuments and other public works of art. One is the "official" violence of police, juridical, or legislative power, as was the case of the post-1989 removal of the "Communist Pantheon," which was in the main based on parliamentary decisions. The other is "unofficial" violence performed by angry "masses." He asks several questions: "Is public art inherently violent, or is it a provocation to violence? Is violence built into the monument in its own very conception? Or is violence simply an accident that befalls some monuments, a matter of the fortunes of history?" In this context, he reminds us that monumental productions are generally dedicated to one theme: "Much of the world's public art - memorials, monuments, triumphal arches, obelisks, columns, and statues - has a rather direct reference to violence in the form of war or conquest. From Ozymandias to Caesar to Napoleon and Hitler, public art served as a kind of monumentalizing of violence, and never more powerfully than when it presents the conqueror as a man of peace, imposing a Napoleonic code or a pax Romana on the world". Hungarian art historian, Katalin Sinkó, who discusses the removal of the monuments undertaken by the Communist regime in her native country, stresses probably the most significant aspect of the monuments' disfigurement: "[T]he destruction of statues as a ritual act proves significant only in an environment which understands and acknowledges the meaning of such symbolic acts". Accordingly, in the early days of the Yugoslav Kingdom, all signs of Austro-Hungarian monarchy were re-

moved; those monuments to the Karadjordjević dynasty which did not fall under occupying forces in the Second World War were promptly defaced after 1945 by the communist authorities; and after the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia, the emerging nation-states started to acquire their new identity by revising (nationalist) memories, engaging thus in a "memory work" which is, as Gillis points out, "like any other kind of physical labor, embedded in complex class, gender and power relations that determine what is remembered (or forgotten), by whom, and for what end."

As for the question asked in the concept of this project, "Are there elements of reconciliation in today's culture of monuments?", my answer is negative. Whereas it appears somehow logical to built Memorial of the Murdered Jews of Europe (2006) in Berlin, the question is where it would be "logical" to erect a memorial to the victims in Srebrenica. In Belgrade, of course. But, who would (dare to) built it there? Monuments, I believe, cannot offer reconciliation, but people, sometimes, can. In a public performance held in Sarajevo 1998, the Croatian visual artist Slaven Tolj drank for some 20 minutes Bosnian šljivovica and Croatian grappa, mixing them. The subtitle of his performance read: "Waiting for Willy Brandt." We keep waiting...

References

Baldani, Juraj, *Revolucionarno kiparstvo* (Zagreb: Spektar, 1977)

Franković, Eugen, "Javnost spomenika," *Život umjetnosti*, No. 2, 1966, p. 18.
Gamboni, Dario, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism Since the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997)
Gillis, John R., "Memory and Identity: the Histo-

ry of a Relationship," in Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Karge, Heike, *Steinerne Erinnerung – versteinerte Erinnerung? Kriegsdenken in Jugoslawien (1947-1970)*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010).

Nora, Pierre, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," in *Representations*, no. 26, Spring 1989.

Mitchell, W.J.T., "The Violence of Public Art," in W.J.T Mitchell, ed., *Art and the Public Sphere*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992)/

Pejić, Bojana, "'Tito' or the Iconization of an Idea," in Dejan Sretenović, Ed., *Novo čitanje ikone* (Beograd: Geopoetika, 1999), pp. 107-155.

Pejić, Bojana, "The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialization of Power in the SFR Yugoslavia", doctoral dissertation (in preparation for publishing).

Rajčević, Balša, *Zatrveno i zatrto - o uništenim srpskim spomenicima* (Novi Sad: Prometej, 2001)

Sinkó, Katalin, "Political Rituals: The Raising and Demolition of Monuments," in György, Peter and Turai, Hedvig, Eds., *Art and Society in the Age of Stalin*, (Budapest: Corvina, 1992 (German edition: Staatskunstwerk ~ Kultur in Stalinismus, Budapest, Corvina, 1992).

Summers, David, "The Real Metaphor: Towards a Redefinition of the 'Conceptual Image'," in Bryson et al., Eds., *Visual Theory*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

memorijalna plastika u srbiji od balkanskih ratova do danas

Mirjana Peitler-Selakov

Istorijski i politički gledano, svaka novo uspostavljena vlast definiše i sebi svojstven odnos prema prošlosti, rekonstruišući istoriju i nedavne događaje onako kako to odgovara njenim interesima i ideologiji koju ona propagira, a što uključuje i „preuređenje“ javnih prostora. U procesu kreiranja identiteta jugoslovenske zajednice, bilo Kraljevine SHS ili nove socijalističke zajednice, jednu od ključnih uloga bez sumnje su nosili različiti vidovi memorijalizacije Balkanskih, Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata i glorifikacije stradanja vojnika i civilnih žrtava. No pored analize samih spomenika i memorijala, bitna je i njihova percepcija u tadašnjem društvu, odnosno potenciranje ostvarivanja njihove „veze“ sa stanovništvom. Ona se uglavnom ostvarivala putem manifestacija održanih oko tih objekata – svojevrsnih mesta sećanja, kojima su konstruisani kolektivno pamćenje i formirana državna istorija. Memorijali i spomen-parkovi organizovani kao mesta komemoracije ratnih tragedija, ali i herojstva i mučeništva učesnika rata, imali su funkciju upravo da rekonstruišu sećanja, ali i da ih uklupe u sadašnjost. Sećanja predstavljaju uvek procese rekonstrukcije, te su zato i neodvojiva od društvenog konteksta u kome se obnavljaju. Sećamo se u zavisnosti od konteksta u kome se nalazimo.

Sećanje na pale vojnike

Simbol građanina-vojnika i njegova spremnost žrtvovanja za domovinu nije samo glorifikacija sećanja na rat, već se pojavljuje krajem XIX veka kao snažan element učvršćivanja zajednice te postaje paradigmom nacionalizovanih društava.

Tako i u Srbiji nailazimo na veliki broj spomenika koji sećaju na pale vojnike iz Balkanskih i oba Svetska rata. Naročito je u posleratnom jugoslovenskom društvu od 1945.godine izrada vojničkih spomenika nadilazila sve ostale forme i spomeničke predstave. Simbol palog vojnika izražavao je pobedu i moć oslobodilačke vojske.

Konstituisanje Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije na II zasedanju AVNOJ-a, 1943. u Jajcu, značilo je formiranje jedne nove Jugoslavije, na čelu sa Komunističkom Partijom i novim društvenim uređenjem: socijalizmom.

Uprostoravanje državne ideologije

Proces osvajanja javnog prostora, odnosno upisivanje ideologije u njega stvaranjem novih ideoloških simbola, imao je za cilj učvršćivanje kolektivnog zajedništva i stvaranje slike jedinstvenog društva.

U tom periodu naročito su prisutni objekti u javnim prostorima kojima se čuvaju uspomene na stradale u Drugom svetskom ratu. Negovanje dva javna diskursa - naglašavanje vojnih stradalnika i veličanje civilnih žrtava imao je i adekvatne spomeničke forme u javnim prostorima - vojnik u uniformi ili spomenik žrtvama

fašizma. Ovi objekti su često korišćeni i kao simboli u procesu društvene integracije moderne jugoslovenske države.

Spacijalizacija nove ideologije tekla je paralelno sa uništavanjem simbola koji su funkcionisali u prošlosti. Svi ti spomenici koji su svedočili o istorijskim događajima koje je nova socijalistička zajednica naroda želela da izbriše i zaboravi ili stavi u novi kontekst morali su da nestanu. Kasnije, nakon 1948.godine, u kojoj je došlo do razdvajanja Titove politike od Staljinove, došlo je do definitivnog razlaza jugoslovenskog i sovjetskog komunističkog puta. Tako se, kao kontrapunkt predstavi vojnika Crvene armije, pojavljuje simbol jugoslovenskog partizana, kojim je snažno promovisana ideja partizanske oslobodilačke borbe i njene ukorenjenosti u narodu. Time se ne samo degradira uloga Sovjeta, nego se stvara mit o sopstvenom socijalističkom putu nove Jugoslavije, za koju su se nesebično borili svi njeni narodi.

“Čuvari sećanja” danas

Istoričar Max Bergholz u svojoj inovativnoj analizi “Među rodoljubima, kupusom, svinjama i varvarima: Spomenici i grobovi NOR 1947.-1965. godine” (Bergholz 2007: 61-82) podseća da je čuvar Narodnooslobodilačkog rata tj. sećanja na njega nesumnjivo bio Savez boraca Narodnooslobodilačkog rata (SUBNOR), organizacija partizanskih boraca osnovana 1947. godine, koja je od početka društveno-politička organizacija stvorena da bude “glavni kreator,

agitator i čuvar zvaničnog sećanja na rat jugoslovenskog komunističkog režima” (Bergholz 2007: 63). O tome svedoče između ostalog mnogi javni govori tadašnjeg predsednika Tita, kao npr. onaj koji je držao na osnivačkom kongresu: “Vi niste članovi obične organizacije... Vaš zadatak je da budete svuda u prvim redovima i da svuda gajite naše tradicije, da čuvate velike tekovine Narodnooslobodilačke borbe”(citirano prema Bergholzu 2007: 63).

Kao što ističe Bergholz, borci u Jugoslaviji koristili su različite metode građenja sećanja na rat, kao što su to činili i drugi “aktivisti sećanja” (Bergholz preuzima taj izraz od Jay Wintera) u Evropi tokom decenija posle Drugog svetskog rata. Pored stvaranja muzeja, pisanja hronika, i drugih aktivnosti, njihov najvažniji zadatak bio je podizanje spomenika i uređivanje grobova njihovim palim drugovima i drugim žrtvama fašizma.

Njihova izuzetna aktivnost na polju izgrađivanja sećanja jasno pokazuje revnost boraca i države koji nastoje da njihova sadašnjost bude u skladu sa ovom specifičnom verzijom prošlosti. U svom smerodavnom istraživanju o odnosu između društvenog sećanja i spomeničke kulture Bergholz postavlja značajno pitanje koje se manje ili gotovo nikad nije ni razmatralo, a to je kako su građani Jugoslavije reagovali na ove hiljade spomenika NOR-a? Da li su zaista prihvatili i usvojili “novu tradiciju” koja je slavila pale borce i žrtve fašističkog terora i da li su te “materijalne opomene” podsticale na

izgrađivanje socijalizma? Drugim rečima, da li su obični ljudi, građani SFRJ bili i "potrošaci sećanja" (Bergholz 2007: 65)?

Obično su ceremonije otkrivanja spomenika bile pompezne manifestacije sa stotinama pa i hiljadama učesnika i posetilaca. Kasnije su organizovane ekskurzije preduzeća, škola i raznih udruženja, koje su uključivale i posete spomenikovima i grobljima. Na godišnjice polagani su venc i cveće i organizovane su priredbe. Oficijelni programi očuvanja spomenika su koliko toliko bili sprovedeni, ali se, kako konstatuje Bergholz, već od 1950-ih godina beleži smanjeno interesovanje građana za ta mesta. Neka mesta bila su i zapuštena, okolina spomenika neuređena, a spomenici oronuli. Neki su čak bili i skrnavljeni. Vrlo detaljno istražujući ovaj društveni fenomen, Bergholz zaključuje da su čak dopuštanje da trava i korov okruže grobove; da svinje traže hranu ispred spomenika i drugih problema samo neka od zapažanja koje stanovništvo primećuje i saopštava bilo u dnevnim listovima ili u pismima nadležnim organima. (Bergholz 2007: 61-82).

Bergholz uverljivo obrazlaže da takvo ponašanje govori o neskladu između aktivnosti u kojima su bili angažovani aktivisti SUBNOR-a i sećanja i nivoa prihvatanja tih aktivnosti od nekih delova stanovništva. Ali isto tako da borci i sistem ipak nisu mogli izgradnjom spomenika da formiraju jedinstven i stabilan sistem vrednosti. Kao što je jedan borac, 1960. napisao: „Za-

mišljeno je bilo da spomenik podseća na velike dane najnovije prošlosti i da vaspitava. Može li on to sada, u stanju u kakvom se nalazi?“ (Pobeda: okružni odbor jedinstvenog narodnooslobodilačkog fronta Kruševac, 21. oktobar 1960. godine, citirano prema Bergholzu, 82)

Ovo i slična pitanja funkcije spomenika, mogla bi se postaviti u današnjoj Srbiji, gde se, s jedne strane spomenici Drugom svetskom ratu ruše i skrnave, a bizarne spomen-figure "omiljenih junaka" usred sela i gradova postaju kulturološki simbol ovih prostora. Nova spomenička pomama, koju neki teoretičari umetnosti hrabro nazivaju i "nekom vrstom postmoderne", u Srbiji se pojavila od 2007, kada je podignut spomenik Rokiju Balboi, a kasnije Bob Marliju i Džoniju Depu. Ovde je sigurno reč o nekoj vrsti "antispomenika", koji ukazuju na krizu kolektivnog identiteta države, koja proističe iz nedostatka pozitivnih heroja iz nasilnih konflikata koji su usledili po raspadu Jugoslavije. Te, sem "uvezenog" lika Srđana Aleksića (opis spomenika za Srđana Aleksića podignutog u Pančevu/Srbija 2010), ne postoje ličnosti i heroji toga rata sa kojima bi se običan čovek mogao i hteo identifikovati. Dok likovi holivudskih filmskih heroja i muzičara imaju terapeutsko dejstvo, jer nose u sebi snagu dečjih snova o borcu za pravednu stvar i bolji svet.

Danas, nakon ratova vođenih na tlu bivše Jugoslavije, nakon formiranja novih država, odnos prema bliskoj prošlosti i skorašnjoj isto-

riji više je nego problematičan. Tako da mnogi spomenici u javnim prostorima bivaju preseljeni, uništeni, preimenovani ili izbrisani. Politički poredak zasniva se na interesima, ali i na emocijama, na koje se veoma uspešno može delovati na nivou simbola. Tako danas svaka politička stranka formira svoju politiku istorije. Ali ona nije svemoguća, baš kao što i njeni simboli to nisu.

Ono čega se društva sećaju, one uspomene koje treba čuvati, ne može odrediti isključivo politika, već se ta sećanja nalaze duboko u snazi ličnih priča. Čuvanje sećanja zato nikad nije monopol vlasti, nego i proces usmenih predanja unutar porodice, prijatelja i zajednice, čiju snagu svaka politika istorije treba uzeti u obzir. Baš kako to i nove umetničke prakse u spomeničkom diskursu čine.

Literatura:

Assmann, Aleida: Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, C.H.Beck, München, 1999.

Bergholz, Max: Among patriots, cabbage, pigs and barbarians: Monuments and graves of the national liberation war 1947 – 1965, Yearbook for social history 1-3, 2007, str. 61-82.
Časopis: Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju, Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, Beograd, 1-3, 2007.

Fulgosi, A. et al: Mesta stradanja žrtava fašističkog terora na području grada Beograda, Elaborat grupe autora, Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, Beograd, 2008.

Grupa autora, Kultura sjećanja: 1945, Disput, Zagreb, 2009.

Halbwachs, Maurice : Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire, Paris, 1952.

Nora, Pierre: Between Memory and History, trans. Marc Roudebush, Representations 26, Paris, 1989.

Pejić, Bojana: „Postkommunistische Körperpolitik. Die Politik der Repräsentation im öffentlichen Raum,“ in: Die Kunst des Öffentlichen (Hrg. Marius Babias und Achim Könneke). Amsterdam, Dresden: Verlag der Kunst 1998., str. 38-54.

Popović, Biljana et al: Susret sa jakim emocijama, Vodič za primenu programa Istraživanje humanitarnog prava u postkonfliktnom kontekstu, MKCK, Beograd, 2006.

Sturm, Hermann: Denkmal & Nachbild. Zur Kultur des Erinnerns, Klartext Essen, 2009.

memorial art in serbia from the balkan wars until today

Mirjana Peitler-Selakov

From a historical and political perspective, every newly appointed authority defines its own relation towards the past; it is reconstructing thus the history and the past events in a way that suits its interests and its ideology, which includes also the “reconstruction” of public space. In the process of creating the identity of a Yugoslav community, be it the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes or the new socialist community, one of the key efforts was, without doubt, the different forms of commemorating the Balkan wars, the First and Second World War and the glorification of the fallen soldiers and civilian victims.

Besides the analyses of the monuments and memorials, their perception in the society of the time is also significant i.e. the highlighting of their ‘connection’ to the population. This was mostly realised through events held around these objects – unique places of memory which were constructing collective memory and creating the state history. Memorials and memorial parks are organised as places for the commemoration of both war tragedies and the heroism of the combatants. Their purpose was to reconstruct memories and also to embed them into the present. Memories always represent processes of reconstruction. Therefore they are inseparable from the social context in which they take place. We always remember depending on the context we live in.

Commemoration of Fallen Soldiers

The symbol of the citizen-soldier and his readiness to sacrifice himself for the homeland is

not only the glorification of the memory of war but it appears at the end of the 19th century as a strengthening element of the community and becomes thus a paradigm of nationalised societies.

In Serbia, a large number of monuments exist which are made in the memory of fallen soldiers from the Balkan wars and from both world wars. Especially in the post-war Yugoslav society after 1945, the creation of monuments for soldiers was the most frequent monument form. The symbol of the fallen soldier expressed victory and the power of the liberation army.

The foundation of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia in 1943 at the second meeting of AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council of the People’s Liberation of Yugoslavia) in Jajce meant the foundation of a new Yugoslavia led by the Communist Party and a new social order – socialism.

Embedding State Ideology

The process of conquering public space, i.e. embedding ideology in it by creating new ideological symbols, aimed at strengthening the collective community and to create the image of a unique society.

At that time, especially objects which preserved the memories of victims of the Second World War were present in public spaces. The nurture of two public discourses – focusing on military victims and glorifying civilian victims – was also adequately represented by monument forms in public spaces: the soldier in uniform or monuments for the victims of fascism. These objects have frequently been used as symbols in the process of the social

integration of the modern Yugoslav state. The spatialization of the new ideology proceeded parallel to the destruction of symbols which had functioned in the past. All those monuments had to vanish which testified to historical events that the new socialist community wanted either to erase and forget or to put in a new context. However, the division between Tito’s and Stalin’s politics in 1948 also meant the definitive separation of the Yugoslav and Soviet communist path. As the counterpart to the image of the Red Army soldier, the symbol of the Yugoslav partisan appeared which strongly promoted the idea of the partisan liberation battle and its rootedness in the nation. This not only degraded the role of the Soviets to a subordinate position but it also created a myth about the socialist path of the new Yugoslavia for which all its peoples have fought selflessly.

“Guardians of Memory” Today

The historian Max Bergholz reminds us in his innovative analysis “Among patriots, cabbage, pigs and barbarians: Monuments and graves of the national liberation war 1947-1965” (Bergholz 2007: 61-82) that the guardian of the memory of the national liberation war has without a doubt been the Association of Fighters of the National Liberation War (SUBNOR), the organisation of Partisan veterans that was founded in 1947. It was from the beginning a social-political organisation created to be the main “creator, agitator and keeper of the official memory politics of the Yugoslav Communist regime regarding the war” (Bergholz 2007: 63). This is documented in a vast number of public speeches held by the

then President Tito, such as his speech at the founding congress of the party: “You are not members of an ordinary organisation... Your task is to be in the front lines everywhere and to continue nurturing our tradition everywhere, to preserve the great accomplishments of the National Liberation War” (cited in Bergholz 2007: 63).

According to Bergholz, the veterans in Yugoslavia used different methods of creating memories of the war in the decades after the Second World War, just like other ‘memory activists’ in Europe, to use the phrase coined by historian Jay Winter.. Besides creating museums, writing chronicles, and other activities, their most significant task was in building monuments and arranging the graves of their fallen comrades and other victims of fascism. Their extraordinary activity in the field of (re-) creating memories clearly shows the diligence of both the fighters and the state who were striving for their present to be in harmony with this specific version of the past.

In his path breaking research on the relationship between social memory and monument building, Bergholz draws attention to a key question that has hardly been discussed: how did the citizens of Yugoslavia react to the thousands of monuments commemorating the national liberation war? Did they really accept and adopt ‘the new tradition’ which celebrated the fallen soldiers and victims of the fascist terror, and did these ‘material reminders’ encourage the building of socialism? In other words, were the ordinary people, the citizens of SFRJ, also the ‘consumers of these memories’ (Bergholz 2007: 65)?

The inauguration ceremonies for new monuments were usually pompous events with hundreds, even thousands of participants and visitors. Later there were visits of companies, schools and different associations that usually included always visits to memorial parks and graveyards. Wreaths and flowers were laid down on anniversaries. The official programs of the preservation of monuments were kept intact more or less, but Bergholz shows that the interest of the citizens for those places already began to decline by the 1950s. Some places were neglected, the surroundings of the monuments were untidy, and the monuments began to slowly dilapidate. Some of them were even desecrated. In his in-depth analysis on this social phenomenon, Bergholz shows that the population started noticing grass and weeds on graves, pigs looking for food around monuments, as well as other problems, and they started writing letters about that to newspapers and the authorities. (Bergholz 2007: 61-82)

Bergholz convincingly argues that such behaviour speaks to a discrepancy between the activities by SUBNOR and the memories and the level of acceptance of those activities by some parts of the population. It also shows that the activists and the system were not able to use the construction of monuments for creating a unique and stable system of values. As one of the activists wrote in 1960: "The monument was supposed to commemorate the great days of the recent past and to educate. Can it do that now, in the condition that it is in?" (Pobeda: okružni odbor jedinstvenog narodnooslobodilačkog fronta Kruševac, October 21, 1960, as cited in Bergholz, 82)

This and other similar questions about the purpose of the monuments could also be asked in Serbia today, where on the one side monuments of the Second World War are being destroyed and deteriorate, and on the other side bizarre memorial figures of 'favourite heroes' in the centre of villages and cities are becoming the cultural symbols of this region. A new monument hysteria, which some art historians are brave enough to call a "kind of postmodernism", has appeared in Serbia since 2007 when a monument was raised for Rocky Balboa and later for Bob Marley and Johnny Depp. Here we are most certainly talking about a sort of 'anti-monuments'. They point to a crisis of the collective state identity which also derives from a lack of positive heroes stemming from the violent conflicts that followed the break-up of Yugoslavia. Apart from the "imported" character of Srđan Aleksić (description of the monument for Srđan Aleksić built in Pančevo/Serbia 2010), there are no personalities or heroes of that war which an ordinary person could and want to identify with. At the same time, the characters of Hollywood film heroes and musicians have a therapeutic effect. They carry within them the power of childhood dreams of a fighter for a good cause and a better world.

Today, after the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia and after the foundation of new countries, the relationship towards the most recent history is more than problematic. Many monuments in public spaces are being moved, destroyed, renamed or erased. The political order is based on interests and emotions both of which can be very successfully influenced

on a symbolic level. Every political party is thus forming its own policy of history. But it is not almighty and neither are its symbols. What societies remember, those memories that are worth keeping, cannot be decided on exclusively by politics because those memories are buried deep inside the power of personal stories. Keeping memories is therefore beyond the control of any authorities. It is the process of conveying oral legends of families, friends and the community, whose power has to be taken into consideration by every history politics. Just like new art practices in the monument discourse do.

Literature:

Assmann, Aleida: Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, C.H.Beck, München, 1999.

Bergholz, Max: Among patriots, cabbage, pigs and barbarians: Monuments and graves of the national liberation war 1947 – 1965, Yearbook for social history 1-3, 2007, pg. 61-82.

Časopis: Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju, Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, Beograd, 1-3, 2007.

Fulgosi, A. et al: Mesta stradanja žrtava fašističkog terora na području grada Beograda, Elaborat grupe autora, Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, Beograd, 2008.

Grupa autora, Kultura sjećanja: 1945, Disput, Zagreb, 2009.
Halbwachs, Maurice : Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire, Paris, 1952.

Nora, Pierre: Between Memory and History, trans. Marc Roudebush, Representations 26, Paris, 1989.

Pejić, Bojana: „Postkommunistische Körperpolitik. Die Politik der Repräsentation im öffentlichen Raum,“ in: Die Kunst des Öffentlichen (Hrg. Marius Babias und Achim Köneke). Amsterdam, Dresden: Verlag der Kunst 1998., pg. 38-54.

Popović, Biljana et al: Susret sa jakim emocijama, Vodič za primenu programa Istraživanje humanitarnog prava u postkonfliktnom kontekstu, MKCK, Beograd, 2006.

Sturm, Hermann: Denkmal & Nachbild. Zur Kultur des Erinnerns, Klartext Essen, 2009.

simboličko značenje spomenika u bosni i hercegovini

Dr Senadin Musabegović

Po završetku Drugog svjetskog rata i izvojevanje pobjede NOB-a nad fašizmom, legitimiran je mit o revolucionarnoj pravdi i istinskoj volji Komunističke partije Jugoslavije da odredi tok istorije. Isto tako, pobjeda ukazuje na mogućnost da mali narodi, kao što su južnoslovenski, mogu odlučiti o sebi samima, mogu stvoriti državu i pobijediti znatno jačeg neprijatelja. Time je pobjeda pomirila dva mita: mit o ustaniku i mit o revolucionaru. Narodnooslobodilački rat značio je pobjedu nad okupatorom, dakle, kroz pobjedu se dokazivala mogućnost da su južnoslovenski narodi u stanju da konstituišu državu preko principa 'bratstva i jedinstva'. Što znači da je rat ujedno značio i 'rad' na stvaranju novog društva i nove klasne svijesti. Upravo je stoga, socrealistička umjetnost na tlu bivše Jugoslavije nastojala, da kroz 'sakralna mjesta' kao što su spomenici, konstruiše mit za stvaranje ideje o revoluciji, ideje o stvaranju novog čovjeka... Kroz spomenike se nastojalo ovladati prošlošću kako bi se kontrolisala budućnost. Isto tako, spomenici iako veoma često komemorišu pale borce, izražavaju duh optimizma i kretanje kolektivne volje ka utopijskom besklasnom društvu. Duh poginulog treba da inspiriše one koji su preživjeli rat i nove poslijeratne generacije da u miru slijede tekovine revolucije.

Uobičajena je bila praksa da se podižu spomenici narodnim herojima - kao što je to spomenik dječaku-borcu Bošku Buhi, koji je

predstavljen kako stoji nad otvorenom knjigom, dok u jednoj ruci drži pušku, a u drugoj, bombu. Totalitarni režimi često inisistiraju na mobilnosti mladih, jer oni predstavljaju novu perspektivu. Stoga se oficijelna ideologija posebno koncentrirala na junačku smrt maloljetnika, kako bi se konstituisao mit o novoj generaciji, koja kroz smrt i stradanja gradi novu sutrašnjicu. Bomba u ruci i puška na ramenu otjelotvoruju volju mladog ratnika što stvara novu budućnost u kojoj radikalno obračunavanje sa neprijateljem označava realizaciju utopijske istine i univerzalne pravde za sve južnoslovenske narode. Otvorena knjiga nad kojom on stoji simboliše svijest kolektivne solidarnosti i novu budućnost kroz rad, rat i znanje. Spomenik je postavljen na planini Jabuka kod Prijepolja u zapadnoj Srbiji, mjestu na kojem je i poginuo. Duh mjesta i obožavanje palog borca predstavlja jedan rasprostranjeni ritual u balkanskim narodima: kult pretka. Kult pretka označava bezvremenu statičnu prošlost prema kojoj živi isplaćuju dug mrtvima, dok poginuli borac novu budućnost i novu utopijsku realnost koju preživjeli treba da izgrađuju.

Nedaleko od ovog spomeničkog kompleksa postavljen je spomenik koji komemoriše borce poginule za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata. 1990-ih srpski nacionalisti, u cilju dekonstrukcije i devalvacije komunističkog mita borca, neposredno pored partizanskih spomenika, postavili su spomenike srpskim vojnicima koji su bili naklonjeni fašističkim snagama i koji su stradali od partizana. Dakle, na tom mjestu

desio se groteskni susret balkanskih ideologija dvadesetog vijeka, koje su nastojale da svoj legitimitet steknu kroz krv i žrtvu. Iako su ideologije bile međusobno nekompatibilne, jedna crta im je bila zajednička: simboličko predstavljanje, kroz spomenike, viječitog duha 'naših poginulih borca', što regeneriše političku istinu i pravdu. A, osim što se na tom mjestu susreću razne ideologije, tu se dodiruju granični prelazi novonastalih država poslije raspada SFRJ: Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine i Crne Gore. Dakle, političko tijelo i 'bratstvo i jedinstvo' među narodima i južnoslavenskom državnim zajednicom, sve ono za šta se Boško Buha borio i poginuo, raspalo se. Iako njegova skulptura na svu sreću nije srušena, njen simbolički smisao je izlupio: desilo se političko ubistvo!

U kontekstu Bosne i Hercegovine simbolička prezentacija NOB-a posjedovala je veliki značaj, stoga što su se glavne bitke i ofanzive vodile na njenoj teritoriji; također 1943. godine u gradu Jajcu na drugom zasjedanju AVNOJ-a formirana je nova Jugoslavija. Sam multietnički život u Bosni i Hercegovini kao da je odražavao 'Jugoslaviju u malom'; tako se čak i geografski centar Jugoslavije, obilježen kamenom skulpturom, nalazio nadomak Sarajeva.

Povratak u prošlost:

Uništavanje i reinterpretacija spomenika

Krajem osamdesetih i devedesetih godina, nadolazeće etnonacionalne fantazije fokusirale su se na 'rušenje komunizma'. Razlog zbog čega su ljudi masovno prihvatili ove etnona-

cionalne fantazije prvenstveno je uvjetovan političkom prazninom, vakumom koji je nastao padom komunizma. U tom periodu često su se rušili spomenici što su otjelotvoravali komunističku tradiciju. Samo rušenje posjedovalo je dvosmisleno značenje: željela se vlastita prošlost komunizma strušiti da bi se napravio prostor za nove identitete i, u isto vreme značilo je povratak na čistu 'iskonsku tradiciju'. Međutim, iako se osuđivao komunizam kao utopijska konstrukcija, nacionalisti su se okrenuli još većoj iluziji: utopiji koja sada više nije utkana u budućnosti, nego u prošlosti. Time je mit o stvaranju utopijske figure tokom komunizma zamenjen etno-nacionalističkim mitom povratka u prošlost.

Upravo zbog simboličkog značaja Bosne i Hercegovine (predstavljene kao 'Jugoslavije u malom'), konsekvence usled raspada socijalnog sistema, te jugoslovenske ideje 'bratstva i jedinstva' tamo su bile tragičnije. Jedan od razloga zašto je rat između „bratskih“ naroda bio toliko krvav je i u tome što se zajednica počela iznutra raspadati i što ih je ideologija, u koju su vjerovali - socijalizam sa ljudskim licem, napustila. Te su se iz tog raspada inventirale etnonacionalne fantazije i identiteti koji su se konstituisali kroz isključivanje drugih i proglašavanjem „bratskih“ naroda neprijateljskim, zločinačkim. Bliski narodi počeli su se odricati vlastite prošlosti, pronalazeći neprijatelja u samome sebi, što će reći: među bratskim narodima „bratstvo i jedinstvo“ pretvorilo se u bratoubistvo.

U nerazmrsivoj mreži tranzicijskih procesa devedesetih godina, spomenici i građani u Bosni i Hercegovini kao da su dijelili zajedničku sudbinu: spomenici su se rušili, a isto tako, građani su ubijani i zatvarani u konclogore. Rušenje spomenika upravo je označavalo rušenje stare političke zajednice, dok je nicanje novih služilo kao stvaranje nove političke imaginacije i novog identiteta. Prelazak iz socijalizma u etnonacionalizam reflektiran je u simboličkoj moći spomenika, i u njima je proizvođen. U ratnom vihoru u Bosni i Hercegovini devedesetih godina, u ime ostvarivanja etnonacionalističkih politika, rušeni su ne samo komunistički spomenici, već i kulturni spomenici naroda što je sada predstavljalo neprijateljsko tijelo u „našem narodu“, kao što su: skulptura Ive Andrića u Višegradu, Stari most i Saborna crkva u Mostaru, Aladža džamija u Foči, Ferhadija u Banjaluci, Crkva Ive Krstitelja pored Jajca... Počinioci tih djela su bježali od samih sebe, od vlastite prošlosti, tražeći izlaz u mitskoj prošlosti svetih kraljeva ili predaka koji bi trebali da čuvaju i obnavljaju vlastito nacionalno tkivo.

Iako je sudbina raspada Jugoslavije sa svim tragičnim konsekvencama, tokom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini do kraja ogoļjena, možda se najočitljivije utkala u spomenicima ove zemlje, nisu svi spomenici izrazi 'konstitucije političkog tijela' u vreme rata. Naprotiv, oni također simbolišu mnogostruku tradiciju raznolikih kultura, koje se nisu formirale samo u otporu jedna prema drugoj, već kroz suptilno preplitanje, kakva je bila vijekovima forma

života u Bosni i Hercegovini. 'Stari most' u Mostaru, koji je strušen tokom borbi 1993, nije predstavljao identitet jednog naroda, već je on otvarao mjesto za susret u kojem su se ukrštali mnogostruki identiteti raznih naroda.

