

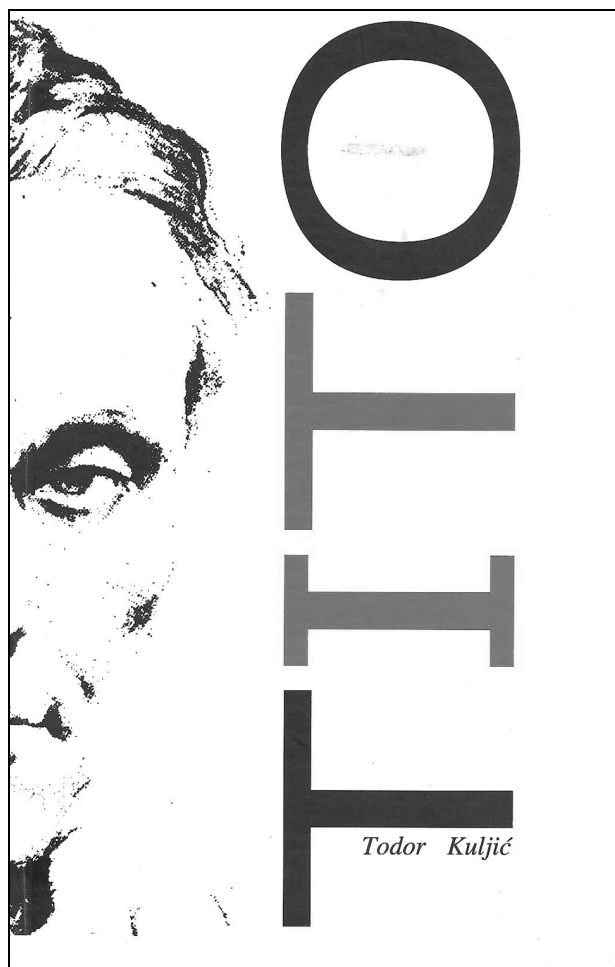
and parahistoriography moderates the identity and belonging to a group and easily justifies the power. The essence of the critical memory culture is to decipher the causes of imposing and accepting the distorted past of this kind. In attaining this objective the ideological-critical approach is estimated as the most fruitful. Although less critical, some useful aspects of constructivism, hermeneutics and symbolism are not rejected. Despite a principal scepticism about postmodernism, when analyzing the use of the past in this book the relation between deconstruction and the ideology critique is resolved neither subjectively nor exclusively. There has been an attempt not to reduce their relation to a mutually exclusive one, but to focus the attention on the possibility of their mutual completing.

This book by the Prof. Todor Kuljić (Faculty of Arts, Belgrade), is undoubtedly pioneer work in the research field of the memory culture which was neglected up till now in the West Balkans' historiography.

Avgust Lešnik

Todor Kuljić: TITO – SOCIOLOŠKO-ISTORIJSKA STUDIJA (Tito – A Sociological-historical Study). Zrenjanin, Gradska narodna biblioteka "Žarko Zrenjanin", 2005, 552 pp. (Drugo, dopunjeno izdanje).

This study is a sociological-historical research of the political culture, ideology and organization of Tito's rule. The regime which is the topic of this research was set up on the one-party, quite complex multi-national system and multi-layer pattern of integration. In this framework Tito, as the leader, played the part of an extraordinary active, energetic, and prominent linking element, remarkable for the domineering components of personal authority. However, no matter how personal, a rule has never been determined just by the activities and will of leader alone. Even the most influential figures had to face insurmountable limits set by their own time, pre-conditioned by ideological horizon of the epoch, or by the power of tradition. Mentioned structures were analytically examined in this study in order to define more clearly the autonomy of influential figures. Also a rather neglected side of the Yugoslav socialism was investigated: its relative place in long-term historical processes, Tito's role, and basic patterns of political culture. Tito's role in short and long-term processes in the Balkans was studied from a perspective of history understanding developed on the Marxist line of thinking by French Braudel's school and German structural-historic stream (J. Kocka, H. Wehler). In the first plan are not events than processes.



Tito is the heart of current concern with memory of Yugoslav socialism. Who ever says communism, says Tito. Tito has been crucial symbol in the shift from a "history of the victor" or, in Nietzsche's terms, monumental communist history to a history of the Tito's victims. From the hero, Tito becomes antihero. This book is written as a critic of the monumental communist history but also as a critic of a new "monumental antitito's history". The cult of Tito in the communist, official memory is today replaced with the new politics of victimisation, where Tito is central enemy. This is a kind of a new memory of power also with the absolute moral claims, especially in the last Yugoslav war.

