

Neznosna lahkost depolitizacije* / *The Unbearable Lightness of Depoliticisation**

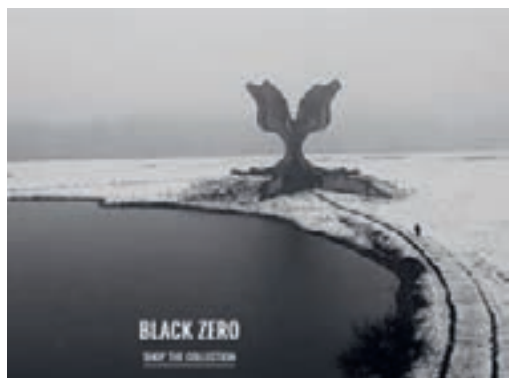
Sonja Leboš

»Preteklost ni več to, kar je nekoč bila.
Danes je kulturna, in ne časovna kategorija.«
*"The past is no longer what it used to be.
Today, it is a cultural and not a temporal category."*

Boris Buden



1



2

Spomeniki narodnoosvobodilnemu boju in žrtvam fašističnega in nacističnega terorja, nastali na območju socialistične Jugoslavije, so že celo desetletje tarča sistematične resemantizacije in resemiotizacije. Vide ti je, da se je vse to začelo s knjigo *Spomenik* Jana Kempnaersa, ki jo je leta 2010 izdala amsterdamska založba Roma Publications v sodelovanju z Umetniško akademijo v Gentu. Trdo vezana publikacija s 26 fotografijami spomenikov iz vseh šestih nekdanjih socialističnih republik Jugoslavije: Bosne in Hercegovine, Črne gore, Hrvaške, Makedonije, Slovenije in Srbije, se ni le odlično prodajala, objavljene fotografije so obkrožile svet tudi v obliki razstav. V recenziji Kempnaersove razstave o jugoslovanskih spomenikih v muzeju Fowler na eni od najprestižnejših univerz na svetu, Kalifornijski univerzi v Los Angelesu, avtorica na primer zapiše: »Kempnaers, ki deluje v Gentu, je izšolan fotograf z doktoratom iz vizualnih umetnosti, ki ga je pridobil leta 2011. Zanimata ga urbana in krajinska fotografija, v zadnjem času pa tudi abstraktni fotografski projekti. Kempnaers spomenikov ne obravnava le zaradi njihove družbene vrednosti oziroma kot del nacionalne zakladnice spominov, ampak zaradi njihove estetike in izredne vizualnosti. Fotografije, ki izhajajo iz tega procesa, so umetniško vpadljive in, morda nenamerno, tudi dokumentarne.«

Tovrstni komentarji¹ za angloameriško recepcijo kulture socialistične Jugoslavije niso neznačilni. Angloameriški znanstveniki jo pogosto prištevajo v varšavski blok, kar kaže oz. dokazuje, da niti najprestižnejše institucije in ugledne univerze Ivy League niso imune na površnost in potvarjanje. Kempnaersa v resnici ni nikoli zanimala komemorativna etika (in s tem estetika) jugoslovanskih spomenikov: čeprav pozna kontekst in avtorje, le bežno omenja lokacije spomenikov in jih označuje s številkami. S tem, da naj bi izhajali s sfere umetnosti in neobstoječe kategorije umetniške apolitičnosti (tu se vedno spomnim definicije s prve strani srednješolskega učbenika marksizma, da je človek politično bitje, aristotelovski *zoon politikon*, filozofske dediščine, brez katere ni demokracije), Kempnaers uspešno zajaha brutalni val desemantizacije, desemiotizacije in v končni fazi depolitizacije jugoslovanskih spomenikov ter jih zvede na pojem *pitoresknega, slikovitega, živopisnega* (gre za sopomenke,

*For an entire decade, monuments to the People's Liberation Struggle and the victims of fascist and Nazi terror produced in the territory of socialist Yugoslavia have been the target of systematic resemantisation and resemiotisation. It appears that it all began with the book *Spomenik* by Jan Kempnaers, published in 2010 by Roma Publication of Amsterdam in collaboration with Academy of Fine Arts in Ghent. The hardback publication featuring 26 photographs of monuments from all six former socialist republics - Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Serbia - was not only a best seller: the photographs toured the world also as exhibitions. In a review of Kempnaers's exhibition on Yugoslav monuments in Fowler Museum on the campus of one of the most prestigious universities in the world, University of California in Los Angeles, the author wrote: "Ghent-based Kempnaers was trained in photography and completed a PhD in visual arts in 2011. Interested in urban and landscape photography, but also more recently in abstract photographic projects, Kempnaers approaches spomeniks not entirely for their social value or national cache of memories but rather for their aesthetics and striking visuality. The resulting photographs are artistically striking and, although perhaps unintentionally, documentary as well."*