Sećanje u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini

Zapravo, postavlja se pitanje: kako kroz spomenike izraziti traumu kroz koju su prošle žrtve tokom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini? Također, na koji način skulptura može da komemoriše nevine, koji su nastradali u prošlosti, a da se svijest u zločinima ne cementira kao jedina paradigma koja treba da se ureže u kolektivno sjećanje? Danas, ne postoji velika ideologija koja bi konstituisala smisao žrtava kao deo vizije budućeg progressa i napretka. Stoga se i ne prave monumentalna djela koja bi formirala novu političku svijest. Ali, postoji potreba ljudi – onih koji su preživjeli, i koji u sebi osjećaju grižnju savijesti, kojima pripada i autor ovih redova – da iskažu bliskost sa onima koji su ih napustili. Rijedak primjer je spomen mezarje u Potočarima, pored Srebrenice, upravo kroz jednostvnost glatkog kamena i imena stradalih na njemu napisanih, odražava, kakav takav odnos živih spram mrtvih. U samom spomeniku nije toliko istaknut lament nad genocidom u Srebrenici, već se iskazuje zaumna bol, što u neiskazivosti prevazilazi razumsko poimanje i razumjevanje. Na taj način, spomenik prevazilazi narcisoidnu svijest o kolektivnoj žrtvi, što se nažalost veoma često dešava u ritualiziranom i populističkom diskursu bosanskohercegovačke političke i vjerske elite.

Trenutna socio-politička klima obilježena je Daytonskim mirovnim ugovorom koji je samo zaustavio rat, zamrznuo ga, stoga je on sjecište kontradiktornih procesa koji se odražavaju u novo podignutim spomenicima. S jedne strane postoje nacionalne aspiracije o teritorijalnoj podjeli, te da se određene teritorije priključe susjednim državama: Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Tako na jugozapadu Bosne u gradu Tomislavograd, napravljen je spomenik srednjovjekovnom hrvatskom kralju Tomislavu, što otjelotvoruje mitsku prošlost čiji je cilj legitimisanje narodnog suvereniteta na određenoj teritoriji, kao i državnoj samostalnosti. Naime, srednjovjekovni kralj ne predstavlja elitizam koji se uzdiže nad radničkom klasom, niti otjelotvoruje aristokratsko-božansku plemenitost, nego osvjetljava iskon nacionalne volje, snagu nacionalnog jedinstva i sloge. S druge strane, sveopšta komercijalizacija društva otupljuje smisao javnog dobra, te se ponekad jeftini simboli, i površni natpisi arbitrarno postavljaju. Primjer je skulptura 'multietnički čovjek', donacija Italije, postavljena u sarajevskom parku Svjetlost, koja u svojoj bezličnosti i banalnosti kao da negira samu ideju multietničnosti.

Danas, upravo porad stvaranja nove političke zajednice, ili novog jedinstva Bosne i Hercegovine, nužno je sagledati sve linije razdvajanja i simboličku moć koja nas je dijelila, a koja je izražena u skulpturama i spomenicima. Tada bi se najzad mogao izraziti katarzični krik 'oslobađanja od krvave prošlosti' i, time, ujedno otjelotvorio smisao za novo multietnično jedinstvo.

symbolic significance of monuments in bosnia and herzegovina

Dr Senadin Musabegović

Following the Second World War and the victorious National Liberation War over fascism, the myth of both revolutionary justice and the true will of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to determine the course of history have been legitimized. The victory also underlined the prospects of small nations, such as South Slavs, to decide their own future, to create a state and to be triumphant over a much stronger enemy. The victory, thus, reconciled two myths: the myth of uprising and the myth of revolution. The National Liberation War signified a conquest over invaders, and therefore the victory substantiated the ability of South Slavs to constitute a state rooted in principles of „brotherhood and unity“. The war also signified the ‘effort’ to create a new society and a new class consciousness. For that very reason, socialist realist art in former Yugoslavia, through ‘sacral places’ such as monuments, sought to create the myth that would underline the idea of revolution, the idea of creating a new man... The monuments were used in an effort to master the past in order to control the future. Even though monuments mostly commemorated fallen soldiers, they were also used to articulate a spirit of optimism and collective will directed towards a utopian classless society. The spirit of the deceased ought to inspire both those who have survived the war and new post-war generations to further pursue revolutionary accomplishments in peace.

The common practice was to build monuments dedicated to national heroes –such as a monument to the boy-fighter Boško Buha who was portrayed standing over an open book, holding a gun in one hand, and a bomb in the other. Totalitarian regimes often insist on youth mobilisation as it stands for a new perspective. The official ideology, thus, particularly focused on the heroic death of a minor in order to establish the myth of a new generation that through death and suffering is building a new tomorrow. The bomb in his hand and the rifle on his shoulder embody the young fighter’s will to create a new future in which radical fighting against the enemy symbolises the realisation of a utopian truth and universal justice for all South Slavic people. The open book over which he stands symbolises awareness of collective solidarity and a new future built through labour, combat and knowledge. The monument was set up at the Jabuka Mountain close to Prijepolje in western Serbia, the place where he was killed. The spirit of the place and the worship of fallen fighters represent one of the most distinct rituals among Balkan nations: the cult of the ancestor. It denotes a static timeless past for which the living must repay the dead, whereas the fallen fighter symbolises a new future and a new utopian reality which the survivors need to build.

Close to the monument of Boško Buha stands another one commemorating soldiers who fell during the First World War I. In the 1990s,

Serbian nationalists, with the intention of deconstructing and devaluating the communist myth of the fighter, built right next to it a monument dedicated to Serbian soldiers who were sympathetic to fascist forces and killed by Partisans. This highlights a grotesque union of Balkan ideologies of the 20th century that aimed to attain legitimacy through blood and sacrifice. Despite seeming grossly incompatible, they held one common trait: a symbolic representation of the eternal spirit of ‘our fallen fighters’ through monuments which regenerate ‘political truth and justice’. Here, not only different ideologies but also borders of newly created states succeeding Yugoslavia meet: Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. Consequently, the political body and the ‘brotherhood and unity’ between the people and the South Slavic state community, all of which Boško Buha had fought and died for, has fallen apart. Even though his sculpture has fortunately not been torn down, it has been stripped of its symbolic meaning: a political assassination took place!

In the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the symbolic presentation of the National Liberation War had a great significance because its main battles and offensives were fought on the country’s territory; also, in 1943, the new Yugoslavia was established in the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of People’s Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in the northern Bosnian town of Jajce. The multiethnic life in Bosnia and Herzegovina alone seemed to

reflect a ‘miniaturised Yugoslavia’: even the geographic centre of Yugoslavia, marked by a stone sculpture, was located near Sarajevo.

Return to the past: Destruction and Reinterpretation of Monuments

In the late 1980s and 1990s, rising ethno-nationalistic fantasies have focused on ‘undermining communism’. The reason why people massively adopted these ethno-nationalistic fantasies was primarily the political emptiness, a vacuum created by the fall of communism. In this period, monuments that embodied communist tradition were often demolished. This destruction in itself had a double meaning: it sought to erase the communist past in order to make room for new identities and, at the same time, it marked the return to a pure ‘ancient tradition’. However, while condemning communism as a utopian construction, nationalists turned towards an even greater illusion: a utopia that is no longer bound to the future but to the past. Thus the myth of creating a utopian future during communism has been replaced with the ethno-nationalistic myth of returning to the past.

Precisely because of the symbolic significance of Bosnia and Herzegovina (as representation of a ‘miniature Yugoslavia’), the consequences following the collapse of the social system and the Yugoslav idea of ‘brotherhood and unity’ were more tragic there. One of the reasons why the war between the ‘fraternal’ nations was so blood-soaked is that the community

began to fall apart internally, and the ideology which people believed in – socialism with a human face – was abandoned. This inner decay gave rise to ethno-nationalistic fantasies and identities that were based on exclusion and the denunciation of once ‘fraternal’ nations as hostile, criminal ones. Neighbouring nations started to disown their own past and began finding an enemy within themselves. Thus ‘brotherhood and unity’ between fraternal national turned into fratricide: the murder of the brother.

In this inextricable web of transition processes during the 1990s, monuments and citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina seemed to share a common fate: monuments were demolished and, at the same time, citizens were killed and imprisoned in concentration camps. The demolition of monuments signified the collapse of the old political community while the emergence of new monuments pointed to the creation of a new political imagination and a new identity. Thus the transition from socialism to ethno-nationalism was reflected in the symbolic power of monuments and it was also reproduced in them. In the winds of war that swept over Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, not only were communist monuments destroyed in the name of ethno-national policies, but also any cultural heritage that now represented an enemy body in ‘our nation’ was removed: such as the Ivo Andrić sculpture in Višegrad, the Old Bridge and Orthodox cathedral in Mostar, Aladza Mosque in

Foca, Ferhadija in Banjaluka, John the Baptist Church near Jajce... The perpetrators of these acts were running away from themselves, from their own past, seeking refuge in a mythical past of holy kings and ancestors, who they believed would protect and renew their own ‘national fabric’.

Even though the fate of Yugoslavia’s disintegration with all its tragic consequences, became fully visible during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and was perhaps most notably woven into monuments in the country, not all of the monuments were expressions to constitute ‘political authority’ in times of war. On the contrary, they also symbolise a manifold tradition of diverse cultures that did not form in opposition to each other, but through subtle intertwining and constant interaction which had characterised the way of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina for centuries. The famous ‘Old Bridge’ in Mostar, which was destroyed during fighting in 1993, did not simply represent the identity of one nation, but it rather opened a place for everyday encounters of manifold, intertwining identities from diverse nations.

Remembrance in Bosnia and Herzegovina today

Ultimately, the question arises as to how trauma experienced by the victims during the wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be expressed through monuments? In which way can a sculpture commemorate the innocents that perished in the past without fostering the

impression that crimes are the only paradigms to be embedded within the collective memory? Today, no great ideology exists that could give meaning to the victims as part of a vision of future progress and improvement. Hence monuments that could form a new political consciousness are not built anymore. However, a need of the people - of those who survived and feel remorse (among them the author of these lines) – still exists to express closeness to those who have perished. A rare example is the memorial cemetery in Potočari, close to Srebrenica. Through the simplicity of its smooth stone and the names of the deceased written onto it, reflects some sort of relation of the living towards the dead. It does not emphasize the lament over the Srebrenica genocide but rather expresses an overwhelming pain that in its ineffability exceeds rational imagination and understanding. In this way, the monument eludes any narcissistic awareness of collective victimisation, the kind of which, unfortunately, is all too often part of the ritualized and populist discourse of the political and religious elite in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The current socio-political climate is marked by the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995 that ended – or better: froze – the war and represents an intersection of contradictory processes that are reflected by newly built monuments. On the one hand, national aspirations exist regarding the separation of territories and their annexation to neighbouring countries,

namely Croatia and Serbia. Thus, in the south-western Bosnian town of Tomislavgrad, stands a monument showing the medieval Croatian King Tomislav. The monument embodies a mythical past aimed at legitimising national sovereignty over a certain territory as well as state autonomy. Therefore the medieval king represents neither elitism that rises above the working class, nor does he embody any aristocratic or divine nobility. Instead he illuminates the origin of exclusive national will, the power of national unity and harmony. On the other hand, the general commercialization of society stultifies the meaning of public good, leading to the arbitrary placement of cheap symbols and superficial memorial inscriptions. An example is the sculpture ‘Multi-ethnic Man’, a donation from Italy that was placed in the Svjetlost Park in central Sarajevo. In its impersonality and banality, the sculpture seems to deny the very idea of multi-ethnicity.

Today, in order to create a new political community, or a new unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to consider all lines of separation and the symbolical power that has divided us and which is expressed by sculptures and monuments. Then, finally, we may be able to let out the cathartic cry of ‘liberation from the bloody past’ and thereby at the same time embody the sense for new multi-ethnic unity.

osporavana istorija i monumentalna prošlost: hrvatska kultura sećanja

Dr Vjeran Pavlaković

Javni spomenici su možda najvidljiviji primer kulture sećanja jedne zemlje, i stoga su često u težištu kontraverzi tokom razdoblja političke tranzicije. Socijalistička Jugoslavija podigla je na hiljade spomenika, statua i memorijalnih ploča da bi slavila uspomenu na pobjedu partizana u II Svetskom ratu, a naročito da bi dala legitimitet posleratnom režimu. Uz druge tipove sećanja koja nisu nužno fizička (državni praznici, nacionalni simboli, institucije itd.) spomenici igraju važnu ulogu u slavljenju pobjede jedne nacije i komemoraciji poginulih. Upravo zbog toga što su to fizički objekti, bilo da je kamena ploča posvećena istorijskom događaju ili velikom slavlolu velikoj pobjedi, spomenici predstavljaju i zvanično režimsko tumačenje prošlosti kao i izazov za umešnost nove vlasti da prevaziđe problematično istorijsko nasleđe. Tako da podizanje, uništavanje, restauracija ili cenzurisanje državnih spomenika omogućava stručnjacima da analiziraju kako se političke elite trude da prenesu svoj ideološki svetonazor i mehanizme koje koriste u oblikovanju prošlosti za savremeni politički legitimitet. Raspad komunizma i Jugoslavije kao države značio je da je topografija partizanskih spomenika izgubila svoju prvobitnu funkciju. Neki spomenici dobili su novo značenje, drugi su uništeni ili oštećeni a u dosta slučajeva podignuti si novi spomenici da odraze nezavisne države koje su bile deo

nekadašnje Jugoslavije. Moderna Hrvatska, koja je isplivala iz traumatičnog dvadesetog veka koga su obeležili usponi i padovi mnogobrojnih carstva, država i ideologija, pruža jasnu studiju slučaja kako je njeno tumačenje istorije definisano (i redefinisano) kroz državne spomenike, posebno one koji se odnose na II Svetski rat.

Spomenici, kao i ostali memorijalna mesta, pokazuju ne samo istorijske događaje kojih političke elite žele da se sećaju, nego i one događaje koji, kroz isključivanje ili cenzuru, treba da se zaborave. Tranzicione vlade moraju često da se suoče sa monumentalnim zaveštanjem svojih prethodnika, veoma težak zadatak za zemlje koje su izašle iz diktature ili drugih represivnih političkih sistema. Štaviše, ove vlade se suočavaju sa pitanjem da li će ili ne memorijalna mesta služiti kao sredstvo za pomirenje ili za provokiranje podele koje stalno podgreva nerešene konflikte.

Hrvatsko kulturalno sećanje tokom socijalističkog razdoblja sastojalo se od spomenika koji ne samo da su naglašavali revolucionarni aspekt partizanskog pokreta, već i jednakost Srba i Hrvata u borbi protiv fašističkog okupatora i domaćih izdajnika. Tokom II Svetskog rata ustaški kolaboracionistički režim započeo je genocidni pohod protiv Srba, Jevreja i Roma i progonio Hrvate koji su mu se suprotstavili. Ustaše su uspostavile Nezavisnu Državu

Hrvatsku (NDH), koja je bila nezavisna samo po imenu, jer su je podelili i okupirali i Nemci i Italijani, a samo su je Sile osovine priznavale. Oni koji su stradali u borbi na „pogrešnoj strani“ ili one koje su likvidirali u posleratnim komunističkim masakrima, izbrisani su iz kulture sećanja u novoj jugoslovenskoj državi. Tu su uključeni i saradnici u drugim delovima Jugoslavije, kao srsпки i crnogorski četnici i slovenačke bele garde. Problem u Hrvatskoj, kao i u drugim bivšim komunističkim zemljama kao što su Litvanija, Letonija, Estonija i Slovačka, bio je da su u '90-tim saradnici dobili nove uloge kao patriote i antikomunisti, dok je njihova uloga u Holokaustu i drugim svirepostima odbačena kao komunistička izmišljotina.

Spomenici u Hrvatskoj, stoga, imaju i ideološku i etničku komponentu koja varira od regije do regije, dok mnogim drugim porodicama i žrtvama komunističke represije nije dozvoljeno da se javno seća svojih poginulih. '50-tih i '60-tih godina, memorijali su često herojski odlikavali partizanske borbe ili patnju žrtava fašističkog terora. Mnogi Partizani prikazani su u bitkama ili kako nose oružje, dok je drugi uobičajeni motiv prikazivanja Partizana kako nose ranjene drugove. Žene su uglavnom prikazane kao majke koje pate ili kao civilne žrtve, mada su ponekad mogle biti prikazane i kako nose oružje u rukama, kao u centralnom spomeniku u Sisku. Iako je komunistička partija konačno regulisala sadržaj spomenika,

lokalne i regionalne inicijative i stilovi značili su da sećanje na rat nije samo proces odzgo na dole već je dogovoren sa različitim interesnim grupama. U Istri, spomenici prikazuju i hrvatski i italijanski natpis i naglašavaju činjenicu da je ova regija „vraćena“ Matici Hrvatskoj nakon vladavine italijanskih fašista s kraja I Svetskog rata. U Dalmaciji, simbolički otpor otpora Mletačkoj vladavini obuhvaćeni su u nekim memorijalima, kao oni na ostrvu Korčula. U delovima kontinentalne Hrvatske sa većinskim hrvatskim stanovništvom, natpisi na statua i pločama odnose se na bolju budućnost koju je ponudila komunistička revolucija. Za Srbe iz Hrvatske, antifašistički otpor postao je sastavni deo njihovog identiteta i spomenici u opštinama sa srpskom većinom podsećali su na ustaški teror. Ti memorijali često su koristili ćirilčno pismo, koje je 1990-tih od strane hrvatskih nacionalista viđeno kao strani element u željenom državotvornom projektu.

Od '60. godina pojavili su se novi trendovi u podizanju spomenika vezanih za II Svetski rat: apstraktni dizajn koji više nije otvoreno prenosio ideološku poruku, već su to estetski sofisticirana umetnička dela koja prevazilaze kruti dogmatizam rane komunističke diktature. Kolosalni oblici Dušana Džamonje (kao što je spomenik u Podgariću) i mistični simbolizam Bogdana Bogdanovića (tipičan primer Jasenovачki Cvet) najavili su novu eru spomenika koju predstavlja jedinstvena i autohtona umet-

nička proizvodnja velikih razmera. Eksperimentalne inspiracije u proizvodnji spomenika nikada se nisu prenele na dizajn stambenih jedinica, koje većinom izgledaju kao monolitički, sivi i nehumani kompleksi zgrada koji još uvek služe kao upozorenje na mane socijalističke utopije obećane od strane režima.

Izbijanje nasilja '90-tih, kolaps komunističkog monopola nad tumačenjem istorije, i pojava novih ili ranije potiskivanih oblika kolektivnog sećanja značio je da je hrvatski krvavi rat za nezavisnost bio praćen napadom na fizičke simbole prethodnog režima, naime na monumentalno nasleđe. „Cenzura“ partizanskih spomenika obuhvatila je ne samo njihovo uklanjanje od strane novih vlasti, već i vandalizam, oštećenja od oružja, potpuno uništenje od strane paramilitaraca ili hrvatskih vojnika, i podizanje novih spomenika sa suprotstavljenim narativima koji su ustaški režim oslobodili fašističkih odlika. Napadi Jugoslovenske narodne armije, koji su još uvek koristili komunističke simbole 1991., izazvali su da se u borbi za hrvatsku nezavisnost iskali bes nad spomenicima koji su odslikavali komunizam. Udruženje antifašističkih boraca Hrvatske procenilo da je preko tri hiljade partizanskih memorijala oštećeno ili uništeno tokom 1990-tih, u nekim slučajevima napadi su se nastavili u sledećoj deceniji: spomenik narodnim herojima na centralnom groblju u Zagrebu miniran je 2001., Titov spomenik u rodnom mestu Kumrovcu

uništen je 2004. i spomenik srpskim žrtvama u selu Prkos ozbiljno je oštećen na jesen 2010.

Nasilni napad na partizanske spomenike '90-tih bio je više od revizionizma prošlosti, to je bio sistematski napad na antifašističke vrednosti na kojima je zasnovana moderna Evropa nakon 1945. Štaviše, to je bio očigledan napor radikalnih nacionalista da se izbriše sećanje srpske manjine u Hrvatskoj. Na primer, imena žrtava ustaškog masakra u Glini, uključujući i civile koji su živi spaljeni u crkvi, uklonjena su sa mesta koje je komemorisalo tragediju, dok je spomen dom pretvoren u Hrvatski dom. Mnogobrojni drugi spomenici bez otvorenih komunističkih simbola takođe su uništeni ili ozbiljno oštećeni. Sama razmera kulture amnezije ukazuje na činjenicu da je država Hrvatska '90-tih tolerisala napad na partizanske spomenike, naročito ako se uzme u obzir da nijedan pojedinac nije bio sudski gonjen za štetu nanetu kulturnom nasleđu države. Uništavanje spomenika bilo je naročito intenzivno u ratom ugroženim regijama, kao što su Dalmacija, Lika, Banovina, Kordun i Slavonija. Osim toga, potpuno nova kultura sećanja vezana za domovinski rat pretvorila je unakaženi predeo sa spomenicima koji su odražavali estetiku i tumačenja građenja hrvatske nacije-države. Opasno je to što je „pogrešna strana“, u ovom slučaju zajednica Srba u Hrvatskoj (posebno civilne žrtve u ratu), ponovo isključena iz politike kulturnog sećanja

države; drugim rečima, greške prethodnog režima se ponavljaju.

Posle Tuđmanove smrti 1999., politička klima se dovoljno promenila da se više nije tolerisala otvorena upotreba fašističkih simbola i da su se uništeni spomenici mogli restaurirati. Predsednici Stjepan Mesić (2000.-2010.) i Ivo Josipović (2010.-do danas) imali su ključne uloge u promeni državnog stava prema antifašističkom nasleđu, uključujući ponovnu izgradnju uništenih spomenika i negovanja kulture sećanja koje promovise pomirenje. Još uvek „crveno-crna“ podela u Hrvatskoj i duhovi iz II Svetskog rata nastavljaju da utiču na unutrašnju i spoljnu politiku. Renoviranje uništenih partizanskih spomenika u mestu Srb, lokaciji masovnog ustanka 1941., predstavljalo je promenu na nacionalnom nivou prema Partizanima i srpsko-hrvatskim odnosima, ali su desničarske grupe organizovale kontra komemoraciju koja je pokazala da suprotstavljena tumačenja prošlosti i dalje figuriraju na nekim memorijalnim lokalitetima. Drugi istorijski korak učinjen je u oktobru 2010., kada je Josipović prisustvovao otkrivanju spomenika posvećenog devet starijih srpskih civila ubijenih u selu Varivode kao posledica operacije Oluja (1995.). To je prvi put da je podignut zvanični spomenik za srpske žrtve u Domovinskom ratu. To je bio jasan znak da će nastaviti da ispunjava obećanje da ukazuje počast žrtvama sa svih strana, ne samo iz II Svetskog

rata već i iz nedavnih sukoba, u naporu da depolitizuje ta traumatska sećanja. Kako god, dugotrajni ožiljci ratova '90-tih znače da treba da prođe još vremena pre nego što će istorija II Svetskog rata prestati da bude bojno polje za savremene politike u bivšoj Jugoslaviji.

contested histories and monumental pasts: croatia's culture of remembrance

Dr Vjeran Pavlaković

Public monuments are perhaps the most readily visible examples of a country's culture of remembrance, and are therefore also often at the center of controversies during periods of political transitions. Socialist Yugoslavia built thousands of monuments, statues, and memorial plaques to commemorate the Partisan victory in the Second World War and, more specifically, to provide legitimacy for the postwar regime. Along with other types of remembrance which are not necessarily physical (public holidays, national symbols, institutions, etc.), monuments play an important role in celebrating a nation's victories and commemorating its dead. But precisely because they are physical objects, whether a stone plaque describing a historic event or a massive victory arch, monuments both represent a regime's official interpretation of the past as well as challenge a new administration's ability to overcome a problematic historical legacy. Thus the construction, destruction, restoration, or censorship of a country's monuments allows scholars to analyze how political elites seek to transmit their ideological worldview and the mechanisms they use in molding the past for contemporary political legitimacy. The dissolution of communism and the Yugoslav state meant the topography of Partisan monuments lost their original function. Some monuments obtained new meanings, others were destroyed or damaged, and in many

cases new monuments were built to reflect the independent countries that used to be part of the former Yugoslavia. Modern-day Croatia, emerging from a traumatic twentieth century characterized by the rise and fall of multiple empires, states, and ideologies, provides an illuminating case study in how its historical narrative has been defined (and redefined) through public monuments, especially those related to the Second World War.

Monuments, like all memorial sites, indicate not only the historical events national elites want remembered, but also those events which, through exclusion or censorship, ought to be forgotten. Transitional governments often have to deal with the monumental legacies of their predecessors, an especially daunting task for countries emerging from dictatorships or other repressive political systems. Moreover, these governments are faced with the question of whether or not memorial spaces will serve as tools for reconciliation or as fault lines that perpetuate unresolved conflicts.

Croatia's cultural memory during the socialist period consisted of monuments which not only emphasized the revolutionary aspect of the Partisan movement, but the equality of Serbs and Croats in fighting against the fascist occupiers and domestic collaborators. The Ustaša collaborationist regime during the Second World War in Croatia embarked on a genocidal campaign against Serbs, Jews,

and Roma, and persecuted Croats who opposed the Ustaša dictatorship. The Ustaše established the Independent State of Croatia (NDH – Nezavisna Država Hrvatska), which was independent in name only, since it was divided and occupied by both Germany and Italy and was recognized only by pro-Axis regimes. Those killed in fighting on the "wrong side" or those who were liquidated in post-war communist massacres were erased from the culture of remembrance in the new Yugoslav state. This included collaborators in other parts of Yugoslavia, such as Serb and Montenegrin Četniks and Slovenian White Guards. The problem in Croatia, as in some other former communist countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Slovakia, was that in the 1990s the collaborators were recast as patriots and anticommunists, while their role in the Holocaust and other atrocities was dismissed as a communist fabrication.

The monuments in Croatia, thus, had both ideological and ethnic components which varied from region to region, while many other families and victims of communist repression were not allowed to publicly remember their dead. In the 1950s and 1960s, the memorials often featured heroic depictions of Partisan fighters or the suffering of victims of fascist terror. Many Partisans were shown in battle or carrying their weapons, while another common motif depicted Partisans carrying wounded comrades. Women were generally shown as

grieving mothers or civilian victims, although occasionally they could be seen carrying a gun in their hand, as on the central monument in Sisak. Although the Communist Party ultimately regulated the content of the monuments, local and regional initiatives and styles meant that remembrance of the war was not just a top down process, but was negotiated with various group interests. In Istria, the monuments featured both Croatian and Italian texts, and emphasized the fact that this region was "returned" to the Croatian homeland after being under fascist Italian rule since the end of the First World War. In Dalmatia, imagery of resistance to Venetian rule was incorporated into some memorials, such as the ones on the island of Korčula. In parts of continental Croatia with mostly Croat populations, the texts on statues and plaques referred to the better future offered by the communist revolution. For Croatian Serbs, the antifascist resistance became an integral part of their identity, and monuments in municipalities with a Serb majority functioned as reminders of the Ustaša terror. These memorials often used Cyrillic script, which in the 1990s was seen by Croatian nationalists as a foreign element in the desired state-building project.

By the 1960s new trends appeared in the construction of monuments related to the Second World War: abstract designs that no longer bluntly delivered an ideological message, but were aesthetically sophisticated works of art

transcending the rigid dogmatism of the early communist dictatorship. Dušan Džamonja's colossal shapes (such as the monument in Podgarić) and Bogdan Bogdanović's mystical symbolism (exemplified in the Jasenovac Flower) heralded a new era of monuments which represented unique and autochthonous artistic production on a large scale. The experimental inspirations in monument production never quite transferred to the design of housing units, which for the most part resulted in monolithic, grey, and dehumanizing apartment complexes that still serve as warnings to the flaws of the socialist utopia promised by the regime.

The outbreak of violence in the 1990s, the collapse of the communist monopoly on historical narratives, and the emergence of new or previously suppressed forms of collective remembrance meant that Croatia's bloody war for independence was accompanied by an attack on the physical symbols of the former regime, namely the monument heritage. The "censorship" of Partisan monuments included not only their removal by the new authorities, but vandalism, damage from various weapons, complete destruction by paramilitaries or Croatian soldiers, and the erection of new monuments with counter narratives absolving the Ustaša regime of its fascist characteristics. The attacks by the Yugoslav People's Army, which still used communist symbols in 1991, provoked those fighting for Croatian indepen-

dence to vent their anger at the monuments which also featured communist imagery. The Association of Antifascist Veterans of Croatia estimated that over three thousand Partisan memorials were damaged or destroyed in the 1990s, and in some cases the attacks continued into the following decade: the monument to the People's Heroes in Zagreb's main cemetery was damaged in 2001, Tito's monument in his hometown of Kumrovec was destroyed in 2004, and a monument to Serb victims in the village of Prkos was heavily damaged in the fall of 2010.

The violent attack on the Partisan monuments in the 1990s was more than just a reevaluation of the past, but a systematic assault on the antifascist values that modern Europe was based upon after 1945. Furthermore, it was evidently an effort by radical nationalists to erase the memory of Croatia's Serb minority. For example, the names of the victims of an Ustaša massacre in Glina, including civilians who were burned alive in a church, were removed from the site of the monument commemorating the tragedy, while the memorial house was transformed into a Croatian cultural center. Many other monuments without overt communist symbols were nevertheless destroyed or heavily damaged. The sheer scale of this culture of amnesia indicates that the Croatian state in the 1990s tolerated the attack on Partisan monuments, especially when it is taken into consideration

that no individuals were ever prosecuted for the damage to the country's cultural heritage. The devastation of the monuments was particularly extensive in regions mostly affected by the war, such as Dalmatia, Lika, Banovina, Kordun, and Slavonia. Moreover, an entirely new culture of memory related to the Homeland War transformed the scarred landscape with monuments that reflected the aesthetics and state-building narratives of the Croatian nation-state. The danger is that once again the "wrong side", in this case the Croatian Serb community (specifically civilian victims of the war), is being excluded from the cultural memory politics of the state; in other words, the mistakes of the previous regime are being repeated.

After Tuđman's death in 1999, the political climate changed enough that the open use of fascist symbols was no longer tolerated and that the destroyed monuments could slowly be restored. Presidents Stjepan Mesić (2000-2010) and Ivo Josipović (2010-present) were instrumental in changing the state's attitude towards the antifascist legacy, including the rebuilding of destroyed monuments and fostering a culture of remembrance that promotes reconciliation. Yet Croatia's red-black (fascism vs. communism, Ed.) divide and the ghosts of the Second World War continue to affect both domestic and foreign politics. The rebuilding of the destroyed Partisan monument in the town of Srb, site of a massive uprising in 1941,

represented a shift at the national level towards the Partisans and Serb-Croat relations, but right-wing groups organized a counter-commemoration that indicate that contested narratives over the past still play out at certain sites of memory. Another historic step was taken in October 2010, when Josipović attended the unveiling of a monument to nine elderly Serb civilians killed in the village of Varivode in the aftermath of Operation Storm (1995), the first time an official monument was built for Serb victims of the Homeland War. This was a clear sign that he would continue to pursue his promise to honor the victims from all sides, not only from the Second World War but from more recent conflicts, in an effort to depoliticize those traumatic memories. However, the lingering scars of the wars in the 1990s means that still more time needs to pass before the history of the Second World War ceases to be a battleground for contemporary politics in the former Yugoslavia.

rat simbola: sećanje na kosovu

Shkëlzen Maliqi

Nakon perioda od nekoliko decenija u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji, kada su na Kosovu spomenici predstavljali uobičajenu kulturu, raspadom Jugoslavije 90tih godina srušen je i pretendovani poredak simbola u „zajedničkom socijalističkom sećanju na prošle vekove“. Sećanje na Kosovu radikalno je prekinuto poput političkih i teritorijalnih težnji dve osnovne etničke zajednice na Kosovu, Albanaca, koji predstavljaju 88% stanovništva, i Srba, kojih ima manje od 10%. Sećanje na koje upućuju albanski spomenici uopšte više nije u skladu sa srpskim sećanjem i srpskim spomenicima.

Ono što Albanci slave, Srbi odbijaju, a ono što Srbi slave, Albanci odbijaju. Mogli bismo i da zamenimo reč „odbijaju“ i da kažemo „mrže“ i ne bismo pogrešili, iako takva generalizacija nije poželjna u opisima društvenih fenomena. Manje pogrešno deluje, međutim, ako kažemo „odbijaju“. To nam ostavlja prostora za malo poštovanje sećanja i heroja na drugoj strani, ali definitivno dolazimo do zaključka da ne postoji nijedan heroj niti sećanje koje simboliše neku zajedničku vrednost. Štaviše, postojeći spomenici na Kosovu, i novi i stari, služe nastavljanju rata simbola između dve zajednice. Glavno bojno polje u toj podeli sećanja utiče na istorijsko i versko nasleđe najdavnijih vremena isto koliko i na nasleđe skorije prošlosti.

Ono što Srbi žele da slave kao sveta mesta jesu srednjevekovni manastiri, pre svih Pećka Patrijaršija, koja predstavlja istorijsko sedište

Srpske Pravoslavne crkve i Srpskog Patrijarha. U međuvremenu, za Kosovske Srbe (kao i za Srbe iz Srbije) posebno je značajna spomen-kula na Gazimestanu, spomenik koji je podignut 1952. kao sećanje na boj na Kosovu 1389. Taj boj bio je fatalan za srednjevekovnu srpsku kraljevinu, zbog toga što je nakon tog događaja Srbiju okupiralo Otomansko carstvo. Moderna tradicija slavljenja te bitke na Vidovdan, koji se slavi 26. juna, dobila je drugačije značenje: to je istorijska osveta, jer Srbi koji se okupljaju kod spomen-kule na Gazimestanu kažu da oni na taj dan slave volju hrabrih kao i Vidovdanski Zavet koji kaže: „Kosovo je uvek bilo i biće srpsko.“ Gubitak Kosova ponovo 1999, kada je NATO intervenisao kako bi pomogao da se završi konflikt između Kosova (Kosovskih Albanaca) i Srba, oživeo je mit Vidovdanskog Zaveta i ponovnog gubitka koji će se jednog dana pretvoriti u pobedu.