Chapter 1 summarizes the settings in which one-party regimes in the contemporary world acted as the agents of modernization. Tradition imposed to this specific modernization a truncated and authoritarian form. On the Balkans, a solution for the ethnic question was a condition not only for the development of society, but for its survival, as well. Burdened by a tradition of ethnic conflicts, the national sentiment is easily politicized, taking hold of the root of the being during social crises, because it is connected to survival and basic existential

interests. The role of a ruler in a multiethnic state burdened by militant, uncompromising ethnic mentality is unusually complex, so a reliable judgment of his historical achievement must be differentiated from the function of his cult. It was broader discussed in the first Chapter "The authoritarian Modernization". The *Chapter 2*, entitled "Tradition-related components of Balkan Charismatic leader", discusses the main patterns of the Balkan liberation political culture in which leader's idea had a pivotal integrating role. In the permanently insecure and war-state background, a leader in the Balkan was a tested warrior who laid claims to unrestricted authority on the ground of his recognized merits in liberation efforts. As regards political culture, the Balkan – content-wise distinct – monarchy and republican regimes of personal power can be more or less indirectly derived from this basic leader-liberator model. This was demonstrated in the *Chapter 3* by a diachronic comparison of Prince Miloš (1783–1860), Nikola Pašić (1845–1926), and Tito (1892–1980), the key political figures of Serbia and Yugoslavia of the 19th and 20th century. Though they championed distinct class and national visions of desired society, an element which these rulers had in common, was the similar political tradition and culture. *Chapter 4* exposes a critical assessment of Tito's role in the period before his coming to leading position (1937–1945), given from the standpoint of structural history. It also discussed the impact of national and class structures on Tito's behaviour (a vision of a federation void of a leading nation and the Bolshevik culture), but also alternating degree of his independence in the periods of underground activity and war (Tito as a party leader, army leader, and a diplomat). *Chapter 5*, entitled "Tito and political Culture of Bolshevism", summarizes Tito's understanding of the party, character of the party purges, the role of the army, ruling techniques, and finally, the patterns of the power justification. It also draws, a distinction between the stages in which the communist political culture urged modernization from those in which it started to block modernization.

Tito's national policy is a variant of modern and democratic idea of Balkans as one indivisible state entirety. This is a subject matter of *Chapter 6* which highlights Tito's successful effort and failures in the attempt of cosmopolitization of the Balkans. This Chapter also discusses the role of the Yugoslav national idea, outlines the main economic causes of nationalism in the socialistic Yugoslavia, and summarizes Tito's extraordinary active super-national role. This last element figures as a rather successful and progressive attempt of cosmopolitization of the Balkans, exemplary of the leftist spirit of the epoch. The British historian A. Taylor called Tito "the last Habsburg" because he ruled a country with eight major ethnic groups, gave them "cultural autonomy", and restrained their secessionist antagonism. Judging by its multiethnic structure, Tito's Yugoslavia was, no

doubt, most similar to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but the integrative ideas (Marxism and Catholicism) were essentially different. Here are discussed the international and cosmopolitan implications of Marxism in the pacification of an explosive Balkan space. From the standpoint of long-term historical processes, the *Chapter 7* "Tito's foreign policy" discusses this policy as a rare example of relatively successful and independent break through of the hierarchical relationship in the international order, and of the unavoidable hierarchical subordination of small countries to the interests of great powers. Also outlined are the main stages of Tito's foreign policy built on the principles of equidistance, with a special focus on the three crises in the Yugoslav-Soviet relationship, and then the relationship with the West and the non-alignment policy.

The following *Chapter 8* "Structure and Function of Tito's authority, charisma and cult" gives a dialectic analysis of the progressive-modernizing, and of the conservative functions of Tito's charisma. His charisma neutralized tensions of an ethnically mixed and explosive region, while in the sphere of foreign policy Tito's personal authority contributed to building up the states ranking. The party leader and head of state was a symbol of the radical change in the social structure, i.e. the acceleration of horizontal and vertical mobility, which is an important aspect of modernization. The undoubtedly progressive active role of Tito's charisma in mobilizing the resistance to fascism and Stalinism has already been mentioned. Accelerated post-war development was facilitated by the state's and Tito's respectability in the whole world. But here are not also the conservative sides of Tito's cult neglected. Uncritical elevation and admiration of Tito as a leader of a monopolistic party with no competition caused fast an irrational relationship of idolatry for an infallible individual and developed an illusion of his role of saviour. The basically rationalistic Marxist ideology was the important defence against Tito's irrational deification. Here are broader discussed the forms of Tito's deification and compared with Stalin's cult.

Chapter 9 treats the relationship of the Yugoslav intelligentsia towards Tito. Here are presented the chief patterns of relationship of creative intellectuals towards Tito: (1) M. Krleža's glorification of Tito, stemming from the Croatian tradition of the Yugoslav national idea, (2) demonization of Tito by D. Ćosić and Serbian nationalism, and (3) differentiated judgment by M. Đilas that sprang from the non-national liberal critics of Bolshevism. Krleža's glorification of Tito was deeper than Ćosić's demonization, and together with Đilas's differentiated judgement, it makes an interesting testimony about the relationship of the relationship of the intellectuals contemporaries, toward Tito.