Za Albance, s druge strane, slavljenje izgubljenih bitke i Vidovdana je beznačajno. Oni smatraju da je to srpski nacionalistički mit zasnovan na izvirtanju i prilagođavanju istorije. U skladu sa istorijskim dokazima o Boju na Kosovu, albanski istoričari, i ne samo oni, tvrde da to nije bila samo srpska bitka protiv Turaka već da je to bio sukob udruženih hrišćanskih snaga sa Balkana u kome su učestvovali i albanski prinčevi.

Srbi srednjevekovne crkve i manastire na Kosovu smatraju nekom vrstom istorijskog posebda koji garantuje suverenitet Srbije na Kosovu. Albanski zapisi i historiografija suprotstavljaju

se toj ideji sumnjajući u to da su te crkve i manastiri samo srpski. Najstariji deo pravoslavnog nasleđa potiče čak iz Vizantijskog carstva i upućuje na okupaciju i vladavinu Srba na Kosovu u 13. i 14. veku kada su i Albanci kao starosedeooci takođe bili hrišćani. Stoga se veruje da oni barem delimično imaju istu istoriju i tradiciju. Na drugoj strani je, međutim, islamizacija većeg dela albanske populacije za vreme turske vladavine kao i dugogodišnja upotreba tog nasleđa od strane Srpske Pravoslavne crkve zbog čega se to hrišćansko nasleđe doživljava kao srpsko.

Uprkos suprotstavljanju srpskim istorijskim pretenzijama, kosovski ideolozi ne insistiraju na zajedničkom nasleđu vizantijske kulture, već naglašavaju specifičan identitet utemeljen na simbolima iz davnih vremena pre nego što su Srbi (ili uopšteno govoreći: Sloveni) došli na Balkan. Ti simboli uključuju simbole Dardanaca, simbole albanskog otpora protiv turskih osvajača (koji je građen na kultu nacionalnog heroja Đerđa Kastriota Skenderbega) kao i simbole buđenja albanske moderne nacionalne svesti. Za ovo poslednje sveto mesto predstavlja spomenik Prizrenske Lige, muzejski kompleks u gradu Prizrenu. Tu je 1878. održan istorijski kongres albanskih vođa, na kome je napisan i izdat željeni program za formiranje nezavisne albanske države.

Kao što smo već rekli, podele i konflikti oko Kosova u poslednja dva veka nisu ostavili prostor za stvaranje sećanja i spomenika koji bi bili simbol zajedničkog života ili bilo koje

specifičnosti Kosova koju podržavaju sve zajednice koje tu žive. Stoga ne postoje spomen-obeležja tog specifičnog vremena koja su posvećena sećanju i međusobnom poštovanju svih Kosovara.

Samo na kratko nakon Drugog Svetskog rata, od 1945. do kasnih 80tih, postojali su uslovi za kreiranje spomenika koji su težili da obeleže zajednički život i poštovanje za sve. U vreme komunizma i Josipa Broza Tita tvrdilo se da postoji jednakost svih nacija i nacionalnosti koje žive u Jugoslaviji. U to vreme na Kosovu su građeni spomenici koji su predstavljali osvrt na slavne trenutke revolucije i komunizma ili koji su slavili mučenike antifašističkog rata.

Najznačajniji spomenici bili su oni koji su slavili bitke partizanskih brigada na Kosovu, kao što je spomenik partizanskim rudarima u Mitrovici. U drugu kategoriju sećanja spadaju spomenici u čast slavnih heroja i mučenika antifašističkog rata kao što je spomenik Bori Vukmiroviću i Ramizu Sadiku u Pristini. U stvari, svaka opština na Kosovu ima sopstvene statue, groblja žrtava i memorijalne parkove. Na tim mestima organizovala su se godišnja okupljanja u čast heroja, žrtvi i pobeđe revolucije.

Na Kosovu je bio najrašireniji kult Crnogorca Bore Vukmirovića i Albanca Ramiza Sadikua, dvojice prijatelja i vođa komunističkog pokreta iz Peći, koji su zajedno pogubljeni u Landovici blizu Prizrena 14. aprila 1943. Istorija mučeništva predavala se po školama na Kosovu i pominjana je u javnom diskursu kad god je to

bilo moguće kao primer internacionalizacije, bratstva i jedinstva. Mnoge škole, institucije i ulice bile su nazvane po Bori i Ramizu – kao što je veliki sportski, kulturni i trgovinski kompleks koji je sagrađen 70tih godina u centru Prištine. To je možda bilo poslednje preduzeće na Kosovu koje je bilo simbol zvanične komunističke politike nekadašnje jugoslovenske federacije kada se radi o jednakosti naroda i narodnosti.

Uprkos tog jedinstva bilo je politika prema Kosovu koje su bile kontradiktorne: 50tih i 60tih godina bilo je elemenata progona i kontinuirane brutalnosti policije, a istovremeno, kasnih 60tih i 70tih godina to jedinstvo omogućilo je Kosovu i Albancima da uživaju široku autonomiju. Međutim, nakon Titove smrti došlo je do povratka na metode policijske brutalnosti, a i do smanjenja autonomije i do rata 1998-1999. Nakon promena do kojih je došlo na Kosovu krajem 80tih i 90tih godina uništeni su spomenici iz socijalističkih vremena ili se prestalo sa institucionalnim vođenjem računa o njima. Izgledalo je kao da su Titova ideologija i obećano bratstvo i jedinstvo praktično nestali preko noći. (Tito je u svakom svom govoru ponavljao: „Bratstvo i jedinstvo jugoslovenskih naroda moraju se čuvati kao zenica oka.“ Nakon njega, međutim, Jugoslavija se raspala u seriji bratoubilačkih ratova!). Poštovanje za spomenike revolucije i bratstva i jedinstva takođe je nestalo preko noći.

Čitav niz tih spomenika uništen je, posebno statue na javnim mestima, ali i veliki spo-

men-kompleksi kao što je onaj u Caralevu i Landovici. Groblja žrtava u Prištini nisu više u funkciji, sada su tamo sahranjene neke žrtve iz poslednjeg rata na Kosovu. Na jednom delu sahranjen je prvi izabrani predsednik Kosova, Dr Ibrahim Rugova 2006. (u to vreme Kosovo je bilo protektorat UN, a ne nezavisna država.) Neki drugi spomen-parkovi nacionalnog oslobodilačkog rata kao što je onaj u centru Prištine ili onaj u Peći neuspešno su minirani ili je zahtevano njihovo uklanjanje, ali oni su se ipak održali zahvaljujući međunarodnoj intervenciji. Ti spomenici su u lošem stanju, ne poklanja im se dovoljno poštovanja i pažnje tako da je samo pitanje vremena kada će biti uklonjeni.

Nakon 1999. na mestu starih komunističkih spomenika na Kosovu sagrađene su stotine spomenika i statua koje nas podsećaju na poslednji rat i njegove žrtve. Pored spomenika herojima ilegalnog otpora i oslobodilačkog rata Ademu Jašariju (Prekaz), Zenunu Pajazitu (Priština), Agimu Ramadaniju (Gnjilane) i Fehmiju Aganiju (Priština) podizani su i spomenici istorijskim herojima. Primere tih spomenika predstavljaju spomenik Skenderbegu ispred zgrade Vlade i Kosovske Skupštine, spomenici poznatim ličnostima kao što su Majka Tereza (Priština), Bil Klinton (Priština) kao i spomenik zahvalnosti zbog intervencije međunarodnih snaga (spomenik NATO-u u Prizrenu).

Karakteristika većine tih novih spomenika jeste nedostatak kvaliteta kada se radi o mestu na kome su podignuti kao i kada se radi o njihovoj umetničkoj vrednosti. Spomenik u čast

Bila Klintona predstavlja primer spomenika lošeg kvaliteta, koji je bio izložen javnoj kritici. Od umetničke zajednice nisu tražili da ponudi ideje kada se radilo na ovom spomeniku. I ostale statue i spomenici svuda na Kosovu predstavljaju zanimljive primerke umetničkog socijal-realizma, koji pre toga na Kosovu nije postojao. Nakon 1999. ti stilovi su uvezeni iz Albanije, gde su predstavljali obavezni sastavni deo komunističkog vremena, a vajari iz tog vremena sada rade na Kosovu.

S druge strane, spomenici Kosovskih Srba, koji su nastali za vreme Miloševićeve vladavine, srušeni su nakon rata u mestima gde žive pretežno Albanci, a još uvek postoje u srpskim enklavama. Zanimljiv primer predstavlja spomenik ruskom konzulu Grigoriju Stepanoviću Ščerbinu u Mitrovici. Pre rata taj spomenik stajao je u južnom delu grada koji sada pripada Albancima. Srušen je 2001. i Srbi su ga ponovo podigli 2007. na severnoj strani grada koja pripada Srbima. Stoga, dok Albanci odaju poštovanje zapadu, Srbi na Kosovu poštuju Rusiju kao da još uvek žive u vreme hladnog rata.

Možda je potrebno da prođe više vremena da bi nastala potreba za zajedničkim spomenicima na Kosovu.

the war of symbols: remembrance in kosovo

Shkëlzen Maliqi

After a period of several decades in socialist Yugoslavia, when memorials in Kosovo tended to represent common culture, the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s also overthrew the pretended symbolic order of the 'common socialist remembrance of the past centuries'. Remembrance in Kosovo radically broke up just like the political and territorial aspirations of the two main ethnic communities in Kosovo, the Albanians that compose around 88% of the population, and the Serbs that make up less than 10%. The remembrance embodied by the Albanian memorials does not match any more at any point the Serbian remembrance and memorials.

What Albanians celebrate and commemorate is rejected by Serbs, and what Serbs commemorate and celebrate is rejected by Albanians. We could replace the word 'reject' and say 'hatred' instead. We wouldn't be wrong, but such generalisations are usually not preferred in describing social phenomena – however, it seems less wrong if it is described as rejection. This leaves space for a bit of respect for the remembrance and the heroes of the other side, but we definitely come to the conclusion that no hero or remembrance exists that symbolises any common value. Furthermore, existing memorials in Kosovo, both new and old ones, serve as a pretext to continue the war of symbols between the two communities. The main battlefield in this division of remembrance affects the historical and

religious heritage of the most ancient times, yet the most recent times as well.

What Serbs want to commemorate as holy places are the medieval monasteries, most notably the Patriarchate of Peja/Peć, which is the historical seat of the Serbian Orthodox Church where the Serbian Patriarch is solemnly ordained. Meanwhile, Kosovo Serbs (and those in Serbia) give special importance to the Gazimestan Tower, a monument built in 1952 commemorating the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. This battle was indeed fatal for the medieval Serbian kingdom because it marked the event after which Serbia was occupied by the Ottoman Empire. The modern tradition of commemorating this battle on St. Vitus Day (Serbian: Vidovdan) which is celebrated on the 26th of June has taken on a different meaning: the one of return or historical revenge because Serbs that gather at the Gazimestan Tower say that on this day they commemorate both the will of the brave ones and 'St. Vitus' Oath' (Serbian: 'Vidovdanski Zavet') which says: "Kosovo has been, is and will remain Serbian forever." The loss of Kosovo again in 1999, when NATO intervened to help end the Kosovo(-Albanian) - Serbian conflict, has revived the myth of 'St. Vitus' Oath' of the renewed loss that one day will turn into victory.

For Albanians, on the other hand, the celebration of the lost battle and St. Vitus Day is meaningless. They consider it to be a Serbian nationalistic constructed myth based on distortion and appropriation of history. According

to historical evidence of the Battle of Kosovo, Albanian historians, and not only they, claim that it wasn't just a Serbian battle against Ottomans, but that it was a confrontation of joined Christian forces from the Balkans in which Albanian Princes participated as well.

Serbs consider the medieval churches and monasteries in Kosovo as a type of historical possession that guarantees Serbia's sovereignty over Kosovo. Albanian writings and historiography opposes this idea by doubting that these churches and monasteries are only Serbian in their affiliation. The oldest part of this orthodox heritage reaches back to the Byzantine Empire and points to the occupation and rule of Kosovo by Serbs in the 13th and 14th century when Albanians as an indigenous population were also Christian. Therefore it is believed that they share at least part of this history and tradition. However, on the other side stands the Islamisation of the majority of the Albanian population during the Ottoman occupation, as well as the long time use of this heritage by the Serbian Orthodox Church, which has made this Christian heritage be perceived as Serbian.

Despite arguing against Serbian historical claims, Kosovo's ideologues do not insist on the common heritage of this Byzantine cultural subsoil but emphasise the special identity embodied by symbols from ancient times before Serbs (or more generally: Slavs) came to the Balkans. These symbols include the ones of the ancient Dardanians, as well as those of

the Albanians' resistance against the Ottoman invaders (built on the cult of the national hero Gjergj Kastriot Skanderbeg) and those from the time of the awakening of the Albanian modern national revival. For the latter one, a holy place is the monument of the League of Prizren, a museum compound in the town of Prizren. There in 1878, the historical congress of Albanian leaders took place during which the desired program for the making of the Albanian independent state was written and issued.

As stated above, divisions and conflicts over Kosovo in the last two centuries have left no space for creating remembrance and monuments that would symbolise a common life, or any particularity of Kosovo that would be supported by all the communities living there. Therefore there are no memorials from this particular time that are dedicated to the remembrance and mutual respect of all Kosovars.

Only for a short period of time after the Second World War, from 1945 until the late 80s, conditions were created for the construction of monuments that aimed at 'commonality' and respect by everyone. The Communist times under Josip Broz Tito claimed to have provided equality for all the nations and nationalities living in Yugoslavia. At this time, many monuments were built in Kosovo that recalled glorious moments of the revolution and Communism, or those that paid tribute to the martyrs of the anti-fascist war.

The most important monuments were those which commemorate the battles of partisan brigades in Kosovo, such as the monument of partisan miners in Mitrovica. To another category of remembrance and commemorations belonged monuments honouring prominent heroes and martyrs of the anti-fascist war such as the Boro Vukmirović and Ramiz Sadiku monument in Pristina. As a matter of fact, every municipality of Kosovo had its own lapidaries, statues, cemeteries of martyrs and memorial parks. In such places, annual gatherings were organised to commemorate the heroism, sacrifice of the martyrs and the victory of the revolution.

In Kosovo, most widespread was the cult of the Montenegrin Boro Vukmirović and the Albanian Ramiz Sadiku, two friends and leaders of the communist movement from Peja/Peč, who were executed together in Landovica near Prizren, on the 14th of April, 1943. This history of martyrdom was taught in schools throughout Kosovo and mentioned in the public discourse whenever possible as an example of internationalisation, brotherhood and unification. Many schools, institutions and streets were named after Boro and Ramiz— such as a big sports, culture and trade complex that was built in the 1970s in the centre of Pristina. Yet perhaps this was the last enterprise in Kosovo that symbolised the official Communist politics of the former Yugoslav Federation regarding the equality of nations and nationalities.

In spite of this unity, some politics towards Kosovo was contradictory: In the 1950s and 1960s there were elements of persecution and continued brutality by the police, but at the same time, in the late 1960s and the 1970s, this unity made it possible for Kosovo and Albanians to enjoy a wider autonomy. However, after Tito's death there was a return to the methods of police brutality, and even to the abrogation of autonomy as well as eventually the war of 1998-1999.

Following the changes that took place in Kosovo by the end of the 1980s and 1990s, the monuments of socialist times were destroyed or left without respect and institutional care. It seemed as if Titos' ideology and promise for brotherhood and unity practically vanished overnight. (Tito used to repeat himself in every speech he made by saying "The unity and brotherhood of the Yugoslavian nations must be preserved as the pupils of the eyes"; meanwhile, after him Yugoslavia would fall apart in a series of fratricidal wars!). And also the respect for the monuments of the revolution and for brotherhood and unity would disappear overnight as well.

A number of these monuments were destroyed, especially statues in public places, but also big memorial complexes such as the ones of Caraleva and Landovica. Today, the cemeteries of martyrs in Pristina serve as final resting places of some of the martyrs of the last war in Kosovo. In one part of it, the first elected President of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim

Rugova, was buried in 2006 (at that time under the UN Protectorate and not an independent state.) Some other memorials of National Liberation War such as the one in the centre of Pristina or the one in Peja/Peč have been unsuccessfully mined or their removal has been requested, but they survived mainly thanks to international intervention. Knowing that the situation for these monuments is dismal, there is lack of respect and care, and it's only a matter of time until they will be removed.

After 1999, in the places of the old Communist monuments, some hundreds of monuments and statues were built in Kosovo that remind us of the last war and its martyrs. Besides the monuments of the heroes of the illegal resistance and the KLA war, Adem Jashari (Prekaz), Zenun Pajaziti (Pristina), Agim Ramadani (Gjilan) and Fehmi Agani (Pristina), monuments of historical heroes have been built as well. Some examples of these are the Skanderbeg Monument in front of the Government and Kosovo Assembly Building, as well as monuments to well known personalities such as Mother Teresa (Pristina), Bill Clinton (Pristina), and the monument thanking the intervening powers (NATO monument in Prizren).

Characteristic of the majority of these new monuments is a lack of quality regarding both the area where they are placed and their artistic value. The monument honouring Bill Clinton is an example of a qualitatively bad monument which has been criticised publicly.

The artistic community was not asked for an idea regarding the building of this monument. Also other statues and monuments built all over Kosovo represent an interesting socialist realism art style, which in Kosovo did not exist before. After 1999, these styles started to be imported from Albania, where they used to be an obligatory style during the time of Communism, and sculptors from that time now are working in Kosovo.

On the other hand, monuments of Kosovo Serbs that were established in the time of Milosevic's ruling were removed after the war in those places where Albanians dominate, whereas they still exist within the Serbian enclaves. An interesting example is the monument to the Russian consul Grigorije Stepanović Ščerbina in Mitrovica. Before the war it used to stand in the southern part of the city, which now belongs to Albanians. They removed it in 2001 and Serbs then reinstated the monument in 2007 in the northern side of the city, which belongs to Serbs. So, while Albanians do homage to the West, Serbs of Kosovo show respect to Russia, as if still living in the time of the Cold War.

Perhaps more time is necessary before the need for common monuments is shown in Kosovo.

povratak u prošlost: spomenici i sećanje u makedoniji

Valentino Dimitrovski

Prvobitna funkcija i poruka spomenika je da komemoriše prošlost i usmeri sećanje na ključne prekretnice u istoriji jedne zajednice. Preciznije, ova jedinstvena funkcija komemorisanja trenutaka iz zvanične isoriografske meta-narative nacionalne i državne zajednice pretvara spomenike u instrumente i izlaže ih diktatu dominantnog ideološkog simboličkog reda. Ovaj ideološki diktat usmerava i uobličava sećanje, ponovo procenjuje značaj istorijskih događaja i obrađuje ih u jedan kompaktan narativ. Na taj način, verovanje društva u neprikosnovenu i neproblematičnu prirodu socio-kulturnih i etno-nacionalnih izgrađenih struktura usadenih u simbolički red diktirajući smisao i prošlost i budućnost su ojačani. Time spomenici nisu tema tumačenja aktualne istorije, već sredstva za ideološku ponovnu kreaciju prošlosti i istorije. Oni su instrumentalizovani da bi se stvorila neprikosnovena velika priča istorijskog razvoja nacije i države, bez obzira na kompleksnost i osobine objektivnih prilika i aktualnih dešavanja u prošlosti.

Ovakva ideološka instrumentalizacija karakteristika je kulture spomenika na zapadnom Balkanu. To se odnosi i na Makedoniju, gde je postojala bliska veza između ideološki diktirane istoriografije i upotrebe spomenika tokom jednopartijskog komunizma nakon II Svetskog rata, i u pluralističkom političkom okruženju od 1991. do dana današnjeg. S obzirom da se društveni sistem promenio, a sa njim i

suštinska ideologija (tj. dominantan simbolički red), značajna promena desila se i sa kulturom spomenika, naročito poslednjih par godina. Ne radi se o tome da su spomenici podignuti tokom socijalizma danas izgubili značaj pred dominantnom ideološkom metanaracijom ili kulturom sećanja. Kako bilo, usled multidimenzionalnosti spomenika (u značenju, simbolici, estetici i upotrebi prostora), oni nisu podložni instrumentalizaciji u okviru trenutnog istoriografskog diskursa u Makedoniji. Danas su ovi socijalistički spomenici predmeti marginalizacije, napuštanja, zapuštenosti, i često većeg uništavanja zubom vremena ili vandalizmom. Suprotno tome, niz novih spomenika podignut je prošlih godina – najviše u makedonskoj prestonici, Skopju – što je u vezi sa trenutnim istoriografskim diskursom kojim dominira i koji je ispolitizovan jednodimenzionalnim etnocentrizmom. U okviru ove kulture spomenika (sećanja), gde su prethodno postojale univerzalne vrednosti (i u značenju, i u simbolici radova) nestali su. Zamenio ih je novokomponovani monumentalni folklor baziran na rigidnim, prividnim, kolektivnim narativima kao i na neshvatljivoj retrogradnoj estetici.

Danas, prvobitna namera spomenika iz vremena kada su podignuti bila je značajno potisnuta i gurnuta na margine javne svesti. Samo najvažniji spomenici stvoreni u vreme socijalizma poseduju specifični kompleks značenja i poruka koji je i danas relevantan zbog njihove univerzalnosti (na pr. „Grobница za nepobedene“ u Prilepu ili „Memorijal Ilinden“ u

Kruševu. Mada se promenom socio-političkog sistema, većina ovih spomenika postepeno zapuštala, čak i zaboravljala i preobratala u neme svedoke i ostatke prošlog vremena. Njihova prvobitna namena je izbledela i jedva da utiče na trenutne socio-političke ili istoriografske diskurse. Ovaj negativni trend zapostavljanja spomenika iz prošlosti može biti delimično objašnjen činjenicom da su se ljudi umorili od kulture spomenika u prošle dve decenije. Došlo je do značajnog pada u broju novo podignutih spomenika u poređenju sa vremenom socijalizma kada je građeno mnoštvo spomenika. Za istoriografiju i širu kulturnu javnost u Makedoniji danas, ovi spomenici predstavljaju ideološke diskurse proteklog vremena i asociraju i sastavni su deo političkog sistema koji je prevagnuo kada su oni stvarani. Delimična izmena istoriografskih paradigmi danas značajno utiče na doživljavanje ovih spomenika.

Kultura spomenika, kao estetska disciplina i socio-kulturni fenomen, trajno je usmerena ka komemoraciji i/ili stvaranju određenih identiteta. Glorifikacija i manipulacija identitetima prisutna je tokom perioda razvoja monumentalne umetnosti u Makedoniji. U tom smislu, ne može biti napravljena značajna distinkcija između kulture spomenika od II Svetskog rata do dana kada je Republika Makedonija zadobila nezavisnost 1991. pa do dana današnjeg. Tokom oba perioda, korpus nacionalnog identiteta bila je dominantna ideološka odlika, koja je definisala sećanje. Kako god,

bliži pogled na kulturu sećanja u ova dva perioda otkriva nekoliko strukturalnih razlika, koje jasno ukazuju na određenu promenu ne samo u ideološko-političkom okruženju i kulturnom kontekstu, nego i u karakteru izvesnih „komemorisanih“ identiteta.

Tokom ere socijalizma, upotreba spomenika imala je za cilj komemoraciju ili upućivanje na više slojeva identiteta. Pored nacionalnog sloja, postojala su još dva: prvi u vezi sa aspiracijama za socio-političku slobodu u istorijskom kontinuitetu, drugi vezan za diskurs o univerzalističkom humanizmu, sa porukom koja prevazilazi vremenska, socio-kulturna kao i nacionalna ograničenja i stereotipe. Mada je većina spomenika podignutih nakon što je Makedonija dobila nezavisnost, a naročito tokom nekoliko prošlih godina, smanjena na jedan sloj identiteta koji za cilj ima „komemoraciju“ ili „građenje“ nacionalnog identiteta u skladu sa dominantnim metanarativom koji se proteže iz prošlosti do današnjeg dana.

S obzirom da Makedonija nije imala ulogu ni u jednom od glavnih konflikata koji su usledili nakon raspada Jugoslavije, nije došlo do značajnih manifestovanja otvorenog nasilja ili netolerancije prema spomenicima iz prošlosti. Nešto što više zabrinjava u vezi sa situacijom spomenika podignutih tokom ere socijalizma je to što su zapušteni, napušteni i o njima se nedovoljno brine kao tvorevinama, od kojih su neke značajno doprinele razvoju monumentalne umetnosti Jugoslavije. Istaknutiji sponen

kompleksi tog vremena, koje su dizajnirali poznati stvaraoci umetničke scene bivše Jugoslavije, imali su za cilj veličanje jedinstva, multikulturalnosti i slobode. Ta humanistička ideologija napuštena je i zamenjena je kulturom sećanja koja se zasniva na isključivosti nacionalnih paradigmi, ideologiji nacionalnog. Može se reći da je ova pojava podjednako zastupljena u svim društvima formiranim nakon raspada Jugoslavije.

Ono što je specifično za kulturu spomenika u nekoliko proteklih godina je lokalni, makedonski fenomen neobične podele unutar dominantnog etničkog korpusa. Značajan broj novoizgrađenih spomenika podstakao je polemiku vezanu za njihovu opravdanost. Neki od ovih spomenika posvećeni su ličnostima koje po bilo kojoj pouzdanoj domaćoj i svetskoj historiografiji, ne mogu dvosmisleno biti integrisani u nacionalni identitet: kao kraljevi ili ratne vojskovođe iz antičkih vremena. Ovakva praksa nesumnjivo stvara nepotrebne podele unutar ideološko-političkih, kulturnih i naučnih krugova. Ona nastaje iz određenog vida provincijalizma historiografskih diskursa i degradacije naučnih standarda koja su otpočela u vreme socijalizma.

Još jedna dominantna karakteristika u okviru aktuelne kulture spomenika je jasno razlikovanje prema etničkom poreklu osobe ili događaja koji komemorišu. To se odnosi na spomenike posvećene ličnostima i događajima i iz makedonske i iz albanske istorije. Prih-

vatanje i tumačenje ovih spomenika isto je: striktno uslovljeno etničkim poreklom. Iako će aktuelni projekat monumentalne „obnove“ centra Skopja verovatno obuhvatiti i spomenik posvećen drugim nacionalnostima u Makedoniji, činjenica je da u konceptualnoj ideologiji u pozadini današnje kulture spomenika u Makedoniji, ne postoje aspiracije prema jedinstvu u našoj zemlji što se procesa sećanja tiče.

back to the past: monuments and remembrance in macedonia

Valentino Dimitrovski

The original function and message of monuments is to commemorate the past and to direct memory to key milestones in the history of a community. Precisely this unique function of commemorating moments in the official historiographic meta-narrative of the national and state community turns monuments into instruments and exposes them to the dictate of the dominant ideological symbolic order. This ideological dictate directs and models the memory, (re)evaluates the significance of historical events and works them into one compact narrative. In this manner, society's belief in the indisputable and unproblematic nature of socio-culturally and ethno-nationally constructed structures embedded in the symbolic order dictating the sense both of the past and the future is strengthened. Thus monuments are not so much points for interpreting actual history, but rather tools for the ideological recreation of the past and of history. They are instrumentalised to create an indisputable grand story of the historical development of the nation and of the state, irrespective of the complexity and character of objective circumstances and actual occurrences in the past.

Such ideological instrumentalisation is characteristic of the culture of monuments in the Western Balkans. It also applies to Macedonia, where a close bond has existed between ideologically dictated historiography and the use of monuments both during single-party

communism after the Second World War and in the pluralistic political environment since 1991 to the present day. Given that the social system has changed, and with it the underlying ideology (i.e. dominant symbolic order), a significant change has also occurred regarding the culture of monuments, especially in the past few years. It is not that the monuments built during socialist times have lost their relevance today to either the dominant ideological meta-narrative or the culture of remembrance. However, due to the monuments' multidimensionality (in meaning, symbolism, aesthetics and spatial use), they are not susceptible to instrumentalisation within the current historiographic discourse in Macedonia. Today, these socialist monuments are subject to marginalization, abandonment, neglect, and often also to significant devastation by the ravages of time or vandalism. In contrast, a series of new monuments have been created in recent years – most notably in Macedonia's capital, Skopje – which relate to the current historiographic discourse dominated and politicised by one-dimensional ethnocentrism. Within this culture of monuments (and remembrance), previously existing universal values (both in the meaning and symbolism of the works) have disappeared. They have been replaced by a newly-composed monumental folklore based on rigid, illusory collective narratives as well as incomprehensible retrograde aesthetics.

Today, the original intention of monuments from the time they were built has been

considerably suppressed and pushed to the margins of public consciousness. Only the most significant monuments created in the times of socialism possess a specific complex of meanings and messages still relevant today due to their universality (e.g. the "Tomb of the Undeclared" in Prilep or "Makedonium / Ilinden Memorial" in Kruševo). However, along with the changing socio-political system, most of these monuments have gradually been neglected, even forgotten, and turned into mute witnesses, relics of a time past. Their original intention has faded and hardly influences current socio-political or historiographic discourses. This negative trend of neglecting monuments from previous times can partly be explained by the fact that people have grown tired of a culture of monuments over the past two decades. There has been a significant drop in the number of new monuments built compared to socialist times when a variety of monuments were built. For historiography and the wider cultural public in Macedonia today, these monuments represent ideological discourses of a time past and are associated with and integrated into the political system that prevailed when they were created. The partial shift in historiographic paradigms today significantly influences the experience of these monuments.

The culture of monuments, both as an aesthetic discipline and a socio-cultural phenomenon, is permanently directed towards commemorating and/or creating certain identities. The

glorification and manipulation of identities has been present throughout all development periods in monumental art in Macedonia. In this sense, no significant distinction can be made between the culture of monuments since the Second World War to the day the Republic of Macedonia gained its independence in 1991 and until the present day. During both periods, the corpus of national identity was a dominant ideological feature, which defined remembrance. However, a closer look at the culture of remembrance in these two periods reveals several structural differences, which clearly point to a certain change not only in the ideological-political environment and the cultural context, but also in the character of certain "commemorated" identities.

During the socialist era, the use of monuments aimed at commemorating or making reference to several identity layers. Besides the national layer, two additional layers existed: the first related to aspirations to socio-political freedom in a historical continuity; the second to a discourse on universalistic humanism, with messages that surpass temporal, socio-cultural as well as national limitations and stereotypes. However, most of the monuments built after Macedonia gained its independence, and especially over the past few years, were mainly reduced to one identity layer aimed at "commemorating" or "constructing" a national identity according to a dominant meta-narrative that reaches from ancient times until the present day.

Given that Macedonia was not a part of any of the major conflicts following the break-up of Yugoslavia, there have not been any significant manifestations of open violence or intolerance towards monuments in the past. More worrying about the situation of monuments built during the socialist era is the silent neglect, abandonment and lack of care for those creations, some of which were significant contributions to the development of monumental art in Yugoslavia. The more significant complex monuments of that time, designed by renowned authors of the ex-Yugoslav art scene, aimed at glorifying unity, multiculturalism and freedom. This humanistic ideology has since been abandoned and replaced by a culture of remembrance that focuses on the exclusiveness of the national paradigms, the ideology of the national. One could say that this phenomenon is equally present in all societies formed after the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

What is specific to the culture of monuments in the past few years is a local, Macedonian phenomenon of unusual division within the dominant ethnic corpus. A significant number of the newly built monuments have prompted controversy regarding their justification. Some of these monuments are dedicated to personalities who, according to any reliable local and world historiography, cannot be unambiguously integrated within the national identity: such as monarchs and war generals from antiquity. This practice undoubtedly creates unneces-

sary divisions within the ideological-political, cultural and scientific sphere. It arose, however, from a certain type of provinciality of historiographic discourses and degradation of scientific standards that already began in socialist times.

A further dominant characteristic within the current culture of monuments is the clear differentiation according to the ethnic origin of the person or event commemorated. This concerns monuments dedicated to personalities and events both from Macedonian and Albanian history. The reception and interpretation of these monuments is the same: it is strictly conditioned by the ethnic origin. Even though the current project of monumental “re-vamp” of Skopje’s centre will probably include a monument dedicated to other nationalities in Macedonia, there is no doubt that in the conceptual ideology behind today’s culture of monuments in Macedonia, there is no aspiration towards unity in our country as far as the process of remembrance is concerned.

promenljivo lice sećanja

fotografije

Komentare na spomenike napisali su autori iz različitih akademskih oblasti. Iako su pažljivo skicirani, tekstovi predstavljaju autorovo gledište koje ne odražava nužno i mišljenje *forum*ZFD-a ili njegovih kooperacionih partnera. Kako god, cilj izložbe je da omogući i unapredi razmenu različitih pogleda, mišljenja i perspektiva.

Bosna i Hercegovina

Dr Senadin Musabegović (sa Andreom Baotić)

Hrvatska

Dr Vjeran Pavlaković

Kosovo

Shkëlzen Maliqi

Makedonija

Valentino Dimitrovski

Srbija

Mirjana Peitler-Selakov

the changing face of remembrance photographs

The comments for the monuments were written by authors from different academic fields. Even though carefully drafted, the texts represent their authors' points of view which do not necessarily reflect the opinion of *forumZFD* or its cooperation partners. However, the aim of the exhibition is also to allow and promote an exchange of different views, opinions and perspectives.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dr Senadin Musabegović (with Andrea Baotić)

Croatia

Dr Vjeran Pavlaković

Kosovo

Shkëlzen Maliqi

Macedonia

Valentino Dimitrovski

Serbia

Mirjana Peitler-Selakov



1928.