Chapter 10 "Tito in the new Serbian memory" treats the memory of Tito in historical science, political ideo-

logies and living oral memory. In the post-communist age historians are busy with excavating national pasts. The cold memory of Tito is unacceptable in the reconstitution of a national collective memory. In the context of a new post-communist myth of national salvation, Tito is instrumentalised as a symbol of political evil. In the official memory of the main former Yugoslav republics he is redundant or unacceptable. But on the other side, in the Yugo-nostalgic people's memory and in living oral memory, he is still a positive person. After the collapse of Yugoslav socialism memories of Tito were "unfrozen" and became the subject of historical controversies. While anticommunist historians demonised Tito, he is the hero and positive person in the people's memory. The mobilisation of an antititoism has reshaped the Serbian right.

Chapter 11 treats Tito's self-understanding and personal traits which effected his rule, and the last *Chapter 12* gives a judgement on the function of Tito's rule and the role of his personal achievements.

The historical and theoretical framework of this book is the permanently facing comparison and elevation of the two opposite sides of Tito's rule. In other words, the historical judgment of Tito's role premises a differentiation between its progressive and conservative components. History will, probably, give more weight to Tito's charisma as a means of integrating a complex state, than as an expression of his personal ambitions without thereby denying that the growing charisma induced return effects and encouraged immoderate political ambitions. History will register the deeper enlightening and state-integrative goals of the party management more than the small group career interests that were protected by the leader's cult. Personal glorification and the instrumental use of the ruler's cult are a historically more ephemeral and less important aspect in comparison to the objective role of the charisma. Tito's charisma was an important base for state centralization and, during his first stage, for accelerated technological and economic modernization of the country as well. The super-ethnic elevation of the leader's cult encouraged cosmopolitization, deprovincialization and pacification of the chaotic Balkan spaces. That is the central historical function of Tito's rule, but it cannot be separated from its ideological basis. As one version of a super-ethnic cosmopolitan ideology, Marxism certainly played an important role in bringing closer traditionally related, but also conflicted, ethnic groups. As a means of self-protection of several small ethnic groups from cultural and linguistic discrimination, isolation and provincialism, Yugoslavianism (opposite today's nationalisms) found in Marxism a strong instrument of modernization. Internationalistic ideology and the cult of super ethnic class leader were inseparable components of the uneven and contradictory process of Balkan cosmopolitanization.

In this process the role of Tito's personality were active. As a wise, penetrating and flexible politician, by

skilfully using his own authority in foreign and domestic politics, Tito as a ruler managed to keep the Yugoslav ethnic groups together in a common state for the longest period of time, and gave Yugoslavianism its most lasting state form. In the history of the Left, he will be remembered as a ruler who, in the framework of his times, tried to democratize one-party socialism. This attempt was inspired far more by the direct democratic plebeian tradition of socialism than by a search for an institutionally and legally regulated division of power. In a relatively conflict-less way and with the help of a monopolistic party, Tito developed a specific regime of personal power and then became its captive, convicted that his life-long rule was the irreplaceable core of integration. Despite the civil war in Yugoslavia in the 1990-th and the downfall of multiethnic Yugoslavia, it seem that, like in many similar historical examples, immeasurable personal power will remain in the shadow of demonstrated modernizational historical achievement.

Memory of Tito is a kind of "symbolic power" in the politics as strategic public claim-making and struggle over public meanings in specific cultural contexts. While present politicians have power over memory, memory also has power over them. The uses and abuses of memory of Tito show a connection between memory and interests. Our past has so often been instrumentalised to legitimate the national state and its glory. Cold memory of Tito (without emotionalism and moralisation), presented in this book, could actually serve as a subversive counter concept to a new monumental historical founding myths. Undoubtedly present book by the Prof. T. Kuljić (Faculty of Arts, Belgrade) is the basic work for every researcher who is dealing with post war problematic of the Tito's Yugoslavia.

Avgust Lešnik

Almut Höfert: DEN FEIND BESCHREIBEN. "TÜRKENGEFAHR" UND EUROPÄISCHES WISSEN ÜBER DAS OSMANISCHE REICH 1450–1600. Campus Historische Studien, Band 35. Frankfurt/New York, Campus Verlag, 2003, 456 str.

Pričujoče delo je v zadnjih letih morda celo najbolj odmevno znotraj tematike, ki jo obravnava. Höfert na osnovi reprezentativnih virov analizira formiranje etnografske vednosti o Osmanih v Evropi 15. in 16. stoletja, kar poizkuša po eni strani povezati s političnim in gospodarskim sodelovanjem med Osmani in izbranimi evropskimi silami, po drugi strani pa to postaviti v kontekst evropskega etnografskega pisanja. Njegova raziskava se ukvarja s temelji evropskega antropološkega razvoja, ki so bili postavljeni v 15. in 16. stoletju in pri