Spomenik palim borcima Timočke krajine u ratovima za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje

Lokacija: Zaječar, Srbija

Vajar: Frano Mengelo Dinčić

Monument to the Fallen Soldiers from the region of Timok in the Wars for Liberation and Unity

Location: Zaječar, Serbia

Sculptor: Frano Mengelo Dinčić

Spomenik u Zaječaru, u istočnoj Srbiji, komemoriše borce Timočke krajine koji su dali živote u Prvom balkanskom ratu (1912.-1913.) i Prvom svetskom ratu (1914.-1918.). Otkriven je u centru grada, kada je obeležavana 100. godišnjica oslobođenja od turske vlasti. Kao odgovor na prvi i drugi srpski ustanak protiv Otomanskog carstva (1804.-1815.), Srbiji je dodeljen status autonomne pokrajine 1828. To je bio važan korak ka punoj nezavisnosti Srbije koja je međunarodno priznata na Berlinskom kongresu 1878.

Interesantno za natpise na spomenicima je da oni često ne tako precizno formulišu kome ili čemu su posvećeni. Tako se i u Zaječarskom slučaju, pored oslobođenja pominje i ujedinjenje, ali u tekstu ne stoji o čijem je ujedinjenju reč. Da li se tu misli na ujedinjenje Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u novonastaloj Kraljevini Jugoslaviji (1918.), ili na oslobođenje i ujedinjenje Srba? Posle Drugog svetskog rata, u novoj socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji spomenik gubi na značaju, mada se, u znak sećanja i dalje na njega polažu venci, i biva posećivan od strane organizacija preživelih ratnika.

Kasnije, posle raspada Jugoslavije, spomenik ponovo dobija na značaju. U devedestim komemoracije koje se tu održavaju, s jedne strane sećaju na događaje iz XIX veka. Name-ra je da se učvrsti srpski nacionalni identitet, negujući mit o borbenosti i junaštvu srpskog naroda u cilju sticanja nacionalne nezavisnosti.

Spomenik je renoviran novembra 2008. godine. I danas se svake godine na 9. maj polažu venci na spomenik, ali se ne održavaju posebne komemoracije.

The monument in Zaječar, in eastern Serbia, commemorates soldiers from the region who gave their lives in the First Balkan War (1912-1913) and the First World War (1914-1918). It was unveiled in the city centre on the 100th anniversary of the liberation from Ottoman occupation. As a response to the first and second Serbian uprising against Ottoman rule (1804-1815), Serbia was granted the status of autonomous principality in 1828. This marked an important step towards Serbia's full independence which was internationally recognized during the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

Interestingly, the inscription on the monument is not very precise in the formulation of its dedication. While it mentions the wars for liberation and unity, the inscription does not say which unity it refers to: the unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (formed in 1918) or the liberation and unity of Serbs alone? After the Second World War, in the newly formed socialist Yugoslavia, the monument lost its significance, but it remained a place to lay wreaths and was still visited by organizations of veterans.

Following the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the monument once again gained significance: In the 1990s, celebrations were being held at the place in commemoration of the events from the 19th century. The intention was to strengthen the Serbian national identity by nurturing the myth of the heroism of the Serbian people in their fight for national independence.

The monument was renovated in November 2008. Every year on May 9th, wreaths are laid at the monument, but no special commemorations are taking place any more.



1929.

**Spomenik
Grguru Ninskom**

Lokacija:
Split, Hrvatska
Vajar:
Ivan Meštrović
**Monument to
Grgur Ninski**
Location:
Split, Croatia
Sculptor:
Ivan Meštrović

Podizanje statue u čast Grguru Ninskom, biskupu iz Nina (900.-929.), izazvao je oštru debatu u Splitu u posleratnom periodu. Hrvatska historiografija tradicionalno je portretisala Grgura Ninskog kao branitelja hrvatskog identiteta, zbog njegovog napora da se glagoljica i staroslovenski jezik umesto latinskog koristi u verskim obredima, što je dovelo do sukoba sa Rimom u kome je Grgur izgubio. Na taj način, simbolizovao je hrvatski otpor italijanskoj dominaciji, a 1920-tih bio je čak korišćen kao simbol jugoslovenstva. 1929., osam metara visoka statua podignuta na Peristilu u centru Dioklecijanove palate u Splitu, uprkos protestima istoričara umetnosti (koji su bili mišljenja da je spomenik pokvario arhitektonski prostor) i italijanske zajednice u Dalmaciji (koja je to videla kao direktnu pretnju italijanskom nasleđu u gradu).

Sadržaj političkih govora upristojenih prilikom ceremonije otkrivanja otvoreno pokazuje da je spomenik razgraničio hrvatsku teritoriju i predstavio pobjedu nad italijanskim pretenzijama u istočnom Jadranu. Tokom italijanske okupacije Splita u II Svetskom ratu, vlasti su uklonile spomenik i isekle ga na komade, koji su sačuvani u skladištu. 1950., komunističke vlasti restaurirale su spomenik, ali su ga postavile van zidina Dioklecijanove palate. Danas je statua oslobođena političkih kontraverzi, ali je ipak zadržala auru misterioznosti: lokalno stanovništvo trlja nožni palac Grgura Ninskog za sreću.

The building of this statue in honor of Grgur Ninski, Bishop of Nin (900-929), provoked some of the most heated debates in Split during the Interwar period. Croatian historiography traditionally portrayed Grgur Ninski as a defender of Croatian identity because of his efforts to use the Glagolitic script and Old Slavic language in religious services instead of Latin, leading to a clash with Rome that Grgur eventually lost. Thus, he symbolised Croatian resistance to Italian domination, and in the 1920s, was even used as a symbol of Yugoslavism. In 1929, the eight meter high statue was erected on the Peristyle in the centre of Diocletian's palace in Split, despite protests from art historians (who thought the monument ruined the architectural space) and Dalmatia's Italian community (who saw it as a direct threat to the Italian legacy in the city).

The content of the political speeches given during the unveiling ceremony clearly indicate that the monument demarcated Croatian territory and represented a victory over Italian pretensions in the Eastern Adriatic. During the Italian occupation of Split in the Second World War, the authorities removed the monument and had it cut into pieces, which were preserved in a storage facility. In the 1950s, the communist authorities restored the monument, but placed it outside of the walls of Diocletian's palace. Today the statue has been stripped of political controversy, but retains an aura of mysteriousness: locals rub Grgur Ninski's big toe for good luck.



1934.

Spomenik Petru II Petroviću-Njegošu

Lokacija: Trebinje, Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Toma Rosandić

Monument to Petar II Petrović-Njegoš

Location: Trebinje, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptor: Toma Rosandić

Ova statua je jedan od prvih spomenika posvećenih Petru II Petroviću Njegošu (1813.-1851.), srpskom vladiki i vladaru Crne Gore, te poznatom pjesniku, najpoznatijem po poemi 'Gorski vijenac'. Podigao ga je srpski književnik i diplomat, Jovan Dučić, kao zadužbinu svom rodnom gradu Trebinju u sjeveroistočnoj Hercegovini.

Prema Dučićevim zamislima je kip Njegošu trebao biti jedan od brojnih u aleji srpskih pjesnika i umjetnika. Kako ta ideja nije realizirana, Dučić je poklonio statuu kako bi bila postavljena u gradski park u sjećanje na značaj koje je Njegoševo delo imalo na jugoslovensku ideologiju. Kako je i sam kralj Aleksandar I Karađorđević, vladar Kraljevine Jugoslavije, povodom otkrivanja spomenika napisao, "Trebinje je rađalo heroje, naučnike i pesnike, tri najčistije kapi čovekove. Taj istorijski grad je oduvek mala, ali gorda predstraža Otadžbine i vredni čuvar vere u naš ideal i našu misiju".

Premda je spomenik stavljaao težište na kulturni značaj Njegoševog književnog djela, u njemu su kasnije prepoznavani isključivo 'prosrpski' elementi. Tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata, kada je Trebinje bilo dio Nezavisne države Hrvatske, koja je bila neprijateljski raspoložena prema srpskom stanovništvu, Njegoševa je statua kao, 'čuvar tradicije i srpskog duha,' bila skinuta s postolja i obješena o drvo a navodno ju je spasio općinski predsjednik Muho Resulbegović naredivši da se odloži u podrum vatrogasnog doma.

Statua je vraćena na svoje mjesto gdje je nakon rata koegzistirala sa novopodignutim spomeničkim bistama posvećenim herojima Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. Mnoge od ovih bisti uklonjene su ili uništene tijekom devedesetih godina. U posljednje vrijeme obnavljaju se biste heroja NOB-a, ali tek onih za koje se vjeruje da su bili srpske nacionalnosti.

The statue is one of the first monuments dedicated to Petar II Petrović-Njegoš (1813-1851), Serbian Orthodox prince-bishop and ruler of Montenegro as well as a well-known poet, most famous for the epic 'The Mountain Wreath' (Gorski vijenac). The statue was funded by Serbian writer and diplomat Jovan Dučić as a legacy to his home town Trebinje in south-eastern Herzegovina.

Dučić originally envisioned the statue of Njegoš to be one of numerous statues on an alley lined with Serbian poets and artists. Since the idea was not realised, Dučić donated the statue to be part of a city park in commemoration of the significance Njegoš's work had for Yugoslav ideology. On the occasion of the monument's inauguration, king Aleksandar I Karađorđević, ruler of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, wrote: "Trebinje gave birth to heroes, scientists and poets, three purest types of man. This historical town has always been a small but proud vanguard of the homeland and a valuable guardian of faith in our ideal and our mission."

The monument, albeit focusing the cultural significance of Njegoš's literary work, was soon perceived as being exclusively 'pro-Serbian'. During the Second World War, when Trebinje was part of the 'Independent State of Croatia' which was hostile towards the Serbian population, the statue of Njegoš, considered a 'guardian of tradition and the Serbian spirit', was taken off its pedestal and hung on a tree. Allegedly, the head of the Trebinje municipality, Muho Resulbegović, had it hidden in the basement of a fire station.

After the war, the statue was reinstated at its original place. It used to stand among busts dedicated to heroes of the National Liberation War that were built in the park after the war. Many of these busts were removed or damaged during the 1990s. Recently, the restoration of some of these busts has begun, but only regarding those dedicated to heroes believed to be of Serbian nationality.



1938.

Spomenik Đorđu Petroviću 'Karađorđu'

Lokacija: Topola, Srbija

Vajar: Petar Palavičini

Monument to Djordje 'Karadjordje' Petrović

Location: Topola, Serbia

Sculptor: Petar Palavičini

Spomenik je posvećen Đorđu Petroviću, koga su Turci zvali Karađorđe (turski: 'crni Đorđe'), bio je vođa Prvog srpskog ustanka (1804.-1813.) protiv Otomanskog carstva i rodonačelnik dinastije Karađorđevića. Spomenik dominira centrom Topole, varošicom u centralnoj Srbiji koju je Đorđe izgradio u periodu od 1811. do 1813. godine, koja je u narodu poznata i kao Karađorđev grad. Prikazan je u pozi pobjednika sa sabljom položenom uz telo u desnoj ruci i ustavnom poveljom u levoj. Sablja seća na onu koju mu je ruski car Aleksandar I poslao još na početku ustanka, a koja je nosila posvetu: „Branioću pravoslavne vere i otečestva“. Povelja predstavlja ustavne reforme koje je Karađorđe uveo u Srbiji tokom ranog XIX veka.

Tokom socijalističke Jugoslavije, sećanje na Karađorđa i njegovu istorijsku ulogu se nešto posebno ne neguje. Nestankom Jugoslavije, odavanjem državnih i vojnih počasti ispred Karađorđevog spomenika u Topoli, obeležava se Dan državnosti Srbije 15. februara, godišnjica Prvog srpskog ustanka 1804. i donošenje prvog srpskog ustava Kneževine Srbije koji je stupio na snagu 1835. Tako istorijski lik 'srpskog Vožda' Karađorđa doprinosi učvršćivanju kolektivnog identiteta.

The monument is dedicated to Djordje Petrović (1762-1817), known by the Ottomans as Karadjordje (Turkish: 'Black Djordje'), who was the leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804-1813) against Ottoman rule and representative of the Karadjordjević dynasty. The monument dominates the city centre of Topola, a small town in central Serbia which Karadjordje built from 1811 until 1813 and which is known as the 'City of Karadjordje'. He is portrayed in the pose of a winner resting his right hand on a sabre and holding a constitutional charter in his left hand. The sabre resembles the one he received from the Russian Tsar Alexander I at the beginning of the uprising as the "defender of the Orthodox faith and fatherland." The charter represents the constitutional reforms Karadjordje introduced in Serbia during the early 19th century.

In socialist Yugoslavia, commemorations for Karadjordje and his historical role came to a halt. Ever since the disintegration of Yugoslavia, state and military tributes in front of the monument in Topola mark the National Day of Serbia every year on February 15th, the day when the First Serbian Uprising began in 1804 and when the first Serbian constitution (of the Principality of Serbia) came into effect in 1835. Thus the historical character of the 'Serbian Duke' Karadjordje contributes to the strengthening of a collective Serbian identity.

MONUMENTI



1948.

Spomenik Tito

Lokacija: Kumrovec, Hrvatska

Vajar: Antun Augustinčić

Monument to Tito

Location: Kumrovec, Croatia

Sculptor: Antun Augustinčić

Spomenik Titu u selu Kumrovec, rodnom mestu jugoslovenskog lidera, je jedna od najprezentativnijih statua njemu posvećenih, pokazuje ga na vrhuncu snage kao komandanta partizanskog pokreta otpora, što je snažna komponenta Titovog kulta ličnosti koji je počeo da buja posle 1945. Kopije ovog spomenika nalaze se u drugim bivšim jugoslovenskim republikama. Kumrovec je služio kao značajno mesto sećanja tokom socijalističke Jugoslavije. 1981. Savez komunista Hrvatske otvorio je političku školu u tom mestu da bi obučavao svoj kadar.

Posle 1990. Kumrovec gubi svoj politički karakter i pre svega funkcioniše kao etnografski seoski muzej koji oslikava život u devetnaestom veku. Međutim, u poslednjoj deceniji opet mu se vratio stari sjaj kao mesto okupljanja tzv. Tito-nostalgičara, naročito za vikend oko 25. maja, nekada zvaničnog praznika za Titov rođendan.

U decembar 2004. nepoznate osobe aktivirale su eksplozivnu napravu kod spomenika i totalno ga uništile. Mnogi su sumnjali da je akcija 'odmazda' zbog odluke vlade da pod pritiskom Evropske unije ukloni dva ustaška spomenika ranije te iste godine. Spomenik je ubrzo restauriran i ostaje centralno mesto okupljanja, zatrpan vencima i cvećem, tokom majske komemoracije.

The monument of Tito in the village of Kumrovec, the Yugoslav leader's birthplace, is one of the most iconic statues dedicated to him and shows him in the prime of his life as the commander of the Partisan resistance movement, which functioned as a powerful component of Tito's cult of personality that flourished after 1945. Copies of the monument can also be found in other former Yugoslav republics. Kumrovec functioned as an important site of remembrance during socialist Yugoslavia. In 1981, the League of Communists of Croatia opened a political school in the village to train its cadres.

After 1990, Kumrovec lost its political character, and primarily functions as an ethnographic village museum depicting life in the nineteenth century. However, in the last decade it has once again flourished as a gathering spot for so-called Tito-nostalgics, especially on the closest weekend to 25 May, once an official holiday for Tito's birthday.

In December 2004, unknown persons detonated an explosive device next to the monument, destroying it completely. Many suspected that the action was 'retribution' for the government's decision to remove two Ustaša monuments earlier in the year under pressure from the European Union. The monument was quickly restored and remains a central gathering spot, buried in wreaths and flowers, during the May commemoration.



1953.

Memorijalni spomenik 'Kosovska bitka' u 1389.

Lokacija: Gazimestan, Kosovo

Skulptor: Aleksandar Deroko

Memorial to the 'Battle of Kosovo' in 1389

Location: Gazimestan, Kosovo

Skulptor: Aleksandar Deroko

25 metara visoku Gazimestan kulu ('Spomenik kosovskim junacima') izgradio je 1953. srpski arhitekta Aleksandar Deroko. Slavi uspomenu na 'Kosovski boj' 1389. Nalazi se u blizini Prištine na mestu gde se, po svoj prilici, odigrala bitka. Kula je iznutra ukrašena stihovima epskih pesama posvećenih boju koji je vođen između Turaka predvođenih Sultanom Muratom I i hrišćanskih snaga sa celog Balkana kojima je komandovao srpski car Lazar Hrebeljanović. Po završetku bitke, oba vladara su ubijena. To se uzima kao ključni događaj nakon koga je Otomansko carstvo vladalo Balkanom skoro 500 godina.

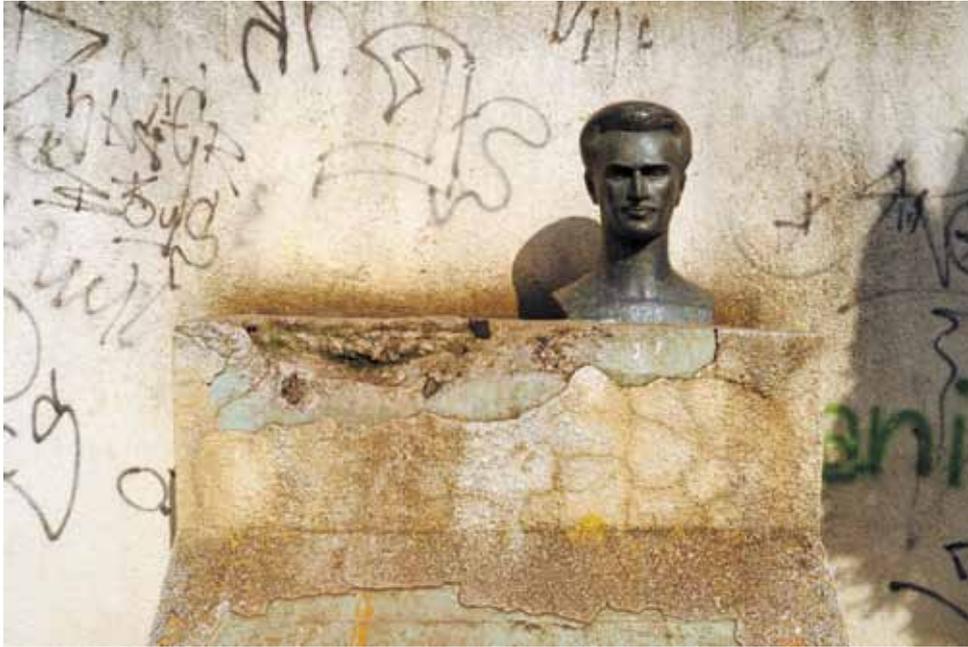
Proteklih godina, Gazimestan je postao kulturno mesto za mnoge Srbe, naročito posle juna 1989. kada je proslavljeno 600 godina od srednjovekovnog boja. Slobodan Milošević, tadašnji predsednik Socijalističke Republike Srbije kao deo jugoslovenske federacije, organizovao je veliku ceremoniju kojoj su prisustvovali stotine hiljada Srba. U glavnom govoru, Milošević je potkrepio srpsko istorijsko pravo nad Kosovom.

Posle NATO intervencije na Kosovu 1999, kula Gazimestan je pod protektoratom trupa KFOR-a, a od proglašenja nezavisnosti 2008. čuva ga kosovska policija. Srbi se i dalje okupljaju za Vidovdan, ali su to uglavnom male grupe koje nadgleda policija. Mnogi kosovski Albanci kritikuju to što spomenik slavi uspomenu samo na srpske junake u boju – kao što je Miloš Obilić, vitez koji je po legendi ubio Sultana Murata i koga Srbi smatraju junakom. Međutim, vojska koju je predvodio car Lazar sastojala se od ratnika sa celog Balkana, uključujući i albanske prinčeve.

The 25 metre tall Gazimestan ('Place of Heroes') Tower was built in 1953 by the Serbian architect Aleksandar Deroko and commemorates the 'Battle of Kosovo' in 1389. It stands near Pristina in the area where the battle presumably took place. On the inside, the tower is decorated with the words of epic songs dedicated to the battle fought between Ottoman forces led by Sultan Murat I and Christian forces from throughout the Balkans commanded by Serbian prince Lazar Hrebeljanović. By the end of the battle, the leaders of both sides were killed. It is considered the key event after which the Balkans were occupied by the Ottoman Empire for almost 500 years.

In recent years, Gazimestan has become a cult place for many Serbs, especially after June 1989, when the 600th anniversary of medieval battle was celebrated. Slobodan Milošević, at the time president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as part of the Yugoslav federation, organised a big ceremony which was attended by hundred thousands of Serbs. In a major speech, Milošević reinforced Serbia's historic claim over Kosovo.

After NATO's intervention in Kosovo 1999, the Gazimestan Tower was under protection of KFOR troops, and since Kosovo's declaration of independence in 2008, it has been watched over by the Kosovo Police. Serbs still gather there for St Vitus Day (Serbian: Vidovdan), but usually they are small groups supervised by the police. Many Kosovo-Albanians criticise that the monument commemorates only Serbian heroes of this battle – such as Miloš Obilić, the knight who according to the legend killed Sultan Murat and who is considered a national hero by Serbs. However, the army led by prince Lazar was comprised of fighters from throughout the Balkans, also including Albanian princes.



1961.

Spomenik Bori Vukmiroviću i Ramizu Sadiku

Lokacija: Priština, Kosovo

Vajar: Nepoznat

Monument to Boro Vukmirović and Ramiz Sadiku

Location: Pristina, Kosovo

Sculptor: Unknown

Ovaj spomenik je posvećen Crnogorcu Bori Vukmiroviću (1912.-1943.) i Albancu Ramizu Sadiku (1915.-1943.), dvojici prijatelja i najcenjenijih heroja antifašističke narodnooslobodilačke borbe u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Nalazi se u gradskom parku u Prištini, gde je podignut 1961.

Boru i Ramiza ubili su italijanski vojnici aprila 1943. nakon što su ih uhvatili dok su putovali iz Đakovice za Prizren. Jedna od legendi koje kruže u vezi sa njihovom smrću kaže da su italijanski vojnici i albanske brigade koje su uhvatile obojicu ponudile Ramizu Sadiku da pobjegne i spase se, ali je on odbio da se odvoji od svog ratnog druga i prijatelja Bore. Mučenička smrt Albanca uz Slovena (Boro Vukmirović bio je sin Crnogorca iz Peći) postala je simbol 'bratstva i jedinstva' albanskog i srpsko-crnogorskog stanovništva.

1999. tokom naleta uklanjanja i uništavanja spomenika iz komunističkog vremena i ere Miloševića, Borina bista je sklonjena. Tako je Ramiz ostao sam i 'sačuvan' na način koji je potpuno suprotan originalnoj priči drugarstva koje prelazi etničke granice. Politička poruka koja stoji iza uništavanja spomenika je potkrepljena činjenicom da do danas nijedna zvanična vlast nije naložila popravku spomenika i da su neke škole na Kosovu koje su prvobitno nosile naziv ova dva 'heroja', zadržale samo Ramiza u svom nazivu.

This monument is dedicated to the Montenegrin Boro Vukmirović (1912-1943) and the Albanian Ramiz Sadiku (1915-1943), two friends and most respected heroes of the antifascist National Liberation Movement in former Yugoslavia. It is located in the town park of Pristina, where it was installed in 1961.

Boro and Ramiz were killed by Italian soldiers in April 1943 after they were captured while travelling from Gjakova to Prizren. One of the legends surrounding their death states that the Italian soldiers and Albanian brigades that captured the two offered Ramiz Sadiku to escape and save himself, but he refused to part with his comrade-in-arms and friend Boro. This martyr's death of an Albanian next to a Slav (Boro Vukmirović was the son of a Montenegrin man from Peja/Peč) became a symbol of 'brotherhood and unity' of the Albanian and Serb-Montenegrin population.

In 1999, during a wave of removals and destructions of monuments from communist times and the Milosević era, the bust of Boro was taken down. Thus Ramiz has been left alone and 'saved' in a way which completely contradicts the original narrative of comradeship beyond ethnical borders. The political message behind the destruction of this monument is backed by the fact that until today no official authority has ordered the repair of the monument and that some schools in Kosovo which had initially been named after these two 'heroes', kept the name of Ramiz but removed the name of Boro.



1961.

'Prekinut Let' – Park Šumarice

Lokacija: Kragujevac, Srbija

Vajar: Miodrag Živković

'Interrupted Flight' – Park Šumarice

Location: Kragujevac, Serbia

Sculptor: Miodrag Živković

Spomenik, deo spomen parka 'Kragujevački oktobar', seća na oko 7000 građana Kragujevca streljanih od strane Vermahta u Šumaricama pored Kragujevca u centralnoj Srbiji u oktobru 1941. godine.

Spomenik 'Prekinut let' posvećen je streljanim đacima i profesorima, preko 300 njih, koji su bili među žrtvama. Ljudi su ga zvali 'Razred V3' kao simbol mnogo razreda srednje škole u Šumaricama koji su streljani. Za vajara, Miodraga Živkovića ono predstavlja „raspuklu kamenu gromadu, koja je pokušala da se uzdigne kao ptica, a ostala je zauvek tu, u Šumaricama“.

Mada je debata o podizanju spomen parka započeta već 1952. godine, do konačne realizacije je došlo deset godina kasnije. Ova činjenica objašnjava se time da se ovde radilo o sećanju na civilne žrtve, a ne na partizane tj. članove narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta, koji su imali prednost u procesu kreiranja sećanja na Drugi svetski rat.

Spomen park Šumarice se i danas, kao i u vreme socijalističke Jugoslavije redovno posećuje. Na njemu se svakog 21. oktobra – na dan Oslobođenja, održava pomen žrtvama. Pomen na kragujevačke žrtve zauvek je sačuvan u poemi 'Krvava bajka', koju je 1941. napisala srpska pesnikinja Desanka Maksimović. Danas su neki od spomenika oštećeni i oskrnavljeni grafitima. 2011. ukraden je deo gorionika sa spomenika 'Večnog plamena slobode'. Nedostatak finansijskih sredstava otežava restauraciju spomen parka.

The monument is part of the memorial park 'October of Kragujevac' which commemorates the around 7000 citizens of Kragujevac who were executed by the German Wehrmacht in the area of Šumarice, near Kragujevac in central Serbia, in October 1941.

The monument 'Interrupted Flight' is specifically dedicated to the more than 300 pupils and teachers who were among the victims. People used to call it 'Class V3' in reference to one of the many classes from the secondary school in Šumarice that were executed. For the sculptor of the monument, Miodrag Živković, it represents a "broken stone which is trying to fly as a bird. Its flight has been cut off and it stayed here forever, in Šumarice."

Although a debate regarding the construction of the memorial park had already started in 1952, it was not realised until ten years later. This delay can be explained by the fact that it is a commemoration of civilian victims and not of fallen partisans or members of the national liberation movement both of whom were officially prioritised in the process of creating memorials related to the Second World War.

The memorial park in Šumarice has as many regular visitors today as it had in socialist Yugoslavia. A commemoration of the victims takes place yearly on October 21st, the official 'Day in Remembrance of National Second World War Victims'. The memory of the victims in Kragujevac is also preserved in the famous poem 'Bloody Fairytale' written in 1941 by the Serbian poetess Desanka Maksimović. Today, some of the monuments have been damaged and desecrated by graffiti. In 2011, a part of the torch from the monument 'Eternal Flame of Freedom' monument was stolen. A lack of financial funds hinders restoration of the Memorial Park.

MONUMENTI



1961.

Spomenik herojima narodnooslobodilačke borbe

Lokacija: Priština, Kosovo

Vajar: Miodrag Živković

Monument to Heroes of the National Liberation Movement

Location: Pristina, Kosovo

Sculptor: Miodrag Živković

Spomenik posvećen palim herojima narodnooslobodilačke borbe podignut je u glavnom gradu Kosova, Prištini, 1961. a radio ga je vajar Miodrag Živković. Nalazi se u jednoj od glavnih gradskih ulica, između zgrade kosovskog Parlamenta i zgrade skupštine grada. Spomenik se sastoji iz dva dela: obeliska visokog 22 metra sa tri stuba koji se otvaraju kao buket (ne vidi se na fotografiji) a skulptura portretiše osam partizanskih figura postavljenih deset metara ispred obeliska. Oni stoje na prostranoj četvrtastoj ploči na kojoj je nekada bila fontana.

Na jeziku svakodnevice ovaj spomenik se zvao 'Memorijal bratstvu i jedinstvu'. Treba da simbolizuje bratstvo i jedinstvo među Albancima, Srbima i drugim nacionalnostima. 1999. posle NATO intervencije na Kosovu, pokušaj da se spomenik uništi dinamitom nije uspeo. Kasnije su studenti prefarbali partizanske figure motivima zastava zapadnih zemalja koje su podržale nezavisnost Kosova. Danas je spomenik prilično oronuo i zapušten. Opština Prištine planira uskoro da ga ukloni da bi se na tom mestu izgradila podzemna garaža.

The monument dedicated to fallen heroes of the National Liberation Movement was built in the capital of Kosovo, Pristina, in 1961 by sculptor Miodrag Živković. It is located in one of the city's major avenues, between the Kosovo Parliament building and the Pristina Municipality Parliament building. The monument consists of two parts: a 22 metre tall obelisk with three poles that open like a bouquet (not visible in the photograph) and a sculpture portraying eight partisan figures placed ten metres in front of the obelisk. They stand on a wide squared plate that once included a fountain.

In everyday language this monument was and still is called 'Memorial of Brotherhood and Unity'. It intends to symbolise brotherhood and unity between Albanians, Serbs and other nationalities. In 1999, after NATO forces intervened in Kosovo, an attempt to damage the monument with dynamite failed. Later, students repainted the partisan figures with the motives of flags of western countries supportive of the independence of Kosovo. Today the monument is considerably dilapidated and not taken care of. The municipality of Pristina has planned to remove it in the near future in order to build an underground garage in its place.



1965.

Spomenik palim Partizanima i žrtvama fašističkog terora

Lokacija: Sisak, Hrvatska

Vajar: Antun Augustinčić

Monument to Fallen Partisans and Victims of Fascist Terror

Location: Sisak, Croatia

Sculptor: Antun Augustinčić

Sisak zauzima posebno mesto u kulturnom sećanju antifašističkog pokreta otpora jer je tu oformljen prvi partizanski odred u Hrvatskoj 22. juna 1941. Iako mnogi drugi memorijali u Sisku predstavljaju značajna mesta sećanja – bazni logor za prvi partizanski odred u šumi Brezovici, centralni Trg narodnog ustanka, i mesto gde je nekada bio zloglasni logor za decu– masivna skulptura Antuna Augustinčića dominira centralnim gradskim grobljem.

Spomenik žrtvama rata sastoji se iz dva dela: velika, trouglasta ‘zastava’ pokrivena mermernim pločicama povinuta u vazduh kao brodska krma i manja skulptura koja odslikava dva Partizana koji nose ranjenog druga. Poslednju skulpturu kritikovali su izvesni komunistički zvaničnici zbog njene sličnosti sa religioznom likom Pieta u Augustinčićevom rodnom kraju Zagorje. Kosturnica koja sadrži ostatke nekoliko narodnih heroja i drugih revolucionara nalazi se na stepenicima ispod spomenika zastave.

Spomenik je izgubio svoju značajnu komemorativnu funkciju padom komunizma i Jugoslavije 1991, ali podizanje spomenika posvećenog Domovinskom ratu neposredno pored Augustinčićeve skulpture znači da ga još uvek posećuju domaće delegacije antifašista i veteranske grupe tokom memorijalnih dana. Trenutno je u lošem stanju usled dotrajalih stepenika, grafita i otpalih mermernih pločica.

Sisak holds a special place in the cultural memory of the antifascist resistance movement because it was the location where the first Partisan unit in Croatia was formed on 22 June 1941. Although many other memorials throughout Sisak denote important sites of remembrance – the base camp of the first Partisan unit in Brezovica Forest, the centrally located Square of the People’s Uprising, and the place where an infamous camp for children had once stood – the massive sculpture by Antun Augustinčić dominates the central town cemetery.

This monument to the victims of war consists of two parts: a large, triangular ‘flag’ covered in marble tiles thrusting into the air like the prow of a ship, and a smaller sculpture depicting two Partisans carrying a wounded comrade. The latter sculpture was criticised by some communist officials because of its similarity to the religious Pieta imagery common in Augustinčić’s native Zagorje region. An ossuary containing the remains of several People’s Heroes and other revolutionaries is located on the steps below the flag monument.

The monument lost its important commemorative function with the collapse of communism and Yugoslavia in 1991, but the construction of a monument to the Homeland War immediately next to Augustinčić’s sculpture means that it is still visited by local antifascist delegations and veterans’ groups during memorial days. It is currently in bad shape due to crumbling stairs, graffiti, and fallen marble tiles.



1966.

Jasenovački cvet

Lokacija: Jasenovac, Hrvatska

Vajar: Bogdan Bogdanović

Jasenovac 'Stone' Flower

Location: Jasenovac, Croatia

Sculptor: Bogdan Bogdanović

Memorijalni kompleks Jasenovac ostaje je-dno od najkontraverznijih mesta sećanja u vezi sa II Svetskim ratom u Hrvatskoj. Nalazi se na lokaciji koncentracionog logora koji je uspostavio ustaški režim. Iako je Jasenovac mesto Holokausta gde su ubijene hiljade Je-vreja i Roma, većinu žrtava činili su Srbi koje su Ustaše progonile. Spomeniku nedostaju verska i nacionalna simbolika, a predstavlja ponovno rađanje i život. Često se pogrešno zove Kameni cvet, jer je naime spomenik napravljen od betona. Dopunjen je muzejem i drugim spomenicima u blizini koji obeležava-ju druge logore ili stratišta. Pošto su Ustaše uništile prvobitni logor, jasenovački spomenik je dominantni objekat na tom mestu i težišna tačka svih komemorativnih aktivnosti.

U Jugoslaviji, stotine hiljada učenika posećiva-lo je muzej i vizuelne prikaze ustaških zločina, dok je komemoracija služila da potkrepi zva-ničan broj od 700,000 žrtava. 1980, hrvatski istoričari, posebno Franjo Tuđman, ponudili su niže procene u pogledu broja žrtava, jer je verovao da je to korišćeno kao stavljanje kolektivne krivice na hrvatski narod, dok su srpski istoričari povećavali broj kao dokaz za genocidnu prirodu Hrvata. Jasenovac i sam spomenik, stoga, postali su ključni simboli u pravdanju srpske pobune protiv navodne

probuđene ustaške države 1990-tih. Srbi su zauzeli Jasenovac tokom Domovinskog rata (1991.-1995.) i organizovali komemoraciju čija je poruka bila da Srbi i Hrvati nikada više neće moći da žive u istoj zemlji.

Posle operacije Oluja (1995.), hrvatska vlada je uspostavila kontrolu nad Jasenovcem. Jase-novački cvet je renoviran 2003, a nova stalna postavka u muzeju otvorena je 2006. Od 2000, hrvatska vlada povratila je značaj komemo-racije da bi privukla pažnju na opasnost od fašizma, ekstremnog nacionalizma i rehabilita-cije Ustaša koja se desila 1990-tih. Zbog toga, Jasenovac simbolizuje i unutar hrvatski konflikt kontradiktornih politika sećanja.

The Jasenovac memorial complex remains one of the most controversial sites of remem-brance related to the Second World War in Croatia. It stands at the location of a concen-tration camp, established by the fascist Ustaša regime. Although Jasenovac was a Holocaust site where thousands of Jews and Roma were killed, the majority of the victims were Serbs persecuted by the Ustaše. The monument lacks religious or national symbolism and represents rebirth and life. While it is often mistakenly called the 'Stone Flower', the mo-nument is actually constructed from concrete. It is complemented by a museum and several other monuments in the surrounding area that designated other camps or killing sites. Since the Ustaše destroyed the original camp, the Jasenovac monument is the dominating structure at the site and the focus point of all commemorative activities.

In Yugoslavia, hundreds of thousands of school children visited the museum and its graphic depictions of Ustaša crimes, while the commemorations served to reinforce the offi-cial number of 700,000 victims. In the 1980s, Croat historians, notably Franjo Tuđman, offered much lower estimates in the numbers of victims, which he believed was used to place collective guilt on the Croatian people,

while Serb historians increased the numbers as proof of the genocidal nature of Croats. Jasenovac and its monument, thus, became key symbols in justifying the Serb rebellion against an allegedly reawakened Ustaša state in the 1990s. Serbs occupied Jasenovac during the Homeland War (1991 – 1995) and organised commemorations whose message was that Serbs and Croats could never again live together in the same state.

After Operation Flash (1995), the Croatian government restored control over Jasenovac. The Flower Monument was renovated in 2003, and a new permanent exhibition in the muse-um opened in 2006. Since 2000, the Croatian government restored the importance of the commemoration in order to draw attention to the dangers of fascism, extreme nationalism, and the Ustaša rehabilitation that had taken place in the 1990s. Therefore, Jasenovac also symbolises an inner-Croatian conflict of con-tradicting policies of remembrance.

MONUMENTI



1971.

Spomenik osnivanju kosmajske brigade

Lokacija: Kosmaj, Srbija

Vajar: Vojin Stojić

Monument to the Founding of the Kosmaj Brigades

Location: Kosmaj, Serbia

Sculptor: Vojin Stojić



1971.

Glave narodnih heroja Darinke Radović, Sofije Ristić, Milana Blagojevića Španca i Milana Ilića Čiče

Lokacija: Topola, Srbija

Vajar: Nepoznat

Heads of National Heroes Darinka Radović, Sofija Ristić, Milan Blagojević Španac and Milan Ilić Čiča

Location: Topola, Serbia

Sculptor: Unknown

30m visok spomenik posvećen palim borcima kosmajске partizanske brigade, otkriven je na tridesetogodišnjicu osnivanja čuvenog partizanskog odreda na vrhu planine Kosmaj, u centralnoj Srbiji nadomak Beograda. Kosmajski narodnooslobodilački partizanski odred formiran je u julu 1941. godine, stekao je slavu po učešću u proboju Sremskog fronta, odbrambene linije koju su držale nemačke i hrvatske snage nadomak Beograda u aprilu 1945, što je predstavljalo kraj II Svetskog rata u Srbiji.

Spomenik je bio ne samo mesto održavanja komemoracija nego i rado posećivana izletnička destinacija. Danas se spomenik retko posećuje, a sam objekat i njegova okolina zapušteni su.

The 30 metre tall monument is dedicated to the fallen soldiers of the Kosmaj partisan brigades and was unveiled on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the famous partisan detachment on the top of Kosmaj hill, in central Serbia near Belgrade. The partisan detachment was formed in July 1941 and earned fame for its participation in the breakthrough of the 'Syrmian Front' (Serbian: Sremski Front), a defence line held by German and Croatian forces near Belgrade, in April 1945 which marked the end of the Second World War in Serbia.

The monument used to be not only a place for holding commemorations but also was a popular picnic destination. Today only few visitors come and both the monument and its surrounding have been neglected.

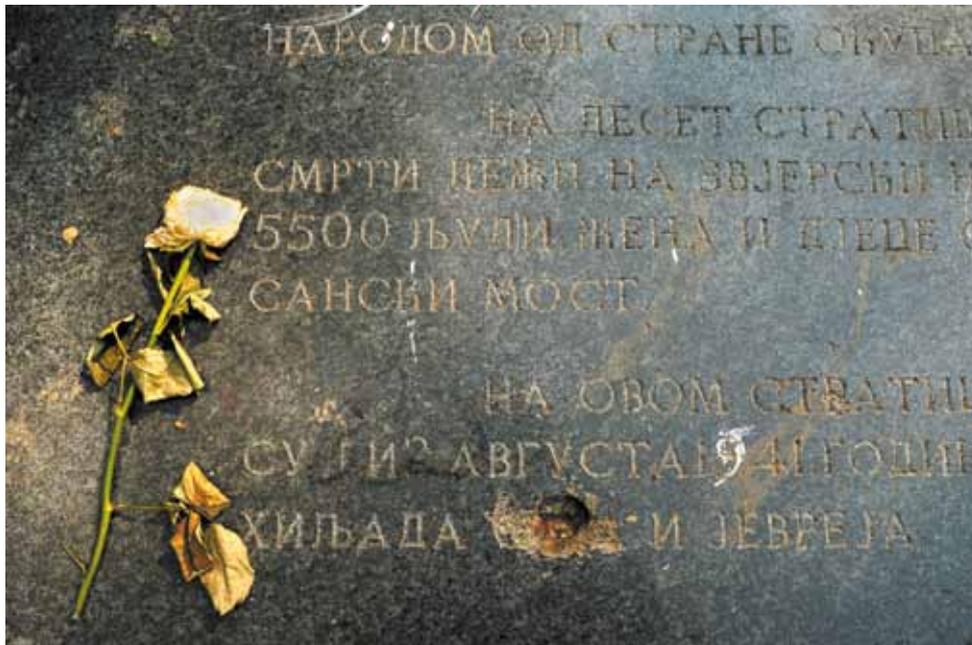
Spomenik posvećen narodnim herojima iz Drugog svetskog rata, nalazi se u Topoli, varošici u centralnoj Srbiji.

Milan Ilić Čiča (1886.–1942.) učestvovao je u balkanskim i Prvom svetskom ratu. On učestvuje i predvodi Odred u mnogim akcijama u Šumadiji. 1944. godine, među prvim borcima je proglašen za narodnog heroja. Darinka Radović (1896.–1943.) i Sofija Ristić (1900.–1944.) primale su partizane u kuću, a kasnije lečile ranjene borce kao i vođe srpskog otpora. Milan Blagojević Španac (1905.–1941.) učestvovao je u pripremama za ustanak i u julu 1941. godine postao je prvi komandant Šumadijskog partizanskog odreda, koji je razbio okupatorsku vlast u Šumadiji. Svo troje ubili su četnici polovinom '40-tih, a za narodne heroje Jugoslavije proglašeni su posle rata.

Spomenik u Topoli posebno značajan po sećanju na žene narodne heroje. U Narodnooslobodilačkoj vojsci Jugoslavije borilo se preko sto hiljada žena, od kojih je oko 25.000 poginulo, a narodnim herojima proglašena je 91 žena. Danas je spomenik, sem kao predmet naučnih istraživanja, vezanih za ulogu žena u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi, zarastao u okolno zelenilo, prilično nezapažen i zaboravljen.

The monument dedicated to four national heroes of the Second World War is located in the central Serbian town Topola. Milan Ilić Čiča (1886-1942) participated in both the Balkan wars and the First World War. He was part of the partisan brigades of Šumadija. In 1944, he was among the first soldiers to be declared a national hero. Darinka Radović (1896-1943) and Sofija Ristić (1900-1944) were offering refuge to partisans in their homes and caring for both wounded soldiers and leaders of the Serbian resistance. Milan Blagojević Španac (1905-1941) participated in the preparations of the uprising and in July 1941 became the first commander of the Šumadija partisan brigades who crushed the occupational rule of the area. All three of them were killed by Chetniks in the mid-1940s and declared national heroes of Yugoslavia after the war.

The monument in Topola is especially significant for its remembrance of female national heroes. In the National Liberation Army more than 100.000 women were fighting, around 25.000 of whom died, and 91 women were declared national heroes. Today, the monument serves only as an object of scientific research regarding the role of women in the national liberation battle and has otherwise been forgotten.



1972.

Spomenik žrtvama fašističkog terora i borcima narodnooslobodilačkog rata grada Sanskog Mosta i okoline

Lokacija: Šušnjar (Sanski Most), Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Petar Krstić

Monument to the Victims of Fascist Terror and the Fighters of the National Liberation War from the city Sanski Most and its surroundings

Location: Šušnjar (Sanski Most), Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptor: Petar Krstić

Spomenik je središnji dio memorijalnog kompleksa, posvećen žrtvama fašizma i poginulim borcima Narodnooslobodilačkog rata (1941.-1945.) iz Sanskog Mosta, na sjeverozapadu Bosne i Hercegovine.

Brdo Šušnjar, blizu Sanskog Mosta, na kome je podignuto spomen-obilježje, bilo je zapravo mjesto gde su fašisti strijeljali dvadeset i sedam bosanskih Srba u maju 1941. kao znak upozorenja onima koji su ranije organizirali pobunu. Žrtve su bile sahranjene na podnožju Šušnjara koji će postati i masovnom grobnicom nekoliko hiljada Srba koji su pogubljeni u augustu iste godine. Zbog činjenice da su na području Sanskog Mosta tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata stradali i brojni Jevreji, te borci koji su svoj život dali u borbi, spomen-obilježje je posvećeno svim žrtvama, neovisno o njihovoj vjerskoj ili etničkoj pripadnosti. Spomen-ploče s imenima nastradalih svakoj žrtvi dale su pojedinačan, ali i ravnopravan značaj. Po izbijanju ratnih sukoba devedesetih godina memorijalni park doživio je izvjesne transformacije. Kada su vlasti Republike Srpske preuzele kontrolu nad Sanskim Mostom, u podnožju Šušnjara podignut je krst ističući pravoslavnu vjeru žrtava iz 1941. godine. Spomen pločice s imenima stradalih boraca, kako Bošnjaka, tako Hrvata uklonjene su. Ovaj novi fokus memorijalnog parka usmjeren isključivo na zločine počinjene nad srpskim stanovništvom jačao je nacionalističku retoriku i komemorativne prakse koje su nastupile raspadom Jugoslavije. Negirajući žrtve koje nisu bile srpske nacionalnosti (osim Jevreja), nastojalo se separirati od Hrvata i Bošnjaka, te zajedničke prošlosti. Memorijal je danas pod okriljem Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, te je od 2003. godine pod zaštitom Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine. To, nažalost, nije spriječilo dalje uništavanje, sada upravljeno prema komemorisanju srpskih žrtava: kao što fotografija pokazuje, riječ 'Srbi' izgrebana je sa jedne od spomen ploča. Oštećen i u zapuštenom stanju, spomenik je pokazatelj je neriješenih povijesnih pitanja o zajedničkoj antifašističkoj prošlosti u postdejtonskoj Bosni i Hercegovini.

The monument is the central part of a memorial park dedicated to the victims of fascism and the fallen soldiers of the National Liberation War (1941-1945) from Sanski Most, in the Northwest of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the monument's location, the hill Šušnjar, near Sanski Most, fascists executed twenty-seven Bosnian Serbs in May 1941 as a warning to those who had previously organised a rebellion. The victims were buried at the foot of Šušnjar which would later become a mass grave of several thousand Serbs who were executed in August 1941. Due to the fact that around Sanski Most also numerous Jews were killed and many soldiers from the area died in the war, the park was dedicated to all victims, regardless of their religious or ethnic affiliation. Memorial plaques featuring their names award each victim individual but equal significance.

During the war of the 1990s, the memorial park was subjected to vandalism. When authorities of the Republika Srpska took control over Sanski Most, a cross was erected at the foot of Šušnjar emphasising the Orthodox faith of the victims from 1941. Memorial plaques with the names of fallen Bośniak and Croat soldiers were removed. This new focus exclusively on crimes committed against the Serbian population strengthened the nationalist rhetoric and commemorative practices that occurred with the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The denial of all those victims who were not of Serbian nationality (except for Jews) intended to separate from Croats and Bośniaks as well as from a common past.

Today the memorial park is under the auspices of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and since 2003 under protection of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This, however, did not prevent further damage, now directed against the commemoration of Serbian victims: as the photograph shows, the word 'Serbs' was scratched out on one of the memorial plaques. Thus the monument's vandalised and neglected state is an indicator of unresolved historical questions of the common antifascist past in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.



1973.

Spomenik rudarima junacima narodnooslobodilačke borbe

Lokacija: Kosovska Mitrovica, Kosovo

Vajar: Bogdan Bogdanović

Monument to the 'Mining Heroes' of the National Liberation Movement

Location: Mitrovica, Kosovo

Sculptor: Bogdan Bogdanović

Spomenik koji je dizajnirao Bogdan Bogdanović, posvećen je lokalnim albanskim i srpskim rudarima koji su se priključili narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi tokom II Svetskog rata a otkriven je 1973. Nalazi se na brdu iznad grada Zvečan pored Kosovske Mitrovice na severu Kosova. Spomenik dominira gradom koji se smatra centrom pokreta radničke klase i komunističke ideologije na Kosovu.

Spomenik drže dva kupasta stuba koji simbolišu vagone koji vuku rudu iz rudnika u topionicu. Na osnovu svog značaja u Jugoslaviji, bio je veoma vredan spomenik komunističkog režima na Kosovu, posle koga dolazi spomenik u Landovici koji se sagrađen u spomen dvojici junaka, Bori Vukmiroviću i Ramizu Sadiku koji su zajedno ubijeni.

Danas je spomenik u severnom delu podeljenog grada Kosovske Mitrovice, delu koji kontrolišu srpske vlasti. U današnje vreme etničke podeljenosti i sukoba, spomenik nema nikakvu vrednost ni za jednu zajednicu, ni srpsku ni albansku.

The monument, designed by Bogdan Bogdanović, is dedicated to local Albanian and Serbian miners who joined the National Liberation Movement during the Second World War and was inaugurated in 1973. Located on a hill overlooking the town Zvečan/Zvečan near Mitrovica in Northern Kosovo, the monument dominates the city that is considered the centre of the working class movement and of communist ideology in Kosovo.

The monument is held by two conic poles symbolising the wagons that haul minerals from the mine to the foundry. Based on its relevance in Yugoslavia, this was the most valuable monument of the communist regime in Kosovo, followed by the monument in Landovica that was built in memory of the two heroes, Boro Vukmirović and Ramiz Sadiku who were shot together.

Today the monument is in the northern part of the divided city of Mitrovica, the part that is controlled by Serb authorities. Nowadays, in times of ethnic division and conflict, the monument does not have any value for either community, neither Serbs nor Albanians.

MONUMENTI



1973.

Spomenik Bitke na Sutjeski

Lokacija: Tjentište, Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Miodrag Živković

Monument to the 'Battle of the Sutjeska' in 1943

Location: Place: Tjentište, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptor: Miodrag Živković

Spomenik sjeća na bitku na Sutjesci koja je bila jedna od najtežih borbi partizanskih snaga protiv njemačko-talijanskih trupa. 'Peta neprijateljska ofanziva', kako se bitka zapravo zvala, odvijala se od 15. maja do 15. juna 1943. g. na prostorima Crne Gore, istočne Hercegovine i istočne Bosne, a završne i najkrvavije borbe su se odigrale upravo na području rijeke Sutjeske i planina koje ju okružuju.

Spomenik, kao i većina spomen-obilježja podignutih nakon Drugog svjetskog rata imala je za namjeru podsjetiti na žrtve koje su podnešene u borbi protiv fašizma, a s ciljem stvaranja novog društvenog poretka i klasne svijesti. Bitka na Sutjesci, u kojoj su okružene jedinice Narodnooslobodilačke vojske Jugoslavije uspjele izvršiti proboj nad brojno nadmoćnim neprijateljem, te u kojoj je izginulo nekoliko hiljada partizana i ranjenika. Komemoriranjem ovog događaja, mogao se stvarati mit o snazi jugoslavenskih naroda i spremnosti na vlastito političko samoodređenje. U tu svrhu je otvoren nacionalni park i podignut memorijalni kompleks na Sutjesci, čije središte predstavlja spomenik Miodraga Živkovića. Sačinjen je od dvije simetrične i apstrahirane forme koje predstavljaju obale rijeke Sutjeske. Izlomljenim oblicima spomenika, sugeriran je "proboj" partizana, kao i njihova pobjeda.

Tijekom rata 1992.-1995. godine mnogi spomenici u memorijalnom parku uništeni su pod naletom vojske Republike Srpske. Jedino je središnji spomenik ostao čitav, navodno uslijed nedostatka eksploziva. Nacionalni park Sutjeska je danas jedan od rijetkih primjera gdje se radi na institucionalnoj obnovi i revitalizaciji spomenika NOB-a.

The monument commemorates the 'Battle of the Sutjeska' which was one of the toughest combats of partisan forces against German-Italian troops. The battle, also called the 'Fifth Enemy Offensive', took place from May 15th to June 15th 1943 in the area of Montenegro, east Herzegovina, and east Bosnia. The final and bloodiest combats were fought along the Sutjeska River and the surrounding mountains.

The monument, similar to others built after the Second World War, intended to remind of sacrifices made in the fight against fascism with the aim of creating a new social order and class consciousness. In the 'Battle of the Sutjeska', the surrounded units of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia succeeded in breaching the lines of a numerically superior enemy, albeit suffering heavy losses of thousands dead or wounded. The commemoration of this event fostered the myth of both the strength of the Yugoslav peoples and their readiness for political self-determination. This was the purpose for opening the national park on the Sutjeska as a memorial complex at the centre of which stands the monument by Miodrag Živković. It is made of two symmetrical and abstract shapes that represent the banks of the Sutjeska River. The broken form of the monument suggests the successful 'breach' of the partisans and their victory.

During the war of 1992-1995, many monuments in the memorial park were destroyed by the army of Republika Srpska. Only the central monument remained whole, allegedly because of a shortage of explosives. Today, the Sutjeska national park is one of the few places where monuments commemorating the National Liberation War are actually being renovated through official funding.



1974.

'Makedonium'

Lokacija: Krushevo, Makedonija

Vajari: Jordan Grabuloski i Iskra Grabuloska (arhitektura), Borko Lazeski (vitraž) i Peter Mazev (svodovi)

'Makedonium'

Location: Krushevo, Macedonia

Sculptors: Jordan Grabuloski and Iskra Grabuloska (architecture), Borko Lazeski (stained glass) and Peter Mazev (vaulted plastic)

Spomenik komemoriše narodni ustanak protiv Otomanskog carstva koji je poveo narodni pokret 'Unutrašnja Makedonska Revolucionarna Organizacija' (VMRO) na dan Sv. Ilije ili Ilindan 2. avgusta 1903. Podignut je u gradu Krushevu, na jugu Makedonije, koji je bio centar ustanka.

Ilindanski ustanak doveo je do proglašenja 'Republike Krushevo' 3. avgusta 1903. Iako su ga Turci ugušili nakon deset dana, smatra se najznačajnijom pretečom makedonske narodne državnosti. U sećanje na te događaje, makedonski 'Dan republike' slavi se svake godine 2. avgusta.

Izgradnja 'Makedoniuma' podudarila se sa potvrdom novog ustava Jugoslavije 1974. koji je pružao veću autonomiju svakoj od šest republika. Ustav je bio odgovor na rastuće samopouzdanje republika u odnosu na centralnu državu. U liniji sa promenom socio-političke klime, 'Makedonium' ističe i nacionalni karakter Makedonije i njenu poziciju unutar zajedničkog jugoslovenskog društva. To se ogleda u umetničkim i simboličkim referencama ugrađenim u spomenik koji se odnosi na kontinuirani proces građenja makedonske nacije: od ilindanskog ustanka do 'Narodnooslobodilačke borbe' tokom II Svetskog rata prema formiranju makedonske republike unutar Jugoslavije.

The monument commemorates the popular uprising against the Ottoman Empire staged by the national movement 'Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation' (IMRO) on St. Elias - or Ilinden - Day, August 2, 1903. It was built in the southern Macedonian city Krushevo which was at the centre of the revolt.

The 'Ilinden Uprising' led to the proclamation of the 'Krushevo Republic' on August 3, 1903. Though crushed by the Ottomans after ten days, it is officially considered one of the most significant precursors towards Macedonian national statehood. In remembrance of these events, the Macedonian 'Day of the Republic' is celebrated yearly on August 2.

The construction of the 'Makedonium' coincided with the ratification of a new constitution for Yugoslavia in 1974 which awarded greater autonomy to each of the six Yugoslav republics. The constitution was the response to a growing self-confidence of the republics towards the Yugoslav central state. In line with the changing socio-political climate, the 'Makedonium' accentuates both the national character of Macedonia and its position within a common Yugoslav society. This is reflected by artistic and symbolic references built into the monument which relate to a continuous process of Macedonian nation-building: from the 'Ilinden Uprising' to the 'National Liberation War' during the Second World War towards the formation of a Macedonian republic within Yugoslavia.



1977.

Spomenik slobode

Lokacija: Berane, Crna Gora

Vajar: Bogdan Bogdanović

Freedom Monument

Location: Berane, Montenegro

Sculptor: Bogdan Bogdanović

Spomenik slobode blizu Berana, na severoistočnom kraju Crne Gore, seća na učešće ljudi iz ovog kraja u oslobodilačkim ratovima tokom XIX i XX veka. Istorija ovih ratova zapisana je u četrdeset kamenih blokova koji stoje u blizini spomenika. Ovaj kraj je poznat po bunama protiv Turaka u XIX veku. U Prvom balkanskom ratu (1912.-1913.), Berane je oslobođeno od turske vlasti i ovaj kraj je priključen Kraljevini Crnoj Gori.

Naredne godine pokazale su kako se političke prilike u Evropi preslikavaju i na beranski kraj: nakon okupacije Crne Gore od strane Austrougarske u Prvom svetskom ratu, veliki broj meštana je utamničen; 1935. počinju da se osnivaju komunističke partijske ćelije; aprila 1941. ovaj kraj su okupirali italijanske i nemačke snage; kao odgovor iste godine formirane su četničke i partizanske brigade. Sve je to, na izvestan način, dovelo do krvave međusobne borbe partizana i četnika, tokom koje je neuporedivo više života izgubljeno nego u borbi protiv strane okupacije. Od 21. jula 1949. godine Berane se zvalo Ivograd po Ivanu Milutinoviću, komandantu crnogorskog krila narodnooslobodilačke vojske tokom Drugog Svetskog rata, ali mu je 1992. godine vraćen izvorni naziv.

Arhitektonski koncept spomenika je jednostavan i integrisan u prirodno okruženje. Vizuelna retorika spomenika ne drži se uobičajenog estetskog koda, već pokušava da teret oprečnih etničkih i religijskih kultura i političkih ideologija regiona transcendentira u bezvremensku arhaičnu simboliku.

The 'Freedom Monument' close to Berane, in the Northeast of Montenegro, commemorates the participation of the people from the region in the liberation wars during the 19th and 20th century. The history of these wars is inscribed on forty stone blocks standing in the vicinity of the monument. The region of Berane is known for riots against the Ottomans in the 19th century. During the first Balkan War (1912-1913), Berane was liberated from the Ottoman reign and the region was annexed by the Kingdom of Montenegro.

In the following years, the political developments in Europe also had repercussions for Berane: after Montenegro's capitulation to Austria-Hungary in the First World War, a large number of inhabitants were taken prisoner; in 1935, a local cell of the communist party was founded; in April 1941 the area was occupied by German and Italian forces; as a response, both Chetnik and Partisan brigades were formed in the same year. All this eventually led to a war between Partisans and Chetniks during which incomparably more lives were lost than in the fight against the foreign occupation. On July 21st 1949, Berane was renamed Ivograd after Ivan Milutinovic, commander of the Montenegrin arm of the National Liberation Army during the Second World War, but it was given back its original name in 1992.

The monument's architectural concept is simple and integrated into the natural environment. Its visual language goes beyond the usual socialist aesthetic code: it tries to transcend different ethnic and religious cultures as well as political ideologies of the region and incorporates them into a timeless archaic imagery.



1978.

Spomenik na Makljenu

Lokacija: Makljen, Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Boško Kućanski

Makljen Monument

Location: Makljen, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptor: Boško Kućanski

Spomenik na Makljestu je spomen-obilježje kojim se komemorira bitka na Neretvi (poznata kao Četvrta neprijateljska ofanziva ili Bitka za ranjenike), jedna od najznačajnijih borbi NOV-a u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Tijekom vojnih akcija, koje su trajale od januara do aprila 1943. godine, partizani su uspjeli spriječiti Sile osovine da unište centralnu komandu narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta, te zaštititi oko 4000 povrijeđenih u glavnoj partizanskoj bolnici.

Spomenik na Makljestu je zapravo trebao podsjećati na trijumf antifašističkih snaga nad daleko moćnijim neprijateljem i na pobjedu humanosti. Stoga je kipar Boško Kućanski spomen-obilježje koncipirao kao 'vitalističku cvijetnu formu' koja poprma volumene okolnih stjenovitih brda. Za podizanje ovog spomenika je odabrana najviša tačka brda Makljen odakle se pruža jasan pogled ka teritorijama na kojima se zapravo vodila jedna od partizanskih ofanziva unutar Bitke za Neretvu.

Spomenik je kao takav, pogotovo u vrijeme iza ratnih sukoba devedesetih godina, interpretiran kao simbol komunističkog režima i socijalističke prošlosti s kojom nacionalističke struje i dan danas žele 'raskrstiti'. Memorijal, koji se danas nalazi na teritoriji Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, gotovo potpuno je uništen 2000. godine, i to 'pod nerazjašnjenim okolnostima' kako zvanični izvještaji navode. 'Sačuvana' je samo njegova konstrukcija od armiranobetonskih greda, koja je od 2010. godine zaštićena zajedno sa prirodnim okolišem spomenika.

The Makljen monument stands in a memorial park which commemorates the 'Battle of the Neretva' (also known as the 'Fourth Enemy Offensive' or the 'Battle of the Wounded'), one of the most significant combats of the National Liberation Army in the Second World War. During the military actions that lasted from January until April 1943, the partisans succeeded both in preventing the Axis forces from destroying the central command of the national liberation movement and in protecting around 4.000 wounded in the main partisan hospital.

The Makljen monument was built to commemorate the triumph of the antifascist forces over a far more powerful enemy as well as the victory of humanitarianism. Therefore sculptor Boško Kućanski conceptualised the memorial in a 'vital floral form' that picks up on the forms of the surrounding rocky hills. As the location for this monument the highest point of the Makljen hill was selected, from where a clear view extends towards the territories where part of the partisan offensives during the 'Battle of the Neretva' took place.

The monument as such, particularly after the wars of the 1990s, was interpreted as a symbol of the communist regime and socialist past which nationalist movements wished to break with. In 2000, the Makljen memorial park, located in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was almost entirely destroyed – according to official sources 'under unclear circumstances'. Of the monument, only the inner core of reinforced concrete beams was 'preserved'. Since 2010, it has been under official protection along with its natural setting.



1981.

Spomenik Petrova gora

Lokacija: Petrovac (planina Petrova Gora), Hrvatska

Vajar: Vojin Bakić

Petrova Gora Monument

Location: Petrovac (Petrova Gora Mountain), Croatia

Sculptor: Vojin Bakić

Spomenik na planini Petrova Gora predstavlja jedan od naslavljenijih dostignuća u monumentalnoj arhitekturi socijalističke Jugoslavije. Petrova Gora imala je značajnu ulogu za partizanski pokret jer je služila kao glavni štab za Hrvatsku komunističku partiju tokom prvih godina II Svetskog rata i bila je mesto centralne partizanske poljske bolnice. Uz to, simbolisala je tragediju mnogobrojnih Srba iz Hrvatske koje je ustaški režim ubio u obližnjim selima.

Komunističke vlasti postavile su kamen temeljac za spomenik Petrova Gora 1946, ali usled osiromašenja regije, gradnja nije završena do 1981. Spomenik je postao ozlogašen u mart 1990. zbog komemoracije koju su organizovali lokalni komunisti koji su upozorili na navodno vaskrsavanje Ustaša u liku Franje Tuđmana i njegove Hrvatske Demokratske Zajednice. Mediji su izveštavali o prisustvu Četnika i drugih srpskih nacionalističkih likova, a mnogi su to shvatili kao pokušaj Beograda da manipuliše strahom Srba iz Hrvatske uoči prvih višestranačkih izbora u Hrvatskoj od II Svetskog rata.

Od Domovinskog rata (1991.-1995.), ceo memorijalni kompleks bio je uništen a vredne metalne panele od kojih je sačinjena oplata spomenika neko je sistematski krao. Trenutno, Srpsko nacionalno veće, organizuje nekoliko radnih akcija godišnje da bi se mesto očistilo, a postoje i predlozi da se spomenik renovira i koristi kao muzej ili kao umetnički prostor. Nažalost, visoka cena materijala korišćenog za ovaj spomenik i njegova izolovana lokacija znače da njegova obnova u bliskoj budućnosti nije verovatna.

The monument on Petrova Gora Mountain represents one of the most celebrated achievements in socialist Yugoslav monumental architecture. Petrova Gora was an important part of the Partisan movement since it served as the Croatian Communist Party's headquarters during the first years of the Second World War and was the location of the central Partisan field hospital. In addition, it symbolised the tragedy of Croatian Serbs who were killed in large numbers by the Ustaša regime in surrounding villages.

The communist authorities laid the foundation stone of the Petrova Gora monument in 1946, but due to the impoverishment of the region, construction was not completed until 1981. The monument achieved notoriety in March 1990 because of a commemoration organised by local communists who warned of an alleged Ustaša resurgence in the form of Franjo Tuđman and his Croatian Democratic Party. The media reported on the presence of Chetnik and other Serbian nationalist imagery, and many perceived it as an attempt by Belgrade to manipulate the fears of Croatian Serbs on the eve of Croatia's first multiparty elections since the Second World War.

Since the Homeland War (1991 – 1995), the entire memorial complex has been devastated and the valuable metal panels that form the monument's outer skin have been systematically stolen. Currently, the Serbian National Council organises several work actions per year to clean up the site, and there are a number of proposals to renovate the monument and use it as a museum or artistic space. Unfortunately, the high cost of the material used in the monument and its isolated location means that it is unlikely for the monument to be restored in the near future.



1982.

Spomenik srpskim borcima palim za oslobođenje otadžbine 1912.-1918. od njihovih ratnih drugova i zahvalnog naroda

Lokacija: Kraljevo, Srbija

Skulptor: Živojin Lukić

Monument to Serbian Fighters fallen for the Freedom of the Fatherland 1912-1918 from War Comrades and a Grateful Nation

Location: Kraljevo, Serbia

Sculptor: Živojin Lukić

Ideja o podizanju memorijala ratnicima palim u balkanskim ratovima rođena je u Kraljevu 1913. godine, po završetku Drugog balkanskog rata. Do realizacije spomenika došlo je dvadeset godina kasnije, delimično zbog I Svetskog rata. 1932. sproveden je svojevrsni referendum među građanima i na osnovu nje ga doneta je odluka da se spomenik postavi u centralnom delu gradskog trga, (iz nepoznatih razloga na sadašnjoj spomen-ploči stoji 1934. godina). Nakon dve decenije u novembru 1959. godine odlukom Narodnog odbora opštine Kraljevo sklonjen je sa gradskog trga u vojničko groblje. Spomenik je na svoje staro mesto vraćen u oktobru 1982. godine, posle brojnih zahteva Kraljevčana.

Spomenik predstavlja figuru srpskog vojnika postavljenog na kamenom postamentu. Na severnoj strani kamenog postamenta izrađen je od kamena u reljefu grb Srbije. Na sve četiri strane postamenta su pravougaone niše, predviđene za mermernе ploče sa imenima ratnika ovog kraja, koji su izgubili život u ratovima 1912.–1918. godine. Budući da su spiskovi imena za vreme Drugog svetskog rata uništeni, ugrađene su bronzane table sa imenima bitaka u kojima su 1912–1918. izginuli srpski vojnici.

Kao jedno od obeležja grada, bio je i mesto okupljanja mladih u vremenima kada je kraj njega bio gradski korzo. A u novije vreme njegov postament je svojevrsna tribina za političke lidere koji pozivaju na demokratske promene i polaganje venaca kraj Spomenika obeležava i dan proboja Soluskog fronta 1918. kojim je Srbija oslobođena.

The idea of building a memorial to the fighters fallen in the Balkan Wars was first born in Kraljevo shortly after the Second Balkan War in 1913. The realisation of the monument, however, was only finished twenty years later, partly due to the First World War. Based on a referendum among the townspeople, the monument was 1932 finally placed in the city centre (for unknown reasons, on the memorial plaque it reads 1934). Another two decades on, in November 1959, the monument was removed by a decision of the socialist people's committee of Kraljevo Municipality because the central square was to be turned into a military cemetery. Following numerous requests by citizens of Kraljevo, the monument was officially restored at its old place in October 1982.

The monument shows the figure of a Serbian soldier set on a stone pedestal. The northern side of the pedestal features a relief of Serbia's national emblem. All four sides of the pedestal include rectangular niches intended for marble plaques with names of local fighters who lost their lives between 1912 and 1918. Because the list of names was destroyed during the Second World War, bronze plaques were installed featuring the names of battles in which Serbian soldiers perished in the Balkan Wars as well as the First World War.

As one of the town's central features, the monument used to be a gathering place for youths when the town promenade was leading next to it. Today, it has become a popular tribune for political events and for laying wreaths in commemoration of the breach of the 'Macedonian (also Salonika) Front' in 1918 which resulted in the liberation of Serbia.

MONUMENTI



1990.

Spomenik Desanke Maksimović

Lokacija: Valjevo, Srbija

Vajar: Aleksandar Zarin

Monument to Desanka Maksimović

Location: Valjevo, Serbia

Sculptor: Aleksandar Zarin

Spomenik je posvećen Desanki Maksimović (1898.-1993), jednoj od najvećih srpskih pesnikinja. On je podignut još za vreme njenog života, u njenom rodnom gradu Valjevu 1990. godine. Iako je pesnikinja negodovala zbog izgradnje spomenika, meštani su je ubedili da je to samo spomenik poeziji, sa njenim likom. Na njemu je sa prednje strane uklesana poruka "Pesništvu na dar, pesnički narod".

Desanka Maksimović je bila profesor književnosti i član Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti. Bila je poznata kao pesnik, pripovedač, roman-sijer, pisac za decu, a povremeno se bavila i prevodjenjem. Njene pesme predstavljaju poziv ljudima da budu dobri, plemeniti, ponositi, postojani, da poštuju ljude drugačijih uverenja i načela, mišljenja, boja i vera, i da budu strogi prema svojim manama kao i prema tuđim. Jedna od njenih najpoznatijih pesama je „Krvava bajka“ koju je napisala kada je čula za streljanje učenika u Kragujevcu 21. oktobra 1941. Pesma je objavljena posle II Svetskog rata i u Jugoslaviji je bila obavezan deo nastavnog plana u osnovnim školama u Jugoslaviji. Inspirisala je i film istog naslova snimljen 1969.

I danas je poezija Desanke Maksimović u obrazovnim programima osnovnih škola Srbije, a u Valjevu se svake godine 16. maja na Trgu pesništva organizuje Poetski čas, posvećen poeziji Desanke Maksimović. Tada se najboljim liricima uručuje nagrada sa njenim imenom i polaže cveće na njen Spomenik u centru grada.

The monument is dedicated to Desanka Maksimović (1898-1993), one of the greatest Serbian poetesses. It was erected during her lifetime in her hometown of Valjevo in 1990. Maksimović protested against the construction of the monument, but locals from Valjevo persuaded her that it was just a monument for poetry with her face on it. The engraving on the monument reads accordingly: "To poetry from a poetic nation".

Desanka Maksimović worked as a school teacher of Serbian literature and was member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. She is most famous as a poet, storyteller, novelist, children's writer, and occasional translator. Her poems represent a call for people to be good, noble, proud, and steady; to respect people of different beliefs and principles, opinions, colours and religions; and to be strict towards their own flaws as well as those of others. One of her best-known poems is 'A Bloody Fairy Tale' (Serbian: Krvava Bajka) which she wrote after hearing of the execution of students in Kragujevac on October 21st 1941. The poem was published after the end of the Second World War and became an obligatory part of every elementary school curriculum in Yugoslavia. It also inspired a movie with the same title made in 1969.

Still today, Desanka Maksimović's poetry is included in the curricula of Serbian elementary schools. Poetry lessons, dedicated to her poetry, are organized on the central 'Poetry Square' in Valjevo every year on May 16th. That day, the best lyrists are given an award named after her and flowers are laid at her monument in the town centre.



1991.

'Protiv zla'

Lokacija: Kragujevac, Srbija

Vajar: Romo Miguel

'Against Evil'

Location: Kragujevac, Serbia

Sculptor: Romo Miguel

Spomenik 'Protiv zla' isklesan je u jednom mermernom bloku. Stilom podseća na drevnu umetnost južnoameričkog naroda Maja, ali je njegova tema hrišćanska. Uklesani su religiozni simboli iz Apokalipse, koji govore o pravednoj kazni za učinjena nedela ili nagradi za dobra dela. Delo je meksičkog skulptora Romo Miguela i donirano je od strane Meksika 1989. memorijalnom parku Šumarice, blizu Kragujevca kao znak prijateljstva i saradnje. Spomenik je podignut 1991.

Memorijalni park komemoriše streljanje nekoliko hiljada stanovnika Kragujevca od strane nemačkog Vermahta 21. oktobra 1941. godine. U spomen na žrtve, čitav prostor Šumarica je pretvoren u memorijalni park 'Kragujevački oktobar'. Brojne spomenike koji su nastajali u parku u periodu od 1959. pa sve do 1994. godine, radili su uz manje izuzetke, vajari i arhitektae iz skoro svih republika bivše Jugoslavije.

Tokom vladavine Slobodana Miloševića i rastom nacionalizma u Srbiji, Srpska Pravoslavna crkva izgrađena je u blizini spomenika 'Protiv zla' ističući religioznu pripadnost žrtava srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi i konceptu srpskog naroda kao žrtve.

The 2m-tall monument 'Against Evil' is carved out of a single marble block. Its style is reminiscent of ancient South-American Mayan art, but its theme is Christian. It features religious symbols from the Apocalypse that speak of just punishment for one's misdeeds or of reward for one's good deeds. It is the work of the Mexican sculptor Romo Miguel and was donated by Mexico in 1989 to the memorial park Šumarice, close to Kragujevac, as a token of friendship and cooperation. In 1991 it was finally erected.

The memorial park commemorates the execution of several thousand residents of Kragujevac by the German Wehrmacht on October 21st 1941. In commemoration of the victims, the whole Šumarice area was turned into the memorial park 'October in Kragujevac' (Serbian: Kragujevački Oktobar) in 1953. Numerous monuments were created in the park between 1959 and 1994, made, with few exceptions, mainly by sculptors and architects from almost all republics of former Yugoslavia.

During the rule of Slobodan Milošević and the rise of nationalism in Serbia, a Serbian Orthodox Church was built close to the monument 'Against Evil' emphasising both the religious belonging of the victims to the Serbian Orthodox Church and the concept of the Serbian people as victim.



1994.

(prva konstrukcija 1984., first construction in 1984)

'Krajputaš' – Spomenik Ivi Andriću

Lokacija: Višegrad, Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Ljupko Antunović

'Roadside Monument' to Ivo Andrić

Location: Višegrad, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptor: Ljupko Antunović

Spomenik je posvećen Ivi Andriću (1892.-1975.), čuvenom jugoslavenskom književniku i nobelovcu, koji je svjetsku slavu stekao romanom 'Na Drini ćuprija'. U spomenutom romanu je oslikao život i društvo u istočno bosanskom gradu Višegradu iz šesnaestog stoljeća do Prvog svjetskog rata. Most Mehmed-paše Sokolovića, koji je inspirisao knjigu, podignut je 1577. i na UNESCO-voj je listi od 2007. godine.

Spomenik Andriću je prvi put podignut u Višegradu 1984. godine i to na inicijativu bosanskohercegovačkih književnika. Otkriven je u sklopu kulturne manifestacije 'Višegradske staze' koja je okupljala književnike i umjetnike iz cijele tadašnje Jugoslavije. Kipar Ljupko Antunović, umjetnik iz Sarajeva, izradio ga je i nazvao 'Krajputaš', pošto je spomenik smješten u neposrednoj blizini Višegradskog mosta.

Premda motiv podizanju spomenika Ivi Andriću inicijalno nije bio političkog, nego kulturnog karaktera, tijekom ratnih sukoba devedesetih godina je 'Krajputaš' dobio i svoju političku dimenziju. Bošnjačke snage su ga uništile 1991. godine, a tri godine kasnije je njegovo ponovno podizanje inicirala vlast Republike Srpske. Kipar Antunović pristao ga je isklesati i drugi put, ali ne i prisustvovati činu njegove inauguracije 1994. godine kojoj je prisustvovao Radovan Karadžić, prvi predsjednik Republike Srpske od 1992 do 1996. kome se trenutno sudi za ratne zločine u Međunarodnom krivičnom sudu za bivšu Jugoslaviju u Hagu. Uzimajući to u obzir i činjenicu da je tijekom sukoba u Bosni, Višegrad bio podvrgnut jednoj od sveobuhvatnih kampanja etničkog čišćenja upravljenog protiv muslimanskog bošnjačkog stanovništva, ponovna obnova spomenika postala je vid etno-nacionalne demarkacije prostora.

Interesantno je da na Andrićevo jedinstveno porijeklo ne može polagati pravo nijedna od 'strana'. Rođen je u Travniku u Bosni i Hercegovini od hrvatskih roditelja, a veći dio života je proveo u Beogradu. Kao i njegovi romani, cijenjani izvan etničkih i državnih granica, on ne 'pripada' samo jednoj zajednici već svake ko cijeni njegovo djelo. Stoga, spomenik Andriću treba biti lišen bilo kakvih političkih konotacija koje je stekao kroz vrijeme; njegova prava namjera, sudeći po skulptoru Antunoviću, bila je odavanje počasti umjetnikovoj imaginaciji i književnom djelu.

The monument is dedicated to Ivo Andrić (1892-1975), famous Yugoslav writer and Nobel laureate who gained world fame with his novel "The Bridge on the Drina" in which he depicts life and society in the Eastern Bosnian city Višegrad from the 16th century until the First World War. The Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge, which inspired the book, was built in 1577 and named a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2007.

The monument was first built in Višegrad in 1984 on the initiative of several Bosnian Herzegovinian writers. It was inaugurated during the cultural event 'The Paths of Višegrad' that used to gather writers and artists from all over Yugoslavia. Sculptor Ljupko Antunović, an artist from Sarajevo, named it 'Roadside Monument' and it was placed near the famous bridge.

Although its construction was initially not politically but culturally motivated, the 'Roadside Monument' became a victim to political exploitation during the war in the 1990s. Destroyed in 1991 by Bośniak forces, it was rebuilt three years later on the initiative of the political administration of Republika Srpska. Sculptor Antunović agreed to rebuild the monument but refused to be present at the inauguration event in 1994 which was attended by Radovan Karadžić, first president of Republika Srpska from 1992 to 1996 and currently tried for war crimes at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague. Taking this into account and the fact that during the war in 1992-1994 Višegrad was subjected to one of the most comprehensive campaigns of ethnic cleansing directed against its Muslim Bośniak population, the reinstatement of the monument became a means of ethno-national demarcation of space.

Interestingly, Andrić's unique background prevents him from being claimed by either one 'side': He was born near Travnik in Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatian parents and spent much of his life in Belgrade. Like his novels, which are appreciated beyond ethnic and state borders, he himself does not 'belong' to one community alone but to everyone who appreciates his work. Therefore, the monument to Andrić should be devoid of any political connotations it gained over time; its real intention, according to sculptor Antunović, was to pay homage to the artist's imagination and literary work.



1997.

Spomenik kralja Tomislava

Lokacija: Tomislavgrad,
Bosna i Hercegovina
Vajar: Vinko Bagarić

Monument to King Tomislav

Location: Tomislavgrad,
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Sculptor: Vinko Bagarić

Spomenik kralja Tomislava, vladara Hrvatske kraljevine u X stoljeću, posvećen je pripadnicima 'Brigade kralja Tomislava' koji su poginuli u vrijeme rata 1992-1995. godine. Brigada je nastala u Tomislavgradu na jugozapadu Bosne i Hercegovine, kao postrojba Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, te je sudjelovala u vojnim operacijama pri obrani duvanjskog kraja od agresije srpskih snaga.

Osnovni motiv spomenika je jačanje osjećaja pripadnosti duvanjskih katolika Hrvatskoj domovini. Preko masivne brončane figure 'prvog hrvatskog kralja' čije tijelo preuzima formu križa, želi se podsjetiti na povijesni značaj kojeg je duvanjski kraj imao u formiranju hrvatskog identiteta. Vjeruje se da je Duvanjsko polje bilo mjestom održavanja prvog Hrvatskog sabora 753. godine, gdje je 925. godine Tomislav okrunjen. Iako je predmet polemike među znanstvenicima, uzimaju se kao povijesne činjenice koje nepobitno vezuju duvanjski kraj za Hrvatsku, bez obzira na nove (ili promijenjene) političke granice od tada.

Na granitnom postolju spomenika je spomenploča s natpisom "Domovina što iz vaše ljubavi raste živi u nama djeci Hrvata. Duvanjskim sinovima koji su dali život za hrvatsku domovinu." Uzimajući u obzir da je podignut u kraju koji je većinski naseljen bosanskim Hrvatima, i sadrži hrvatske ambleme i obilježja, spomenik jača identificiranje s hrvatskim prostorom i poviješću.

The monument of King Tomislav, ruler of the Croatian Kingdom in the 10th century, is dedicated to the members of the 'King Tomislav Brigade' who died during the war in 1992-1995. Founded in Tomislavgrad, in the southwest of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a formation of the Croatian Council of Defence, the brigade participated in military operations for the defence of the city and the surrounding Duvno valley against Serbian forces.

The monument strengthens a sense of belonging of the Catholics living in the Duvno valley to Croatia, their 'homeland'. The massive bronze figure of the 'first king of Croatia', whose body forms a cross, reminds the observer of the historical importance that the area of Duvno assumed regarding the creation of a Croatian identity. It is believed that the Duvno valley is the place where in 753 the first Croatian assembly took place and where in 925 King Tomislav was crowned. Although still an object of controversy among scholars, these events are by many considered to be historical facts irrefutably connecting the area of Duvno with Croatia, regardless of new (or shifting) political borders.

On the granite fundament of the monument, a memorial plaque reads: "The Homeland that grows from your love lives in us, the children of Croatia. To the sons of Duvno who gave their lives for Croatia, their homeland." Placed in an area populated by a majority of Bosnian Croats and featuring emblems and references to Croatia, the monument strengthens the identification with Croatian land and history.



1999.

Spomenik Majke Tereze

Lokacija: Skopje, Makedonija

Autor: Tome Serafimovski

Monument to Mother Teresa

Location: Skopje, Macedonia

Author: Tome Serafimovski

Spomenik je posvećen Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu (1910.-1997.), u katoličkom svetu poznata kao sestra Majka Tereza. 1979. dodeljena joj je Nobelova nagrada za mir i humanitarni rad i kao osnivaču reda 'Misionarke milosrđa', koji se brine o bolesnim i ugroženim ljudima širom sveta.

Statua stoji na nekadašnjem mestu katoličke crkve 'Sveto srce Isusovo', u kojoj je majka Tereza krštena neposredno nakon rođenja 1910. U januaru 2009. otvoren je memorijalni dom majke Tereze (vidi se iza statue). Postavljena je stalna izložba o njenom životu, koja obuhvata i veliki broj ličnih stvari.

Iako je opšte poštovana po svojoj odanosti milosrđu i humanitarnom radu koji simboliše, etničko poreklo majke Tereze bilo je predmet primetnih lokalnih kontradikcija u prošlosti. Kada su je predstavnici makedonske vlade u više navrata nazvali 'Skopjankom' ('ženom iz Skopja': njen rodni grad), predstavnici albanske zajednice to su kritikovali kao namerno nipodaštavanje njenog albanskog porekla. Žalili su se i na udaljenost spomenika: Predlog albanskog građanskog društva da se postavi blizu centralnog gradskog trga, gde je prvobitno bila njena kuća, odbijen je. Majka Tereza jednom je rekla u vezi sa svojim poreklom: „Po krvi sam Albanka, po državljanstvu Indijka, po veri katolička časna sestra. Po mojoj vokaciji pripadam svetu. Po svom srcu potpuno pripadam srcu Isusovom.“

The monument is dedicated to Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu (1910-1997), known as the Roman Catholic nun Mother Teresa. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979 for her humanitarian work and as founder of the congregation 'Missionaries of Charity', which cares for the sick and needy worldwide.

The statue stands on the former site of the Catholic church 'Sacred Heart of Jesus', in which Mother Teresa was baptized shortly after her birth in 1910. In January 2009, the Mother Teresa Memorial House (seen behind the statue) opened its doors. It holds a permanent exhibition about her life that includes numerous of her personal belongings.

Although universally respected for her devotion to charity and the humanitarianism she symbolises, Mother Teresa's ethnic origin has been a matter of subtle local controversies in the past. When representatives of the Macedonian government on several occasions referred to her simply as 'Skopjankata' ('the woman from Skopje'; her birthplace), representatives of the Albanian community criticised this as a deliberate disregard of her Albanian origin. They further complained about the rather remote location of the monument. Proposals from the Albanian civil society to place it near the central city square, where Mother Teresa's original house used to stand, were rejected. Mother Teresa herself once said regarding her origin: "By blood, I am Albanian; by citizenship, an Indian; by faith, I am a Catholic nun. As to my calling, I belong to the world. As to my heart, I belong entirely to the Heart of Jesus."



2000.

Spomenik Zahira Pajazitia

Lokacija: Priština, Kosovo

Vajar: Muntoz Dhrami

Monument to Zahir Pajaziti

Location: Pristina, Kosovo

Sculptor: Muntoz Dhrami

Statua slavi uspomenu na Zahira Pajazitia (1952.-1997.), koji je bio jedan od aktivista i osnivača oslobodilačke vojske Kosova (OVK). U januaru 1997. ubila ga je srpska policija, on je bio prvi OVK komandant koji je poginuo u oružanom sukobu sa Srbijom. 2008. proglašen je za heroja rata na Kosovu odlukom tadašnjeg predsednika Fatmira Sejdiu. Tokom rata OVK jedinica dobila je ime po njemu. Srpske vlasti optužile su Pajazitia za sprovođenje terorističkih napada na jedinice srpske policije. Njegov memorijal otvoren je 28. novembra 2000. na Dan zastave.

Posle rata 1998/9, spomenici i spomen mesta počela su da niču po Kosovu, uglavnom su ih podizale porodice koje su u ratu izgubile nekog svog. Ti spomenici i memorijali podignuti su da slave uspomenu na vojnike i komandante OVK kao i na žrtve. Samo nekoliko od ovih spomenika podignuti su pod pokroviteljstvom kosovske vlade ili na direktivu opštine. Mnogi su privatno inicirani. Lokacije memorijala su same po sebi istorijska mesta, jer se često odnose na poreklo komemorisanog heroja ili mesto na kome je poginuo. Većina spomenika i memorijala na Kosovu, posebno oni sagrađeni posle rata, liče na soc-realističku umetnost, dopunjenu nacionalnim simbolima.

The statue commemorates Zahir Pajaziti (1952-1997) who was one of the activists and founders of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). He was killed in January 1997 by the Serbian police, being the first KLA commander dying in the armed conflict with Serbia. In 2008, he was declared a hero of the Kosovo War by a decree of then president Fatmir Sejdiu. During the war, a KLA unit was named after him. Serbian authorities accused Pajaziti of conducting terrorist attacks against Serbian police units. His memorial was inaugurated on November 28th 2000 for the Flags Day.

After the war of 1998/9, monuments and memorial sites flourished in Kosovo, mainly erected by families that lost relatives during the war. These monuments and memorials were built to commemorate soldiers and commanders of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) as well as war victims. Only few of these memorials were erected under the patronage of the Kosovo government or under the direction of municipalities. Most of them resulted from private initiatives. The locations of the memorial are historical venues themselves, as they often refer to the origin of the commemorated hero or his place of death. Most of the monuments and memorials in Kosovo, especially those built after the last war, resemble socialist-realist art, but complemented with national symbols.



2001.

(možda ranije, maybe earlier)

Spomen-park Rorovi

Lokacija: Goražde, Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Senad Pezo

Memorial Park Rorovi

Location: Goražde, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptor: Senad Pezo

Spomenik je centralni dio spomen parka Rorovi, pored Goražda u istočnoj Bosni i Hercegovini, te komemorira borce poginule u otporu Goražda 1992.-1995. godine. Goražde je tijekom ratnih sukoba devedesetih godina bilo opsjedano nekoliko puta, a u njegovoj obrani je sudjelovala Armija Bosne i Hercegovine. Jedna od linija obrane grada, vodila je preko Rorova, te je iz tog razloga odabran za memorijalni park.

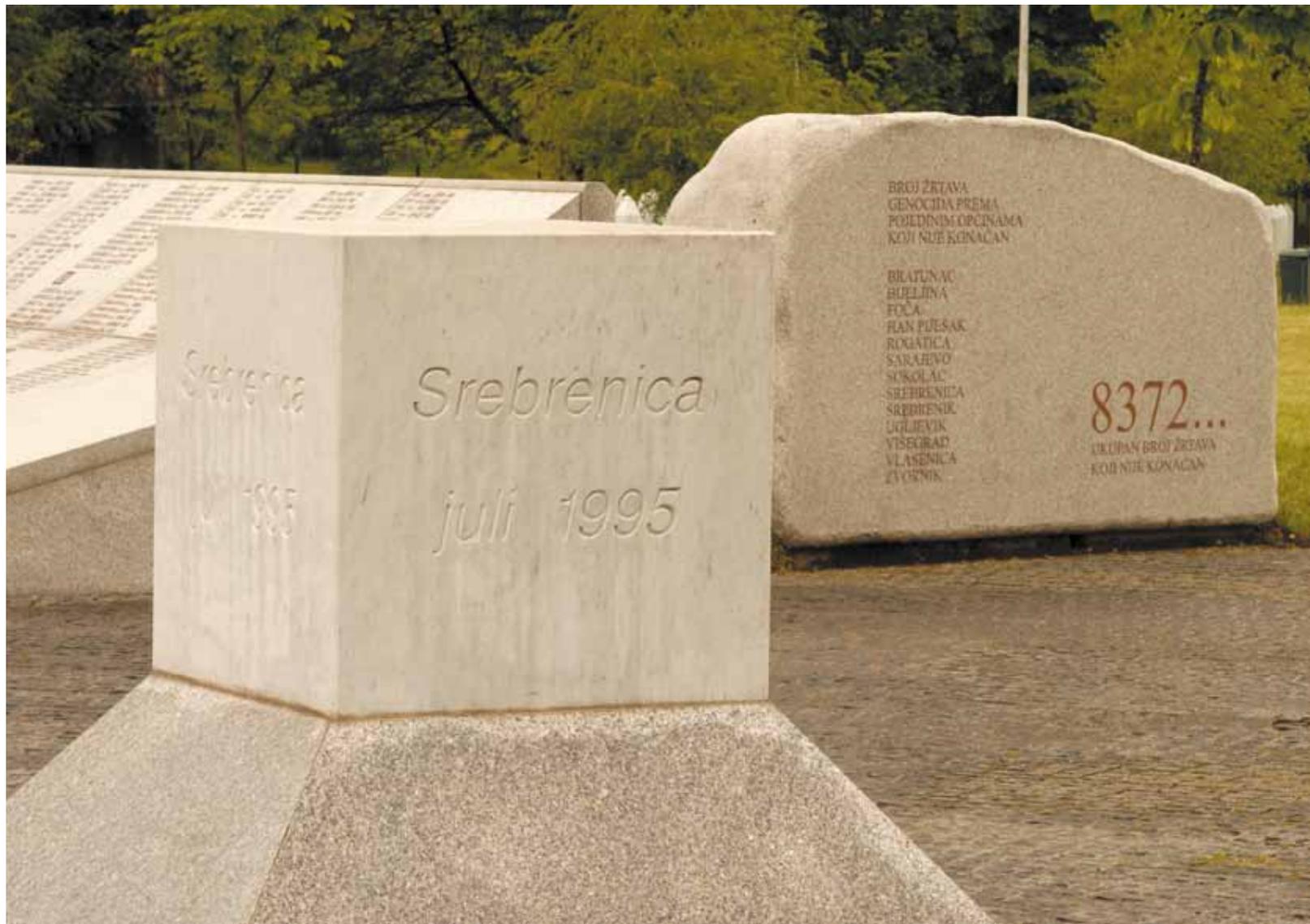
Spomenik čini stilizirani nišan s motivima polumjeseca i zvijezde, zlatnog ljiljana, te sablje. Ovi simboli odaju posebnu počast poginulim borcima muslimanske vjeroispovjesti (šehidima). Rorovi su mjesto na kojemu se obilježava čitav niz obljetnica, među kojima 'Dani otpora' svojim sadržajima i trajanjem prednjači; kroz obilazak značajnih obrambenih linija, držanje 'časova istorije', te polaganje vijenaca, nastoji se učvrstiti sjećanje na 'žrtvu koja je počinjena radi oslobođenja od agresora'. Kako se u okviru 'Dana otpora' slavi i Dan pobjede nad fašizmom, te se prisjeća na poginule u Drugom svjetskom ratu, komemorativna praksa na Rorovima na neki način izjednačava sve žrtve, a borce, kako partizane, tako i šehide, zajedno suprotstavlja 'fašističkom neprijatelju'.

U Rorovima, gledajući na središnje spomen-obilježje i komemoracije koje se tamo obavljaju, miješaju se religiozni i svjetovni kôd. Kroz odavanje počasti šehidima koji su pali u obrani grada se zapravo insistira na vjerskoj dimenziji i pritom se zanemaruje multietničnost Armije Bosne i Hercegovine. Stoga, ovaj spomenik nije toliko artikulacija bosanskohercegovačkog multietničkog jedinstva, već više segregacije.

The monument is the central part of the memorial park Rorovi, near Goražde in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, which commemorates the soldiers who died in the resistance of Goražde in 1992 - 1995. During the war in the 1990s, Goražde was several times under siege and defended by the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the defence lines of the city led across Rorovi, which is why it was chosen as the location for the memorial park.

The monument has the form of a stylised grave marker with engraved motives of a crescent moon and star, a golden lily, and a sword. These symbols give special respect to fallen soldiers of Muslim faith (shaheed). Among the many commemorations organised in Rorovi, the 'Days of Resistance' stand out both in content and duration: a tour along important lines of defence, a 'history lesson', and the laying down wreaths all intend to preserve memories of the 'sacrifice made for the liberation from aggressors'. Since the 'Day of Victory over Fascism' dedicated to soldiers who fell in the Second World War is celebrated at the same time, the commemorative practices in Rorovi in a way equalise all victims, both partisans and shaheed, who jointly oppose the 'fascist enemy'.

Rorovi combines both religious and secular codes: By giving respect to shaheed fallen in defence of the city, the religious dimension is focused while the interethnicity of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina is neglected. In the same way, religious symbolism is equated with national identification of Bosnian Muslims (Bošniaks). Thus this monument is not so much an articulation of Bosnian and Herzegovinan interethnic unity, but rather of segregation.



2003.

**Memorijalni centar
Srebrenica-Potočari za žrtve
genocida iz 1995. godine.**

Lokacija: Srebrenica
Arhitekti: Ahmed Džuvčić
i Ahmet Kapidžić

**Memorial Centre Srebrenica-
Potočari for the
Victims of the 1995 Genocide**

Location: Srebrenica,
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Architects: Ahmed Džuvčić
and Ahmet Kapidžić

Memorijalni centar u Potočarima, u istočnoj Bosni, posvećen je žrtvama genocida u Srebrenici iz 1995. godine. Čine ga spomenobilježje i mezarje, koji su dio sakralne komponente memorijala. Od 2003. godine se na ovome mjestu ukopavaju identificirane žrtve srebreničkog genocida.

The memorial centre in Potočari, in Eastern Bosnia, is dedicated to the victims of the genocide in Srebrenica of 1995. It consists of a monument and a cemetery, both of which are part of the sacral component of the memorial centre. Ever since 2003, the identified victims of the genocide have been buried there.

Memorijalni centar podignut je na inicijativu Visokog predstavnika za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, Wolfganga Petritscha. Fondacija 'Srebrenica-Potočari' je 2001. godine preuzela zadatak izgradnje i održavanja memorijalnog centra. Čuva spomen na preko 8000 žrtava pokolja do kojega je došlo u julu 1995. tijekom ofanzive što je izvršila Vojska republike Srpske, predvođena Ratkom Mladićem, na enklavu Srebrenice iako je to područje bilo proglašeno zonom pod zaštitom Ujedinjenih naroda.

The memorial centre was built on the initiative of the former High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Wolfgang Petritsch. In 2001, the newly created foundation 'Srebrenica-Potočari' undertook the task of building and maintaining the memorial centre. Its aim is to commemorate the more than 8000 victims of the massacre which occurred in July 1995 during an offensive carried out by the Army of the Republika Srpska, led by Ratko Mladić, on the enclave Srebrenica even though the area had been declared a UN 'safe zone'.

Arhitekti su unutarnji, sakralni dio centra dizajnirali u formi cvijeta margarite koji ih je privukao zbog svoje jednostavnosti i 'čistoće'. Na grobljanskom dijelu memorijala (mezarje) je 8000 nišana grupirano u latice spomenutog cvijeta oko središnje 'musale', otvorenog prostora za molitvu, koji je natkriven četveroslivnim krovom kao prepoznatljivim arhitektonskim elementom bosanskih kuća. Na 'Zidu sjećanja', granitnoj platformi koji obujmljuje musalu, ispisana su imena žrtava.

The architects designed the inner, sacral part of the centre in the form of a daisy which inspired them due to its simplicity and 'purity'. The 8000 grave markers in the cemetery (mezarje) are grouped like flower petals around the central 'musala', an open space for prayer covered by a four-sided roof reminiscent of traditional Bosnian architecture. On the 'Wall of Remembrance', a semicircular granite platform revolving around the musala, the names of the victims are inscribed.

Oslobođen od nacionalnih simbola, memorijalni centar fokusira se na ukazivanje poštovanja poginulima i trudi se izbjegavati bio kakvu političku ili ideološku konstrukciju sjećanja na žrtve. Svojom cvijetnom formom simbolizira više život nego smrt, zahvaljujući čemu ima pomirljiv i dostojanstven ton.

Free from national symbols, the memorial centre focuses on paying respect to the dead and tries to evade any political or ideological exploitation of the remembrance of the victims. Its form of a flower symbolises life rather than death, and gives the monument a conciliatory and dignified tone.



2004.

Spomenik albanskim žrtvama u Drugom svetskom ratu i u sukobu 2001

Lokacija: Blace, Makedonija

Vajar: Selam Mustafa

Monument to Albanian victims of the Second World War and the 2001 conflict

Location: Blace, Macedonia

Sculptor: Selam Mustafa

Spomenik ima dvostruku svrhu. Otkriven je povodom obeležavanja šezdesetogodišnjice smrti preko sto lokalnih albanskih stanovnika iz sela Blace u severnoj Makedoniji, koje su ubili Partizani u novembru 1944. U isto vreme funkcionise i kao grobnica za albanske borce koji su poginuli tokom sukoba u Makedoniji 2001.

U vreme Jugoslavije, bilo je skoro nemoguće podizati spomenike koji podsećaju na događaje od nacionalne važnosti za jednu od narodnosti, kao što su bili Albanci u Socijalističkoj republici Makedoniji. To se promenilo kada je Makedonija stekla nezavisnost 1991, nakon unutrašnjih sukoba 2001, koji su završeni potpisivanjem Ohridskog sporazuma koji je doveo do poboljšanja interetničkih odnosa. Usled liberalizovanih pravila, albanska zajednica je mogla da izgradi spomenik Blace i on kao takav predstavlja vrstu privatne komemoracije odvojeno od zvanične (makedonske) kulture sećanja. Stoga je značajniji za albansku manjinu nego za druge.

The monument's purpose is twofold: It was inaugurated during the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the killing of over a hundred Albanian citizens from the village of Blace in Northern Macedonia by Partisans in November 1944. At the same time, it serves as a cemetery for Albanian fighters who died during the internal conflict in Macedonia in 2001.

In the time of Yugoslavia, it was nearly impossible to build monuments remembering events of national relevance for one of its people, especially for minorities such as Albanians in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. This changed after Macedonia gained its independence in 1991 and following the internal conflict in 2001 which ended with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement that paved the way for improving interethnic relations. Due to liberalised regulations, the monument in Blace could be built by the local Albanian community and as such it represents a type of private commemoration apart from the official (Macedonian) culture of remembrance. As such, it is more significant to the Albanian minority than to others.



2004.

**Spomen-obilježje
poginulim vojnicima
u odbrambeno-
otadžbinskom ratu**

Lokacija: Mrkonjić-Grad
Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Miodrag Živković
**Monument to the Fallen
Soldiers of the Defensive
Homeland War**

Location: Mrkonjić-Grad,
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Sculptor: Miodrag Živković

Spomenik je posvećen srpskim vojnicima koji su poginuli u 'odbrambeno-otadžbinskom ratu' 1992.-1995. godine, kako bi to oficijelna ideologija koja je i zaslužna za podizanje spomenika rekla. Inauguriran je 13. jula 2004. godine, uz više spomen-obilježja izginulom stanovništvu ovog područja. Preko tri stotine ih je izgubilo živote prilikom operacije 'Južni potez' kada je 1995. godine Hrvatsko vijeće obrane zauzelo Mrkonjić Grad.

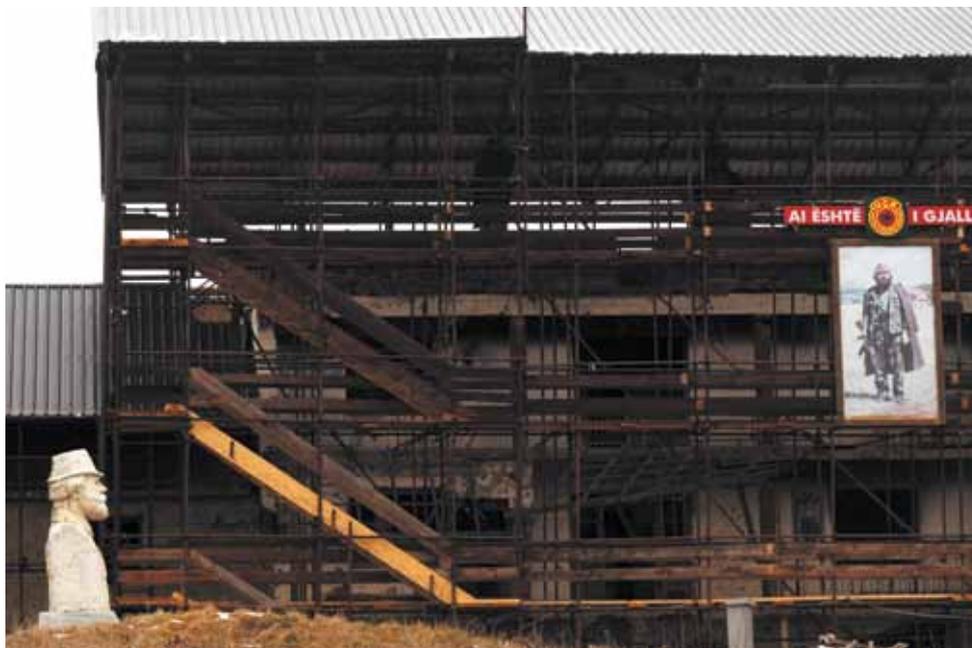
Spomenik je smješten na zaravnjenom platou ispred Doma kulture. Ima formu križa u čijem sjecištu krakova stoji manji grčki križ s četiri ocila, odnosno, četiri slova S, dok mu je u donjem dijelu utisnuta figura vojnika koji se oslanja na pušku. Spomenik se od većine podignutih iza rata ne razlikuje mnogo, upravo zbog svoje namjere da re-konstruira identitet nacije ili etničke grupe kroz prepoznatljiva nacionalna obilježja i komemoriranje poginulih žrtava.

Ono što je upečatljivije kod njega je činjenica da je djelom istog kipara koji je 1973. izradio spomeničko rješenje na Sutjesci, Miodraga Živkovića. Samo na stvaralačkoj i političkoj transformaciji jednog umjetnika može se vidjeti do koje mjere se stvorio jaz među spomenicima nastalim u vrijeme Jugoslavije i onima nakon njezina raspada.

The monument is dedicated to Serbian soldiers who died in the 'Defensive Homeland War' of 1992-1995, according to the official inscription of the memorial plaque. It was inaugurated on July 13th 2004 along with several other memorials to the perished inhabitants of the area surrounding Mrkonjić-Grad in the northern part of Republika Srpska. More than three hundred people lost their lives during the 'Southern Move' operation when the Croatian Defense Council took over Mrkonjić-Grad in 1995.

The monument is located on the levelled plateau in front of the House of Culture. It has the form of a cross and in the intersection of its arms sits a smaller Greek cross with four letters S, while in its bottom is engraved the figure of a soldier leaning on his gun. The monument does not differ much from the majority of other memorials built after the war, precisely because of its intention to reconstruct the identity of a nation or ethnic group through recognisable national symbols and remembrance of victims.

However, more striking about this monument is the fact that it is the work of Miodrag Živković, the same sculptor who in 1973 built the monument commemorating the 'Battle on the Sutjeska'. By looking at the creative and political transformation of this one artist, one can see the extent to which a gap appeared between monuments originated in the time of Yugoslavia and the ones after its disintegration.



2004.

Memorijal Ademu Jašariju i njegovoj 'mučeničkoj' porodici

Lokacija: Prekaz, Kosovo

Vajar: Mumtaz Dhrami

Memorial to Adem Jashari and his 'martyr' family

Location: Prekaz, Kosovo

Sculptor: Mumtaz Dhrami

Memorijal je posvećen Ademu Jašariju (1955.-1998.), bivšem glavno komandujućem oslobođilačke vojske Kosova (OVK). Kosovski Albanci poimaju ga kao jednog od glavnih 'heroja' kosovskog rata između 1998. i 1999. Nalazi se u Prekazu, rodnom mestu porodice Jašari na severnom Kosovu.

Savezna Republika Jugoslavija smatrala ga je teroristom, što je dovelo do vojne akcije jugoslovenske vojske. U julu 1997, sud Jugoslavije osudio ga je u odsustvu za terorističke akcije na suđenju koje su međunarodne grupe za ljudska prava kritikovale. U martu 1998. kuću Jašarijevih opkolile su srpske policijske snage koje su ubile Adema Jašarija i 54 člana njegove porodice. Jašarijeva smrt i nasilni sukobi između jugoslovenske armije i OVK boraca u selima Drenica, Likošane i Ćirez označavaju početak rata na Kosovu (1998.-1991.).

2004. kuća porodice Adema Jašarija u Prekazu proglašena je za nacionalni memorijalni kompleks. Centralni deo kompleksa je spaljena kuća. Posle rata u kompleks su postavljene mermerne grobne ploče za sve ubijene članove porodice. Grobnicu Adema Jašarija stalno čuvaju kosovske snage bezbednosti. Memorijal u Prekazu danas je jedno od najsvetijih mesta za kosovske Albance. Godišnje ga posećuju stotine hiljada ljudi. Štaviše, glavni aerodrom u Prištini nazvan je po njemu a 2008. kosovski premijer posthumno mu je dodelio titulu 'heroja Kosova'.

The memorial is dedicated to Adem Jashari (1955-1998), former chief commander of the Kosovo Liberation Army. He is perceived by Kosovo-Albanians as one of the main heroes of the Kosovo War between 1998 and 1999. It stands in Prekaz, the hometown of the Jashari family, in Northern Kosovo.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considered him a terrorist which eventually led to military action by the Yugoslav army. In July 1997, a Yugoslav court had convicted him in absentia of terrorist actions in a trial condemned by international human rights groups. In March 1998, the Jashari house was besieged by Serbian police forces that killed Adem Jashari and 54 members of his family. The death of Jashari and violent clashes between the Yugoslav army and KLA fighters in the villages of Drenica, Likošane (Likošane) and Ćirez (Ćirez) in the same month mark the beginning of the war in Kosovo (1998-1999).

In 2004, the house of Adem Jashari's family in Prekaz was declared a national memorial complex. The central part of the complex is the burned house. After the war marble tombs were arranged in the complex for all killed family members. Adem Jashari's tomb is constantly guarded by Kosovo Security Forces. The memorial in Prekaz nowadays is one of the most sacred places for Kosovo-Albanians. It is visited by hundreds of thousands of people yearly. Furthermore, the main Pristina airport is named after Adem Jashari and in 2008 the prime minister of Kosovo posthumously awarded him the title 'Hero of Kosovo'.



2005.

Spomenik poginulim hrvatskim vojnicima

Lokacija: Mostar, Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajar: Slavimir Drinković

Monument to Croatian Soldiers who died in 1992-1995

Location: Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptor: Slavimir Drinković

Spomenik je posvećen hrvatskim vojnicima koji su u Mostaru poginuli tijekom rata 1992.-1995. Godine. Postavljen je na Trgu velikana ispred Hrvatskog kulturnog doma Herceg Stjepan Kosača, u zapadnom dijelu grada s većinskim stanovništvom hrvatske nacionalnosti.

Nakon što je otkriven, spomenik je postao mjestom komemoracije pripadnika Hrvatskog vijeća obrane koji su poginuli u obrani Mostara prilikom napada JNA. Mjestom je i polaganja vijenaca kod obilježavanja obljetnica osnivanja Hrvatske Republike Herceg Bosne, koja je postojala između 1991. i 1994. g., i koja je ukinuta sporazumom u Vašingtonu. Osim što šalje jasnu političku poruku, jedan od problema spomenika, kako ga Mostarci vide, leži u činjenici da svojim vjerskim i nacionalnim obilježjima isključuje one branitelje koji nisu bili hrvatske nacionalnosti, a koji su jednako ginuli u obrani grada. Spomenik, naime, čini kubus od crnih izrezanih ploča čije "praznine" na pročelju formiraju križ, dok ih na punim stranicama s boka ukrašava prizor Oplakivanje Krista. "Negiranje" onih žrtava koje nisu iste nacionalne i vjerske pripadnosti kao oni koji spomenik podižu, postavlja se kao još veći problem kada se zna da je spomenik financiran od strane poreskih obveznika grada, te Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine.

U kontekstu ratnih sukoba koji su izbili između bošnjačke i hrvatske strane u Mostaru između 1992. i 1995. godine, spomenik stoji i kao kontinuirana njihovih daljnjih neslaganja i razdvajanja. Dakle, svrha mu nije katarza i oslobađanje od patnje i ratnog stradanja, već uspostavljanje političkog identiteta zasnovanog na kultu 'naše žrtve'. U gradu koji je tijekom rata najviše stradao, njegovi građani danas podijeljenost nose kao zajedničku sudbinu. Granica, koja je, iako nevidljiva, sveprisutna; nju svi dijele, i nalazi se u oba etnonacionalna entiteta.

The monument is dedicated to Croatian soldiers who died in Mostar during the war in 1992-1995 and is placed on the 'Square of the Greats' in front of the Croatian House of Culture 'Herceg Stjepan Kosača', in the western - mostly Croatian - part of the city.

After it was uncovered, the monument became the place for commemorations of members of the Croatian Defense Council who died in the defence of Mostar during the attacks of Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). It is also the place of laying wreaths on the anniversaries of establishing the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia that existed between 1991 and 1994, and was abolished by the Washington Agreement. Other than sending a clear political message, one of the monument's problems, as most of Mostar's citizens see it, lies in the fact that with its religious and national symbolism, it excludes those defenders who were not of Croatian nationality, but who died equally in the defence of the town. The monument consists of a cube of black panels whose gaps form a cross on the front, while the sides are decorated with scenes of the Lamentation of Christ. The 'denial' of those victims who are not of the same national and religious affiliation as the ones who erected the monument raises an even greater problem considering that the monument was funded by the city's taxpayers and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the context of the conflicts that broke out between the Bośniak and Croatian sides in Mostar between 1992 and 1995, the monument stands as the continuation of their further disagreements and separation. Its intention is not catharsis and release from pain and war suffering, but the establishment of a political identity based on the cult of 'our victim'. Mostar was one of the cities most affected by the war and its citizens today still bear division as a common fate. The boundaries, though invisible, are omnipresent; everyone shares them and they exist in both ethno-national entities.



2006.

Spomenik Skenderbegu

Lokacija: Skopje, Makedonija

Vajar: Thoma Thomai

Monument to Skanderbeg

Location: Skopje, Macedonia

Sculptor: Thoma Thomai

Spomenik je posvećen Đurađu Kastrioti Skenderbegu (1405-1468), poznatom kao 'Skanderbeg', vođi otpora protiv otomanskog osvajanja današnje Albanije i Balkana u XV veku.

Spomenik simboliše oslobodilačke aspiracije Balkana u vreme tadašnje superiornosti Otomanskog carstva u pohodu na ovu regiju. Pošto je poslednje dve decenije svog života posvetio borbi protiv strane okupacije, značaj i naponi Skanderbega cenjeni su širom Balkana.

Nakon što je Makedonija objavila nezavisnost 1991, etnička albanska zajednica u zemlji osetila je poriv da stvori svoj javni prostor nacionalnog sećanja. Ali je tek Ohridski sporazum, koji je 2001. okončao kratko ali intenzivno izbijanje nasilja između makedonske države i albanskih pobunjenika, postavio temelje za poboljšanje prava Albanaca i drugih manjina u Makedoniji, i tako omogućio realizaciju započetih spomenika manjina.

Nakon Ohridskog sporazuma, skopska opština Čair, započela je i finansirala podizanje spomenika Skenderbegu. Iako je spomenik izuzetno važan za albansku manjinu u Makedoniji, njegovo otkrivanje nisu toplo prihvatili samo etnički Albanci, koji se osećaju ponosnim što vide 'svog' nacionalnog heroja u Starom bazaru u centru Skopja, već je i makedonska politička i intelektualna elita pozitivno reagovala i smatrala da je spomenik doprinos imidžu Skopja kao evropske metropole.

The monument is dedicated to Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu (1405-1468), commonly known as 'Skanderbeg', leader of the resistance against the Ottoman conquest of present-day Albania and the Balkans in the 15th century.

The monument symbolises libertarian aspirations of the Balkans at a time of great superiority of the Ottoman Empire in its conquest of the region. Having dedicated the last two decades of his life to the fight against foreign occupation, Skanderbeg's importance and efforts are widely respected throughout the Balkans.

After Macedonia declared its independence in 1991, the ethnic Albanian community in the country felt the desire to create its own public places of national remembrance. But only after the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which in 2001 ended a short but intense outbreak of violence between the Macedonian state and Albanian insurgents, a basis had been established for improving the rights of Albanians and other minorities in Macedonia, and thus enabled the realisation of monuments initiated by minorities.

In 2006, the Skopje municipality of Čair initiated and financed the construction of the Skanderbeg monument. Although, the monument is especially relevant for the Albanian identity in Macedonia, its inauguration was not only appreciated by ethnic Albanians, who feel a certain pride to see 'their' national hero at the Old Bazar in central Skopje, but also the Macedonian political and intellectual elite reacted positively and consider the monument a contribution to Skopje's image as a European metropolis.



2006.

'Slomljena krila'

Lokacija: Skopje, Makedonija

Vajar: Žarko Bašeski

'Broken Wing'

Location: Skopje, Macedonia

Sculptor: Žarko Bašeski

Spomenik 'Slomljena krila' posvećen je 54 makedonskih vojnika koji su poginuli u borbama Jugoslovenske armije tokom 1991/92. u ratovima u Sloveniji i Hrvatskoj. Spomenik je iniciralo Makedonsko udruženje roditelja poginulih i ranjenih vojnika JNA-a. U Makedoniji predstavlja jedino mesto sećanja na ovo poglavlje istorije zapadnog Balkana.

Spomenik su na privatnu inicijativu podigli roditelji vojnika i njegovo finansiranje je išlo iz privatnih donacija. Do podizanja spomenika došlo je relativno kasno usled vremena potrebnog da se sakupe neophodne donacije i mobiliše dovoljno pristalica.

Činjenica da je ovaj spomenik privatna inicijativa pokazuje da se u Makedoniji politički diskurs o ratovima na tlu bivše Jugoslavije uopšte odvija. To je delom zbog toga što Makedonija nije bila uključena ni u jedan od glavnih konflikata tokom '90-tih.

The monument 'Broken Wings' is dedicated to 54 Macedonian soldiers who were killed fighting for the Yugoslav Army during the 1991/92 wars in Slovenia and Croatia. The monument was initiated by the Macedonian Association of the Parents of Fallen and Wounded Soldiers of the Yugoslavian National Army. It represents the only place of remembrance in Macedonia for this chapter of Western Balkan history.

The monument was built on a private initiative by the soldiers' parents, and also the funding was based on private donations. The relatively late construction of the monument occurred due to the time needed to collect necessary donations and to mobilise sufficient supporters.

The fact that this monument is a private initiative indicates that in Macedonia a political discourse on the wars in the territory of Ex-Yugoslavia is hardly taking place. This is partly due to the fact that Macedonia was rarely involved in any of the major conflicts during the 1990s.



2007.

Spomenik ruskom konzulu Grigoriju Stepanoviču Ščerbinu

Lokacija: Kosovska Mitrovica, Kosovo
Vajar: Nepoznat

Monument to Russian Consul Grigorije Stepanovič Ščerbina

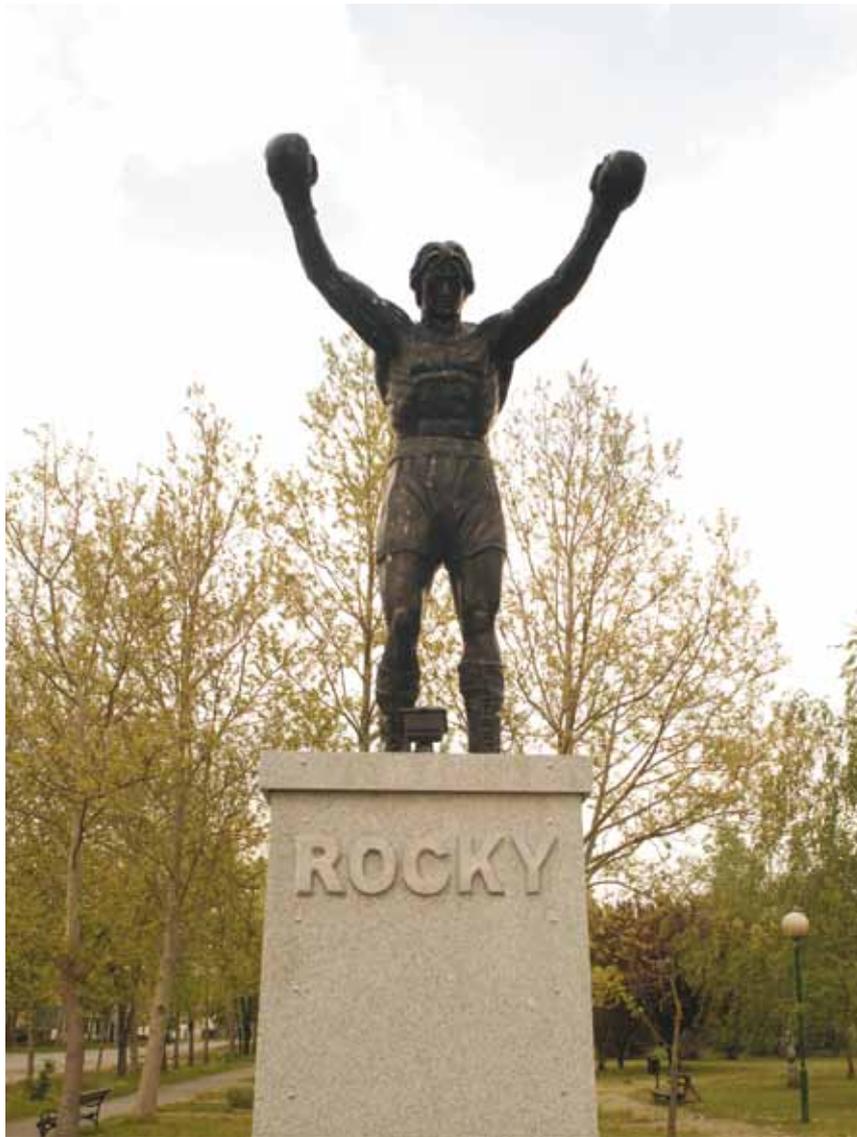
Location: Mitrovica, Kosovo
Sculptor: Unknown

Spomen statua u Kosovskoj Mitrovici, na severu Kosova, slavi uspomenu na prvog ruskog konzula u gradu, Grigorija Stepanovića Ščerbina (1868.-1903.). Carska Rusija poslala je Ščerbina u Kosovsku Mitrovicu u martu 1903. da bi nadgledao uslove u kojima je živela lokalna srpska populacija. Albanci su odbili prisustvo konzula u Mitrovici jer su to doživeli kao pretnju svojim aspiracijama da stvore albansku nacionalnu državu. Mesec dana kasnije, Ščerbina je ubio Albanac u vreme kada je Kosovo još uvek bilo deo Osmanske imperije stalno potresane pobunama.

Ubistvo konzula učinilo ga je mučnikom po mišljenju mnogih Srba. Oni kažu da je Ščerbina „umro za sveto pravoslavlje i slobodu srpskog stanovništva“. 1928. statua za Ščerbina podignuta je na železničkoj stanici u južnoj Mitrovici gde je ubijen. Posle 1999. statua je ostala u albanskom južnom delu Kosovske Mitrovice, ali je 2001. uklonjena. 2007. Ščerbinaova statua je ponovo izgrađena u severnom delu Kosovske Mitrovice gde živi većina Srba. Dakle, spomenik služi i kao simbol dubokih etničkih razlika između Albanaca i Srba.

The memorial statue in Mitrovica, in northern Kosovo, commemorates the first Russian consul of the city, Grigorije Stepanovič Ščerbina (1868-1903). Tsarist Russia sent Ščerbina to Mitrovica in early March 1903 in order to monitor the conditions of the local Serbian population. Albanians rejected the presence of the consul in Mitrovica because they perceived it as a threat to their aspirations of creating an Albanian national state. One month later, Ščerbina was killed by an Albanian at a time when Kosovo was still part of the Ottoman Empire but constantly shaken by riots.

The murder of the consul made him a martyr for many Serbs. They said that Ščerbina “has died for the sacred orthodoxy and liberty of the Serbian population”. In 1928, a statue was built for Ščerbina at the train station in southern Mitrovica where he was killed. After 1999, the statue remained in the Albanian southern part of Mitrovica, but in 2001 it was removed. In 2007, Ščerbina’s statue was rebuilt in the northern part of Mitrovica where a majority of Serbs live. Thus, the monument serves also as a symbol of the deep ethnic differences between Albanians and Serbs.



2007.

Spomenik Rokiju Balboi

Lokacija: Žitište, Srbija

Vajar: Boris Staparac

Monument to Rocky Balboa

Location: Žitište, Serbia

Sculptor: Boris Staparac

Spomenik filmskom liku, bokseru Rokiju Balboi (koga igra Sylvester Stalone) otkriven je 18. avgusta 2007. u 'Parku zabranjene umetnosti' u Žitištu, gradiću na severu Srbije.

Za stanovnike Žitišta ovaj spomenik predstavlja pokušaj da se promeni imidž grada i privuku turisti. "Cilj nam je da od ovog grada napravimo brend. Do sada je Žitište bilo poznato samo po lošim stvarima -- poplavama, svinjskoj kugi. Ovde ima puno ljubitelja italijanskog fudbala i (američki glumac italijanskog porekla) Stalone i Roki se jednostavno uklapaju", izjavio je gradonačelnik Žitišta, Zoran Babić.

Spomenik je izgrađen na inicijativu lokalnog udruženja građana 'Roki Balboa' koga čine uglavnom mladi ljudi tog grada koji su bili inspirisani izgradnjom spomenika u čast kung-fu legende Brusa Lija u Mostaru, u Bosni i Hercegovini, oni su došli na ideju da naprave jedan u čast Rokija. Hrvatski vajar Boris Staparac čuo je za planove i ponudio je da uradi spomenik bez ikakve nadoknade. "Ideja da se spomenik izgradi i posveti filmskom junaku je prilično čudna, a mene neverovatno interesuju i privlače sva čuda i neobične stvari".

Članovi udruženja svoj izbor objašnjavaju time da je filmski junak od neuspešnog boksera postao svetski šampion, pobeđivši sve svoje protivnike i savladavši sopstvene demone. A to je upravo ono što su i meštani grada želeli da učine kako bi pomogli napredak svog grada. Po njihovom mišljenju cilj je postignut: Neki svetski mediji su preneli vest iz Žitišta, čak je i kanadska ekipa snimila film o otkrivanju spomenika. Ali toliko željene investicije na osnovu ove reklame su ipak izostale.

The monument to the movie character boxer Rocky Balboa (played by Sylvester Stallone) was uncovered on August 18th 2007 in the 'Park of Forbidden Art' in Žitište, a small town in northern Serbia.

For the residents of Žitište, the monument represents an attempt to change the town image and attract tourists. "Our goal is to make a brand out of this town. So far Žitište has only been known for bad things - floods, swine fever. There are a lot of fans of Italian football here and (US-Italian actor) Stallone and Rocky simply fit in," said the city's mayor, Zoran Babić.

The monument was built on initiative of the local citizen's association "Rocky Balboa" that mainly consists of local youths who were inspired by the construction of a monument in honour of kung fu legend Bruce Lee in Mostar. Croatian sculptor Boris Staparac heard of the plans and offered to make the monument without any compensation: "The idea to build and dedicate a monument to a movie hero is quite odd, and I am incredibly interested and attracted by all wonders and strange things."

The association explained the choice of Rocky by the fact that the movie hero started off as an unsuccessful boxer and by the end became a world champion, defeating all his opponents as well as overcoming his inner demons. This is what the town residents wanted to achieve in order to promote the progress of their town. In their opinion, this aim was reached: The unveiling of the monument was covered by international media and a Canadian crew even filmed it. However, much desired investments attracted by this advertisement fell short of expectations.



2008.

Spomenik Bobu Marliju

Lokacija: Banatski Sokolac, Srbija

Vajar: Davor Dukić

Monument to Bob Marley

Location: Banatski Sokolac, Serbia

Sculptor: Davor Dukić

Spomenik Bobu Marliju (1945.-1981.) legendarnom jamajkanskom rege muzičaru, otkriven je 2008. godine u dvorištu osnovne škole u Banatskom Sokolcu. U okviru četvrtog rok-rege-bluz-fank festivala 'Rokvilidž' spomenik su otkrili najpoznatiji rok muzičari sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije.

Ideja za spomenik došla je od organizatora festivala, koji su meštani nazivali 'banatski Vudstok'. Od njegovog početka 2005, festival je okupio na hiljade ljubitelja muzike svake godine. Organizatori su istakli da je Bob Marli koristio muziku kao medijum da širi ljubav, mir i toleranciju širom sveta. Budući da festival ima sličnu filozofiju, organizatori su odlučili da odaju trajno priznanje ovom čuvenom muzičaru.

Iako je Banatski Sokolac sa svega 300 stanovnika zaostalo selo u Vojvodini, ono je ipak ušlo u legendu, jer jedino u Evropi ima spomenik Bobu Marliju. Na natpisu na spomeniku stoji: "borcu za slobodu, jednakost i ravnopravnost, s gitarom u ruci".

The monument to Bob Marley (1945-1981), the legendary Jamaican reggae musician, was unveiled in 2008 in the yard of the elementary school in Banatski Sokolac, in north-eastern Serbia. As part of the fourth music festival "Rock Village", the monument was inaugurated by some of the best-known rock musicians from the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The idea for the monument was developed by the organisers of the festival, which locals also call "The Banat Woodstock". Since its start in 2005, the festival has gathered thousands of music fans every year. The organisers pointed out that Bob Marley used music as a medium to spread love, peace and tolerance among people worldwide. Since the festival has a similar philosophy, the organisers decided to pay permanent tribute to this distinguished musician.

Although Banatski Sokolac with its 300 inhabitants is a remote village in Vojvodina, it is now known as the site of the only monument to Bob Marley in Europe. The monument's inscription reads: "The fighter for freedom, equality, and equal rights, with guitar in hand."



2009.

Spomenik Bilu Klintonu

Lokacija: Priština, Kosovo

Vajar: Izeir Mustafa

Monument to Bill Clinton

Location: Pristina, Kosovo

Sculptor: Izeir Mustafa

Tri metra visoka statua bivšeg američkog predsednika Bila Klintonu izgrađena je na malom trgu u Prištini, duž bulevara koji nosi njegovo ime. Sam Bil Klinton prisustvovao je inauguraciji spomenika u oktobru 2009.

Klinton je veoma cenjen među albanskom populacijom na Kosovu zbog njegovog značajnog doprinosa okončavanju rata na Kosovu koji je 1999. odobrio NATO bombardovanje Srbije. Međutim, u Srbiji je ovo bombardovanje shvaćeno kao nepravedna i ilegalna agresija pozivajući se na povelju Ujedinjenih nacija, koja ne dozvoljava vojne intervencije na druge suverene zemlje uz izuzetke, o kojima treba da odluči Savet bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija. Zemlje članice NATO-a usaglasile su se da pokrenu intervenciju protiv Srbije bez formalne odluke Saveta bezbednosti.

Kao i mnogi drugi spomenici podignuti posle rata, i ovaj je izgrađen na privatnu inicijativu. Izgradnja je bila predvođena organizacijom zvanom 'Prijatelji Amerike, prijatelji Bila Klintonu' u znak priznanja Klintonu i Americi. Umetnička zajednica na Kosovu izrazila je svoje razočaranje zbog lošeg kvaliteta statue i nepoštovanja standardnih procedura za postavljanje spomenika na javnom prostoru.

The three metre tall statue of former US-president Bill Clinton was built on a small avenue in Pristina, along a boulevard named after him. Bill Clinton himself attended the inauguration of the monument in October 2009.

Clinton is well respected among the Albanian population of Kosovo for his important contribution to end the Kosovo War in 1999, by authorizing the NATO bombings against Serbia. However, in Serbia these bombings are perceived as an unjustified and illegal aggression with regard to the United Nations Charter. It does not allow military interventions in other sovereign countries with few exceptions which, in general, need to be decided upon by the United Nations Security Council. The NATO member states agreed to go ahead with the campaign against Serbia without formal backing from the Security Council.

Just like many other monuments built after the war, this one too was built on a private initiative. Its construction was led by an organisation called 'Friends of America, Friends of Bill Clinton' as a sign of acknowledgment to Clinton and the USA. The artistic community in Kosovo has pointed out their disappointment with the poor quality of the statue and for not respecting the standard procedures for installing monuments in public areas.



2009.

Spomenik 'Nevinim žrtvama NATO agresije na SR Jugoslaviju'

Lokacija: Grdelička klisura, Srbija

Vajar: Nepoznat

Monument to the 'Innocent Victims of NATO Aggression against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia'

Location: Grdelica Gorge, Serbia

Sculptor: Unknown

Stoji blizu železničkog mosta koji prelazi Grdeličku klisuru na jugu Srbije, spomenik seća na civilne žrtve napada NATO-a u aprilu 1999. Otkriven je na desetogodišnjicu napada na inicijativu SUBNOR-a, porodica nastradalih i vlasti. Na spomeniku je uklesan tekst: „Ne treba se bojati ljudi, nego neljudskog u njima.”.

Intervencija NATO-a protiv Jugoslavije (fokusrirana na Republiku Srbiju) počela je u martu, nakon što međunarodni pregovori, koji su se odigrali u Rambujeu i Parizu u Francuskoj, nisu uspjeli da okončaju rat na Kosovu koji je počeo godinu dana ranije. Intervencija je izvršena bez odobrenja Saveta bezbednosti UN-a, a uz obrazloženje da srpske snage bezbednosti vrše etničko čišćenje nad Albanacima.

12. aprila 1999. godine, na drugi dan pravoslavnog Uskrsa, putnički voz Beograd-Ristovac koji je prelazio preko železničkog mosta na Južnoj Moravi, pogodio je NATO avion. U eksploziji izginulo je i povređeno mnogo putnika, a tačan broj do danas nije sa sigurnošću utvrđen. Prema izjavi konduktera, u vozu je bilo više od 50 putnika, među njima Srba, Roma, Albanaca i Makedonaca.

Prethodni spomenik sa pločom sa imenima 50 identifikovanih žrtava i reljefom voza u plamenu bio je izložen vandalizmu i prilično oštećen, ali je nedavno obnovljen. Celina je postala memorijalno mesto za rodbinu i prijatelje koji se tamo okupljaju svake godine na godišnjicu napada da polože vence u spomen žrtvama.

Standing next to the railroad bridge crossing the Grdelica Gorge in southern Serbia, the monument commemorates the civilian victims of a NATO attack at the site in April 1999. It was unveiled on the 10th anniversary of the attack on the initiative of the ‘Association of Fighters in the National Liberation War’ (SUBNOR), relatives of the victims and political authorities. The engraving on the monument reads: “We should not be afraid of humans, but of the inhuman in them.”

The NATO operation against Yugoslavia (focused on the Republic of Serbia) began in March 1999, after international negotiations taking place in Rambouillet and Paris in France had failed to end the war in Kosovo which had started a year earlier. The operation was launched without backing from the UN Security Council with the explanation that Serbian security forces were guilty of ethnic cleansing of the Albanians in Kosovo.

On April 12th 1999, the second day of the Orthodox Easter, a passenger train on the railroad line Belgrade to Ristovac which was crossing the railroad bridge on the river Južna Morava was hit by a NATO airplane bombing the bridge. Many passengers were hurt and killed in the explosion but the exact number of casualties has not been established so far. According to the train conductor, more than 50 passengers – among them Serbs, Roma, Albanians and Macedonians – were on board at the time of the attack.

A previous monument, featuring plates with the names of the 50 identified victims and a relief of the burning train, had been subjected to vandalism and considerably damaged but has recently been renovated. The place has become an important memorial site for relatives and friends who gather there every year on the anniversary of the attack to lay wreaths in commemoration of the victims.

MONUMENTI



2010.

NATO Spomenik

Lokacija: Prizren, Kosovo

Vajar: Nepoznat

NATO Monument

Location: Prizren, Kosovo

Sculptor: Unknown

Spomenik je posvećen Severno-Atlantskom savezu (NATO) kao priznanje za 'doprinos slobodi, miru i stabilnosti na Kosovu'. Otkriven je u junu 2010 prilikom jedanaestogodišnjice dolaska NATO trupa na Kosovo i 'oslobađanja' Prizrena na jugu Kosova.

Spomenik, podignut na inicijativu opštine Prizren, postavljen je u ulici na ulasku u Prizren, blizu lokalne baze kosovskih snaga (KFOR). Ima oblik NATO simbola i replika je spomenika postavljenog ispred NATO centrale u Briselu. Postoji na kom stoji je u obliku kosovskih granica. Oko spomenika stoje zastave NATO zemalja članica.

NATO upravlja KFOR-om, međunarodnim mirovnim snagama koje su stacionirane na Kosovu od juna 1999. da bi se uspostavila bezbedna sredina. Poimanje intervencije NATO-a veoma se razlikuje: kosovski Albanci uglavnom doživljavaju i NATO i KFOR kao glavne garante mira i bezbednosti na Kosovu. Marta 2012. na trinaestogodišnjicu NATO intervencije na Kosovu, predsednik Atifete Jahjaga naglasila je da su „uspešne operacije NATO-a preduzete u odbranu mira i sprečavanje hegemonije, ugnjetavanja i diktature“. U Srbiji, s druge strane, intervencija se shvata kao ilegalna agresija. Prilikom obeležavanja godišnjice početka NATO bombardovanja Srbije, Boris Tadić, predsednik Srbije, izjavio je da taj dan treba „da podseti na one (Srbe) ubijene i izrazi uverenje da država Srbija može ponovo da se uzdigne. Taj rat je zločin protiv naše zemlje, protiv našeg naroda, i nemam više ništa da dodam“.

The monument is dedicated to the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an acknowledgement of its "contribution to freedom, peace and stability of Kosovo". It was inaugurated in June 2010 on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the arrival of NATO troops in Kosovo and the 'liberation' of Prizren in southern Kosovo.

The monument was created on the initiative of the municipality of Prizren and is placed on an avenue at the entrance of the city, close to the local base of the Kosovo Force (KFOR). It has the form of the NATO symbol and is a replica of the monument placed in front of the NATO headquarters in Brussels. The pedestal it stands on has the shape of Kosovo's borders. Surrounding the monument are the flags of the NATO member states.

NATO leads KFOR, an international peace-keeping force which has been stationed in Kosovo since June 1999 to establish a secure environment. The perception of NATO's intervention differ widely: Kosovo-Albanians generally perceive both NATO and KFOR as the main guarantor of peace and security in Kosovo. In March 2012, on the 13th anniversary of the NATO intervention in Kosovo, President Atifete Jahjaga pointed out NATO's "successful operations undertaken in defence of peace and the avoidance of hegemony, oppression and dictatorship". In Serbia, on the other hand, the intervention is generally perceived as an illegal aggression. On the occasion of the same anniversary of the beginning of the NATO bombings against Serbia, Boris Tadić, President of Serbia, declared that the day should serve to "remember those (Serbs) killed and to express confidence that the Serbian state can raise again. That war was a crime against our country, against our nation, there's nothing more to add".



2010.

Spomenik Srđanu Aleksiću

Lokacija: Pančevo, Srbija

Vajar: Ivana Rakidžić-Krumes

Memorial Plaque to Srdjan Aleksić

Location: Pančevo, Serbia

Sculptor: Ivana Rakidžić-Krumes

Mladog Srđana Aleksića (1966 – 1993) iz Trebinja, na jugu Bosne i Hercegovine, 21. januara 1993. godine pretuklo je na smrt četvoro pripadnika Vojske Republike Srpske, pošto ih je video kako napadaju njegovog prijatelja Alena Glavovića, Bošnjaka iz istog mesta. Glavović je preživeo i sa suprugom i dvoje dece sada živi u Švedskoj. Svake godine dolazi u Trebinje da poseti Srđanovu porodicu i obiđe njegov grob.

U Pančevu, blizu srpske prestonice Beograda, spomen ploču posvećenu Srđanu Aleksiću u okviru proslave Dana grada 8. novembra 2010. godine otkrila je gradonačelnica Vesna Martinović. Ploča je postavljena u prolazu koji je nazvan po Aleksiću kod zgrade Gradske uprave. Na ploči stoji "Heroj je onaj koji daje život za najviši smisao života". U znak sećanja na Srđana Aleksića svake godine polaže se cveće ispod spomen ploče u Pančevu. Inicijativu za spomen ploču kao i da prolaz ponese njegovo ime pokrenula je nevladina organizacija 'Građanska akcija Pančevo'.

Poslednjih godina priča o Srđanu Aleksiću često se nalazila u medijima te je postala poznata širom Srbije i Bosne i Hercegovine. Predsednik Srbije Boris Tadić posthumno je odlikovao Srđana Aleksića zlatnom medaljom 'Miloš Obilić' za ispoljenu hrabrost i delo ličnog herojstva povodom Dana državnosti 14. februara 2012. Takođe, srpski režiser Srđan Golubović pravi film o Aleksiću nazvan 'Krugovi' koji će biti premijerno prikazan 2012. Srđan Aleksić, je tako postao simbol prijateljstva između ljudi različitih nacionalnih i verskih pripadnosti. Njegov gest može biti primer moralne snage u vreme nasilja i mržnje.

Young Srdjan Aleksić (1966 – 1993) from Trebinje, in the South of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was beaten to death on January 21st 1993 by four members of the Army of Republika Srpska after he saw them attacking his friend Alen Glavović, a Bośniak from the same city, and tried to defend him. Glavović survived and lives today in Sweden with his wife and two children. He returns to Trebinje every year to visit Srdjan's family and his grave.

In the city of Pančevo, close to the Serbian capital Belgrade, a memorial plaque for Srdjan Aleksić was unveiled during the celebration of the 'Day of the City Pančevo' on November 8th 2010 by Mayor Vesna Martinović. The plaque was put up in a street renamed after Aleksić next to the city administration. Its inscription reads: "A hero is someone who gives his life for the highest meaning of life." In memory of Srdjan Aleksić, flowers are laid beneath the plaque every year. The initiative for both the memorial plaque and renaming the street originated from the NGO "Civil Action Pančevo".

In recent years, the story of Srdjan Aleksić has been frequently mentioned in the media and it is now widely known throughout Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbian President Boris Tadić awarded Srdjan Aleksić posthumously with the gold medal 'Miloš Obilić' for bravery and personal heroism on the National Day of Serbia on February 14th 2012. Serbian director Srdjan Golubović is making a film about Aleksić named 'Circles' (Krugovi), which is planned to premiere in 2012. Srdjan Aleksić has thus become a symbol of friendship between people of different nationalities and religions. His behaviour can serve as an example of moral courage in times of violence and hatred.



2011.

'Ratnik na konju'

Lokacija: Skopje,
Makedonija

Vajar: Valentina
Stevanovska

'Warrior on Horseback'

Location: Skopje,
Macedonia

Sculptor: Valentina
Stevanovska

Anonimno nazvan 'Ratnik na konju', spomenik se odnosi na Aleksandra III Makedonskog (356 - 323 p.n.e.), poznatog kao Aleksandra Velikog, kralja antičkog makedonskog kraljevstva u četvrtom veku pre nove ere. Spomenik je deo vladinog projekta 'Skopje 2014', monumentalne obnove državne svojine. Brojne nove zgrade i spomenici, podsetnici antike u stilu i veličini, grade se duž cele prestonice.

Projekat 'Skopje 2014' podstakao je kontroverzne diskusije u Makedoniji i šire. On može biti shvaćen kao odgovor makedonske vlade na tekuće nesuglasice sa susednim zemljama oko naziva države (Grčka insistira na zvaničnom imenu 'Bivša Jugoslovenska Republika Makedonija'), nepriznavanje autonomije Makedonske pravoslavne crkve (od strane Srpske pravoslavne crkve), kao i nepriznavanje makedonskog jezika (od strane Bugara). U tom smislu, 'Skopje 2014.' izgleda kao pokušaj makedonske vlade da neguje i naglašava drugačiji nacionalni identitet.

Mišljenja vezana za monumentalni projekat prilično se razlikuju. Jedni ga smatraju značajnim obeležavanjem makedonskog identiteta koji je postojao od antičkih vremena. Drugi ga kritikuju kao istorijsko veličanje i ideološku zloupotrebu historiografije koju pripisuju provincijalizmu diskursa o identitetima u Makedoniji. Značaj figure Aleksandra Velikog u tekućim debatama pojačan je veličinom spomenika i njegovom pozicijom nasred 'Trga Makedonija' u centru Skopja.

Za manjine, ovaj zvanično naglašen antički makedonski identitet, ostavlja malo prostora za poistovećivanje. Stoga 'Skopje 2014' predstavlja opasnost jačanja podela i isključivosti umesto simbolizacije nacionalnog jedinstva i negovanja nacionalnog identiteta za sve građane Makedonije.

Anonymously called the 'Warrior on Horseback', the monument clearly refers to Alexander III of Macedonia (356 - 323 BC), known as Alexander the Great, king of the ancient Macedonian kingdom in the fourth century BC. The monument is part of the government project 'Skopje 2014', a monumental revamping of the country's capital. Numerous new buildings and monuments, reminiscent of antiquity in style and largesse, are being constructed throughout the capital.

The Project 'Skopje 2014' triggered controversial discussions in Macedonia and beyond. It can be understood as a response by the Macedonian government to ongoing disputes with neighbouring countries regarding the country's name (Greece insists on the official name 'Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia'), the non-recognition of the autonomy of the Macedonian orthodox church (by the Serbian Orthodox church) as well as the non-recognition of the Macedonian language (by Bulgarians). In light of all this, 'Skopje 2014' appears as an attempt of the Macedonian government to foster and emphasise a distinct national identity. Opinions regarding the monumental project vary considerably. Some regard it as a significant commemoration of a Macedonian identity that has existed since antiquity. Others criticize it as historical glorification and ideological exploitation of historiography which they attribute to the provinciality of identity discourses in Macedonia. The importance of the figure Alexander the Great in these ongoing debates is underlined by the monument's large size and its position in the middle of 'Macedonia Square' in central Skopje.

For minorities, this officially highlighted antique Macedonian identity leaves little room for identification. Therefore, "Skopje 2014" entails the danger of strengthening divisions and exclusiveness instead of symbolising national unity and fostering a national identity for all of Macedonia's citizens.



2011.

Golub mira i prosperiteta Travnika i Bosne i Hercegovine

Lokacija: Travnik, Bosna i Hercegovina

Vajari: Ismet Begović-Ipet i Luej Maktouf

Pigeon of Peace and Prosperity for Travnik and Bosnia and Herzegovina

Location: Travnik, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Sculptors: Ismet Begović-Ipet and Luej Maktouf

Spomenik je posvećen autohtonoj pasmini travničkog kratkokljunog goluba, odnosno, miru i napretku Travnika, te cijele Bosne i Hercegovine.

Spomenik je otkriven 9. maja 2011. godine, prigodom obilježavanja Dana pobjede nad fašizmom, a podigli su ga članovi udruženja golubara 'Tulika', te udruženja 'Josip Broz Tito'. Sličan spomenik je 2007. godine podignut drugoj autohtonoj pasmini travničkog kraja 'bosanskohercegovačkom-hrvatskom planinskom psu tornjaku'. Preko ovih spomenika, Rasterećenih povijesnih, nacionalnih, te vjerskih konotacija, i golubu i psu se "ukazuje poštovanje" jer "obitavaju i žive sa svim narodima bez obzira na nacionalnost i vjeru".

'Golub mira i prosperiteta' bi se u kontekstu poslijeratne spomeničke plastike u BiH mogao smatrati novom formom, kojom se bježi od etniciteta i bilo kakvog konfliktnog sadržaja. Spomenik je lišen monumentalnosti i reprezentivnosti, te, kao što je to bio slučaj sa statutom Bruce Lee-ja u Mostaru, zadržava ironijski karakter, oslikavajući tako grotesknu stvarnost postratne Bosne i Hercegovine.

The monument is dedicated to both an autochthonous breed of short-beaked pigeons of Travnik, in central Bosnia and Herzegovina and to peace and prosperity of Travnik and the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The monument was unveiled on May 9th, 2011, on the occasion of celebrating the 'Day of Victory over Fascism'. It was funded by members of the association of pigeon breeders 'Tulika' and the 'Josip Broz Tito' association. In 2007, a similar monument had been built in Travnik dedicated to another autochthonous breed, the 'Bosnian and Herzegovinian dog Tornjak'. Disburdened of any historical, national or religious connotations, both the pigeon and the dog are 'given respect' because they 'reside and live with all people regardless of nationality and religious belief'.

In comparison with other monuments built after the war in the 1990s in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the 'pigeon of peace and prosperity' represents a new form of commemoration that escapes ethnicity and any sort of conflictual content. As is the case with the statue of Bruce Lee in Mostar, the monument maintains a certain character of irony, thus reflecting in a way the grotesque reality in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina.

marko krojač



Rođen 1968. u Heidelbergu/Nemačka, Marko Krojač je fotograf samouk od 1990. Kasnih devedesetih godina počeo je da saraduje sa organizacijama i grupama koje se bave umetnošću, kao i mladim i starijim ljudima koji su isključeni iz društva; posao kojim se i dan danas bavi. Od 2002. redovno je na putu između Nemačke i zapadnog Balkana, boraveći najviše u Beogradu. Danas živi u Nemačkoj.

Izlagao je u Nemačkoj, Italiji, Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini, Srbiji i Japanu (Tokio). Prve izložbe ticale su se bespravno useljenih kuća u istočnom Berlinu 1990ih. Četiri godine fotografisao je sve događaje na istočno-nemačkom brodu i kulturnom transporteru 'MS Stubnitz' na kome je živeo i kojim je putovao. Pokrivajući žive nastupe bendova koji su svirali na brodu skoro svaki dan, specijalizovao se za fotografiju „uživo na sceni“. Marko je prvobitno bio fasciniran prelepim predelima Balkana, pa je po prvi put počeo da pravi fotografije na kojima nema ljudi. 2003. počeo je da volontira za 'Zdravo da ste', grupu psihologa sa sedištem u Beogradu koja od 1991. radi sa izbeglicama. U to vreme počinje da putuje i istražuje zemlje bivše Jugoslavije i upoznaje posledice ratova iz 1990ih kroz kampove za izbeglice. Ponovo, glavni motivi njegovih fotografija postaju situacije iz svakodnevnog života.

Markov lični interes za spomenike širom zapadnog Balkana pojavio se 2004, nakon što je našao staru mapu sa nazivom Turistička mapa spomenika revolucije u prodavnici polovne robe u Beogradu. Iako je već video neke od tih spomenika, skoro da nije znao šta oni zaista predstavljaju. Putujući na razne događaje različitih organizacija u regiji, Marko je počeo da obilazi spomenike. Ubrzo je postao

fasciniran monumentalnošću većine spomen mesta, njihovom arhitekturom i okruženjem. S obzirom da ti spomenici slave uspomenu na događaje i ličnosti iz II Svetskog rata, shvatio ih je i kao deo svoje istorije kao Nemač. 2007. godine igrom slučaja dan posle posete Bogdanu Bogdanoviću, poznatom umetniku i vajaru brojnih spomenika u regiji, od pijanog redara u Kumrovcu/Hrvatska dobio je detaljnu knjigu koja dopunjuje mapu koju je kupio tri godine pre toga.

Od tada, Marko je sistematično dokumentovao i fotografisao više od 500 spomenika širom zapadnog Balkana. Njegov cilj je da istraži ne samo namere njihovih tvoraca, već i da odgovori na zvaničnu politiku zapostavljanja ovih mesta sećanja. Njegove fotografije ne portretišu samo artefakte prošlog vremena. Oni odražavaju pozadinu a često i dramatičnu lepotu predela koja okružuje spomenike. Marko Krojač dopunjava ovaj projekat dokumentovanjem sve većom arhivom istorijskih publikacija i artefakata iz svakodnevnog života zapadnog Balkana.

Njegove dokumentarne fotografije savremenog života na zapadnom Balkanu ukazuju na još jednu njegovu strast: a to je želja da na pažljiv i suptilan, ali isto tako pošten i sirov način uhvati trenutke života i odnosa između samih ljudi, kao i njihovog gradskog ili seoskog okruženja u sadašnjosti i prošlosti.

Born in 1968 in Heidelberg/Germany, Marko Krojač has been a self-educated photographer since 1990. In the late nineties, he started to cooperate with organisations and groups that deal with art as well as with young and older people excluded from society; a work he continues to do to this day. Since 2002, he has been a regular commuter between Germany and the Western Balkans, living mostly in Belgrade. Nowadays he resides in Germany.

He has exhibited in Germany, Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Japan (Tokyo). First exhibitions focused on the East-Berlin Squats (occupied houses) in the 1990s. For four years he has been taking photographs of all events on the East-German ship and cultural transporter 'MS Stubnitz' which he lived on and travelled with. Covering live bands that played on the ship nearly every day, he specialised in 'live on stage' photography. Marko initially became fascinated with the wonderful landscapes of the Balkans, and began for the first time to take pictures without people. In 2003 he started volunteering for 'Zdravo da ste', a Belgrade-based group of psychologists working since 1991 with refugees. During that time he began to travel and explore the ex-Yugoslav countries and got to know the after-effects of the 1990s wars through refugee camps. Once again, the main motives of his photography became everyday life situations.

Marko's personal interest in monuments throughout the Western Balkans was sparked in 2004, after he found an old map titled The Tourist Map of the Monuments of the Revolution in a second-hand shop in Belgrade. Even though he had already seen some of these monuments, he hardly knew what they were

really about. So while travelling to various events by different organisations in the regions, Marko began to visit monuments along the route. Quickly he became fascinated with the monumentality of many memorial sites, their architecture and their surroundings. As these monuments commemorate events and persons related to the Second World War, he understood them also as part of his own history as a German. As chance would have it, in 2007, one day after Mark visited Bogdan Bogdanović, famous artist and sculptor of numerous monuments in the region, a drunken janitor in Kumrovec/Croatia gave him a detailed book that complements the map he had bought three years earlier.

Ever since, Marko has systematically documented and photographed more than 500 monuments throughout the Western Balkans. His aim is to not only explore the intention of their creators, but also to counter official politics of neglect regarding these sites of remembrance. His photographs are not just portraying artefacts of a time past. They also reflect the setting and often dramatic beauty of the landscape surrounding the monuments. Marko Krojač complements this documentation project with a steadily growing archive of historical publications and artefacts of everyday life in the Western Balkans.

His documentary photographs of contemporary life in the Western Balkans show another passion of his: One of catching in a careful, sensible but also honest and raw way the moments of life and relationships between people themselves as well as their urban or rural surroundings in both the present and the past.

biografije autora

Andrea BAOTIĆ, rođena 1983. u Sarajevu/Bosna i Hercegovina, diplomirana je povjesničarka umjetnosti i romanistica. Od 2007. godine radi kao asistentica za podučavanje i istraživanje na Katedri za historiju umjetnosti Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Pretežito se bavi izučavanjem umjetnosti 19. i početka 20. stoljeća, te je objavljivala radove i sudjelovala na konferencijama u zemlji iz spomenute oblasti. Član je Međunarodnog saveta za spomenike i spomeničke celine (ICOMOS) komiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini od 2011, a svoja recentna istraživanja je usmjerila i ka pitanjima skulpture u javnom prostoru. Trenutno je kandidatkinja na doktorskom studiju povijesti umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, sa prijavljenom disertacijom na temu Skulptura u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave 1878-1918.

Valentino DIMITROVSKI, rođen 1954. u Skopju/Makedonija, radi na Odeljenju za zaštitu kulturnog nasleđa, koji je deo makedonskog Ministarstva za kulturu. Diplomirao istoriju umjetnosti na Univerzitetu u Skopju. Između 1978. i 2004. radio je na Institutu za zaštitu spomenika kulture Republike Makedonije. Izdao je članke iz istorije umjetnosti, umetničke kritike i arhitekture. Skore publikacije obuhvataju „Provincijalizaciju i degradaciju javnog prostora“, Udruženje vizuelnih umjetnosti i kulture, Novi Sad (2008.) i „Aspekti trenutne umetničke scene“, Muzej savremene umjetnosti, Skopje (2003.)

Shkëlzen MALIQI, rođen 1947. u Orahovcu/Kosovo, je filozof, politički analitičar, umetnički kritičar, prevodilac, izdavač i novinar. Radi kao direktor Centra za humanističke studije „Gani Bobi“ Priština/Kosovo. Radio je i kao glavni urednik za nekoliko časopisa kao što su Arta – mesečni dodatak za vizuelne umjetnosti

u nedeljniku Java (2001.-2002.) i MM - mixed magazine philosophy, literature, art, politics etc. (1995.-2011.). Njegova izdanja obuhvataju Nyja e Kosovës (The Kosova Knot, Ljubljana, 1990; reprint Priština 2010), Kosova: Separate World (Priština/Peć, 1998; 3. izdanje 2001), Why Kosovo peaceful resistance failed (Priština, 2011.) i Shkelzen Maliqi: Shembje e Jugosllavisë, Kosova dhe rrëfime të tjera: dijalog me Baton Haxhiun (Tirana, 2011).

Dr Senadin MUSABEGOVIĆ, rođen 1970. u Sarajevu/Bosna i Hercegovina, profesor je filozofije na Univerzitetu u Sarajevu gde predaje sociologiju kulture i teoriju umjetnosti. Tokom rata u Bosni (1992.-1995.), radio je kao novinar i počeo objavljivati poeziju, eseje i priče. Njegova prva zbirka pesama „Udarci tijela“ objavljena je 1995. Njegova druga knjiga poezije „Odrastanje domovine“ (1999.) dobila je nagradu Društva pisaca Bosne i Hercegovine za najbolju knjigu, kao i nagradu Planja, za najbolju knjigu pjesama objavljenu u Bosni i Hercegovini te godine. Njegova poslednja knjiga poezije „Rajska lopata“ objavljena je 2004. Doktorirao je na političkoj teoriji 2004. na Evropskom institutu u Firenci sa radom naslovljenim „Rat – konstitucija totalitarnog tijela“. Objavio je teoretske radove u međunarodnim magazinima i knjigama i držao predavanja kao gostujući profesor na evropskim i američkim univerzitetima.

Dr Vjeran PAVLAKOVIĆ, rođen 1974. u Zagrebu/Hrvatska, je profesor asistent na Odseku za kulturalne studije Univerziteta u Rijeci, Hrvatska. Doktorirao je 2005. na Univerzitetu u Vašingtonu i objavio članke o politici sećanja, Komemoracije II Svetskog rata u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji, uticaj Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju na domaću politiku i Jugosloveni u Španskom građanskom

ratu. Skore publikacije obuhvataju „Sumrak revolucionara: Naši Španci i kraj Jugoslavije“ u Europe-Asia Studies (Studije 2010), „Hrvatska, ICTY i General Gotovina kao politički simbol“ Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 62, No. 10 (decembar 2010), i „Simboli i kultura sećanja u Republici Srpska krajina“ u National Papers.

Mirjana PEITLER-SELAKOV, rođena 1965. u Somboru/Srbija, diplomirala je na Elektrotehničkom fakultetu (1990.) Univerziteta u Novom Sadu i Istoriju umjetnosti (2006.) na Univerzitetu u Gracu. Još dok je radila kao razvojni inženjer, postala je aktivna na umetničkoj sceni kao kustos i teoretičar umjetnosti (2003.-2008.). Između 2008. i 2010. radila je kao kustos „Medienkunstlabor“ u izložbenom prostoru „Kunsthhaus Graz“. 2010 započela je doktorkse studije na istoriji umjetnosti. Tema: Umetnost, istorija i politika sećanja na javnom prostoru. Interesuje je umetnost (Jugo-)istočne Evrope, umetnost u javnim prostorima i eksperimentalna umetnost u zajedničkoj oblasti nauke, umjetnosti i tehnologije.

Dr Bojana PEJIĆ, rođena 1948. u Beogradu/Srbija, je istoričar umjetnosti, živi u Berlinu od 1991. Piše o savremenoj umetnosti od ranih 1970ih. Od 1977. do 1991. bila je kustos u Studentskom kulturnom centru Univerziteta u Beogradu. Maja 2005. odbranila je doktorat na temu „The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialization of Power in the SFR Yugoslavia (1945-1991)“ (u pripremi za štampu) na Univerzitetu Oldenburg/Nemačka. Bila je gostujući profesor na Humboldt Univerzitetu u Berlinu (2003.) i Institutu za kulturološke studije Univerziteta Oldenburg (2006./2007.). Izložbe koje je ona uredila obuhvataju After the Wall - Art and Culture in post-Communist Europe u Moderna Museet u Štokholmu (1999.), prikazana u Muzeju

savremene umetnosti u Budimpešti (2000.) i na glavnoj železničkoj stanici u Berlinu (2000.-2001.), kao i 49. Oktobarski salon u Beogradu (2008.) i Gender Check u MUMOK u Beču (2009.-2010.).

Dr Lutz SCHRADER, rođen 1953. u Vajmaru, Nemačka, je istraživač za mir i konflikte na Institutu za mir i demokratiju Otvorenog Univerziteta u Hagenu, Nemačka. Glavna tema njegovih istraživanja su mirovne i konfliktna teorije, procedure i metode transformacije konflikata kao i uloga i aktivnosti subjekata građanskog društva u transformaciji konflikata i građenju mira. Od 2005. tesno saraduje sa forumZFD. Glavne teme konsultacije i kooperacije je analitička i evaluaciona podrška za ZFD projekte na zapadnom Balkanu sa težištem na politiku identiteta i rad na identitetu u post-konfliktnim društvima.

authors' biographies

Andrea BAOTIĆ, born 1983 in Sarajevo/Bosnia-Herzegovina, is a graduated Historian of Art and Romance philologist. Since 2007 she has been working as a teaching and research assistant in the Art History Department at the University of Sarajevo. She is particularly interested in art from the 19th and early 20th century and she has published articles and participated in local conferences related to the topic. She has been a member of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2011, and her recent research also focuses on questions regarding sculptures in public spaces. Currently she is pursuing a Ph.D. in Art History at the University of Zagreb with her thesis on Sculpture in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period of Austro-Hungary administration 1878-1918.

Valentino DIMITROVSKI, born 1954 in Skopje/Macedonia, works in the Cultural Heritage Protection Office which is part of the Macedonian Ministry of Culture. He holds a degree in Art History from the University of Skopje. Between 1978 and 2004 he has been working at the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Macedonia. He has published articles on the history of art, art critique and architecture. Recent publications include "Provinciality and Degradation of Public Space" (Provincijalizacija I degradacija javnog prostora), Association of Visual Arts and Culture, Novi Sad (2008) and "Aspects from the Current Artist Scene", Museum of Contemporary Art, Skopje (2003).

Shkëlzen MALIQI, born 1947 in Rahovec/Kosovo, is a philosopher, political analyst, art critic, translator, publisher and journalist. He works as director of the Center for Humanistic Studies "Gani Bobi" Pristina/Kosovo. He

has also worked as editor in chief of several periodicals such as *Arta* – monthly supplement for visual arts in weekly *Java* (2001-2002) and *MM* - mixed magazine philosophy, literature, art, politics etc. (1995-2011). His publications include *Nyja e Kosovës* (The Kosova Knot, Ljubljana, 1990; reprint Pristina 2010), *Kosova: Separate World* (Pristina/Peja, 1998; 3rd edition 2001), *Why Kosovo peaceful resistance failed* (Pristina, 2011) and *Shkelzen Maliqi: Shembje e Jugosllavisë, Kosova dhe rrëfime të tjera: dijalog me Baton Haxhiun* (Tirana, 2011).

Dr Senadin MUSABEGOVIĆ, born 1970 in Sarajevo/Bosnia-Herzegovina, is a professor of philosophy at the University of Sarajevo where he teaches sociology of culture and art theory. During the Bosnian war (1992-1995), he worked as a journalist and began publishing poetry, essays and stories. His first collection of poems "Body Strikes" was published in 1995. His second book of poetry "The Maturing of Homeland" (1999) received both the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Writers' Association Award for best book and the Planjaj Award for best book of poetry published in Bosnia and Herzegovina that year. His latest book of poetry "The Heavenly Sphere" was published in 2004. He received his Ph.D. in Political Theory in 2004 from the European Institute in Florence with his thesis entitled "War—Reconstruction of the Totalitarian Body". He has published theoretical papers in international magazines and books and held lectures as a guest professor at European and American universities.

Dr Vjeran PAVLAKOVIĆ, born 1974 in Zagreb/Croatia, is an assistant professor in the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Rijeka, Croatia. He received his Ph.D. in History in 2005 from the University of Washington, and has published articles on

the politics of memory, World War Two commemorations in the former Yugoslavia, the impact of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on domestic politics, and Yugoslavs in the Spanish Civil War. Recent publications include "Twilight of the Revolutionaries: Naši Španci and the End of Yugoslavia" in *Europe-Asia Studies* (September 2010), "Croatia, the ICTY, and General Gotovina as a Political Symbol," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 10 (December 2010), and "Symbols and the Culture of Memory in Republika Srpska Krajina," forthcoming in *Nationalities Papers*.

Mirjana PEITLER-SELAKOV, born 1965 in Sombor/Serbia, holds a degree in Electrical Engineering (1990) from the University Novi Sad and in Art History (2006) from the University Graz. While still working as a development engineer, she became active in the art scene as a curator and art theorist (2003-2008). Between 2008 and 2010 she worked as curator of the 'Medienkunstlabor' of the exhibition hall 'Kunsthhaus Graz'. In 2010 she started her Ph.D. studies in art history. Topic: Art and History and Politics of Remembrance in the Public Space. She focuses on (South-) Eastern European art, art in public spaces, and experimental art at the interface between science, art and technology.

Dr Bojana PEJIĆ, born 1948 in Belgrade/Serbia, is an art historian living in Berlin since 1991. She has been writing on contemporary art since the early 1970s. From 1977 to 1991 she was curator at the Student Cultural Center of Belgrade University. In May 2005 she defended her Ph.D. thesis "The Communist Body: Politics of Representation and Spatialisation of Power in the SFR Yugoslavia (1945-1991)" (in preparation for publishing)

at the University of Oldenburg/Germany. She was guest professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin (2003) and the Institute for Cultural Studies at the University of Oldenburg (2006/2007). Exhibitions she curated include *After the Wall - Art and Culture in post-Communist Europe* at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm (1999), also presented at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Budapest (2000) and at Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin (2000-2001), as well as the 49th October Salon in Belgrade (2008) and *Gender Check* at MUMOK in Vienna (2009-2010).

Dr Lutz SCHRADER, born 1953 in Weimar/Germany, is peace and conflict researcher at the Institute for Peace and Democracy of the Open University in Hagen, Germany. His main research interests are peace and conflict theories, procedures and methods of conflict transformation as well as the role and activities of civil society actors in conflict transformation and peace-building. Since 2005 he is working closely with *forumZFD*. Main topic of consultancy and co-operation is the analytical and evaluative support for ZFD projects in the Western Balkans with the focus on identity politics and identity work in post-conflict societies.

MONUMENTI

promjenljivo lice sjećanja the changing face of remembrance

Organizator / Organised by

Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (*forumZFD*)

The Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (Civil Peace Service | *forumZFD*) is a German organisation that was established in 1996. It trains and sends peace experts to conflict regions where they work together with local partners to promote peaceful coexistence and non-violent conflict resolution.

forumZFD carries out projects of the Civil Peace Service in the Middle East, the Western Balkans, the Philippines and in Germany. In the Western Balkans, the focus is on projects working in the field of dealing with the past and on fostering dialogue between opposing parties. This includes school mediation projects, the support of civil society, reintegration of former combatants or enhancing media capacities for a more constructive way of dealing with the past.



www.forumzfd.de

U saradnji sa / In cooperation with

pax christi im Bistum Aachen

Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Sarajevo

Fondacija Publika

Helsinški parlament građana, Banja Luka

Regionalna mirovna inicijativa u BiH - ReMI mreža, Derventa



Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (Civilna mirovna služba | *forumZFD*) je njemačka organizacija osnovana 1996. Obučava i šalje mirovne eksperte u konfliktne regije u kojima rade zajedno sa lokalnim partnerima na unapređenju mirne koegzistencije i nenasilnom rješavanju konflikata.

forumZFD sprovodi projekte civilne mirovne službe na Bliskom istoku, zapadnom Balkanu, Filipinima i Njemčkoj. Na zapadnom Balkanu, težište je na projektima u okviru suočavanja s prošlošću i zagovaranju dijaloga između suprotstavljenih strana. To obuhvata projekte medijacije u školama, podršku civilnom društvu, reintegraciju bivših boraca ili jačanje kapaciteta za konstruktivniji način suočavanja s prošlošću.

Izložba fotografija MOnuMENTI prikazuje spomenike i njihove 'priče' pokazujući kako su se koncepti identiteta u zemljama zapadnog Balkana razvijali od ranog XX. vijeka pa do danas. Odnos prema postojećim spomenicima i uspostavljanje novih spomenika odražavaju regionalne kulture sjećanja i otkrivaju promjenljive koncepte identiteta. Fotografije Marka Krojača dočaravaju ovaj razvoj, a komentari autora iz različitih akademskih oblasti kontekstualizuju svaki spomenik. Time, izložba ima želju da unaprijedi kritičko, a u isto vrijeme konstruktivno suočavanje s prošalošću.

The photo exhibition MOnuMENTI presents monuments and the 'stories' behind them in order to show how concepts of identity have developed in the countries of the Western Balkans from the early 20th century onwards. The attitude towards existing monuments and the establishment of new monuments reflect regional cultures of remembrance and reveal changing concepts of identity. The photographs by Marko Krojač visualise these developments and comments written by authors from different academic fields contextualise each monument. The exhibition thus wishes to promote a more critical and at the same time more constructive dealing with the past.



BMZ



Federal Ministry
for Economic Cooperation
and Development



Botschaft
der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
Sarajevo

FONDACIJA
PUBLIKA
Sarajevo



RMI
Regionalna Mirovna Inicijativa u BiH

zfd

Ziviler Friedensdienst
Civil Peace Service

ISBN 978-86-915567-4-7



9 788691 556709