*Such commentary¹ is not out of the ordinary for the Anglo-American reception of the culture of socialist Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is often considered by Anglo-American scientists as part of the Warsaw Bloc, which shows that even the most prestigious and reputable Ivy League universities are not immune to negligence and falsification. Kempnaers was in reality never interested in the commemorative ethics (and thus aesthetics) of Yugoslav monuments: though familiar with the context and the authors, he only refers to the monuments' locations in passing and marks them with numbers. By allegedly hailing from the art realm and the non-existing category of artistic apolitichity (on such occasions, I always think back to the definition found on page 1 of the secondary-school Marxism textbook saying that people are political beings, the Aristotelian *zoon politikon*, the philosophical heritage which is the prerequisite for*

* Članek je bil prvotno objavljen na portalu Vizkultura.hr. Nastal je v okviru projekta Vizkulturanje društva, 2019 (Vizkulturanje družbe, 2019), ki ga sofinancira Fond za poticanje pluralizma i raznovrsnosti elektroničkih medija Agencije za elektroničke medije (Fond za spodbujanje pluralizma in raznolikosti elektronskih medijev Agencije za elektronske medije).

* *The article was originally published on portal Vizkultura.hr. It was written as part of project Vizkulturanje društva, 2019 ("Visual Culturing of the Society, 2019"), which is co-funded by the Fund for the Promotion of Pluralism and Diversity of Electronic Media of the Agency for Electronic Media.*



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pri katerih pa moramo razmisliti o skupni semantični teži oziroma neznosni lahкости tega pojma).

Kot trdi sam Kempnaers, so njegove raziskave, v letih 2006–2009 izpeljane na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije, v veliki meri prispevale k njegovemu doktoratu, za katerega trdi, da temelji na »(...) povezovanju drugih del s kriteriji slikovitega. Najprej sem izbral določeno število bistvenih fotografij, ki so se skozi zgodovino ukvarjali z naravo in krajino. Na podlagi knjig pionirjev, na primer Williama Gilpina, sem skušal ugotoviti, kateri od kriterijev se na značilen način prenašajo v vizualno, na primer v slikarstvo. Končno sem isti pristop uporabil pri lastnem delu.«² Res me preseneča avtorjeva naivnost; bolj jasna postane, če se vprašamo, kdo je William Gilpin. William Gilpin³ je bil anglikanski duhovnik, umetnik in izobraževalec, ki je ustvaril pojem *picturesque* (slikovit, živopisen). Čeprav je bil nedvomno zanimiva osebnost, med drugim tudi zato, ker je zagovarjal ukinitve telesnega kaznovanja v izobraževalnem sistemu (kar je bilo v Veliki Britaniji še do nedavnega nedosegljiv ideal), pa ostaja pomislek, ali je z naslanjanjem na tega enega in edinega avtorja mogoče napisati kakorkoli resen doktorat iz sodobne vizualne umetnosti. S tem namreč problem naivnosti ni več naiven in ni več individualen, torej ni problem Kempnaersovega diskurza, ampak postane institucionalen, torej problem institucije, na kateri je mogoče doktorirati z izključnim in nekritičnim sklicevanjem na pojem slikovitega, kot si ga je zamislil neki anglikanski duhovnik v začetku 19. stoletja.

Zgornja, pogosto površna recepcija kulture na splošno in kulture prostora socialistične Jugoslavije se je verjetno do neke mere izboljšala z nedavno razstavo v MoMI,⁴ val, na katerem jaha Kempnaers, pa ostaja močan. Tako je bila lansko leto objavljena še ena knjiga, ki sledi uspešnemu receptu depolitizacije; ta v naslovu uporabi nenavadno skovanko »spomeniks« (ki je v širšo rabo prešla iz spremne besede z naslovom *Spomeniks: The Monuments of Former Yugoslavia. Introduction to the work of Jan Kempnaers*, ki jo je za Kempnaersovo knjigo napisal Willem Jan Neutelings). Gre za delo Jonathana Jimenez (založnik: Carpet Bombing Culture (!)) z naslovom, jasno, *Spomeniks*,⁵ ki povsem sledi komercialni Kempnaersovi uspešnici, saj gre spet za trdo vezano knjigo fotografij slikovitih spomenikov socialistične Jugoslavije na 200 straneh.

Vladimir Kulić v svojem prispevku *Orientalizacija socializma: arhitektura, mediji in reprezentacije vzhodne Evrope* (*Orientalizing Socialism: Architecture, Media, and the Representations of Eastern Europe*)⁶ govori o orientalizmu tovrstnih postopkov, pojmu, s katerim je Edward Said dekonstruiral (post)kolonialistične prakse, pri čemer pa Kulić izpostavlja veliko

democracy), *Kempnaers successfully rides the brutal wave of desecration, desecration, desecration, and ultimately depoliticisation of Yugoslav monuments, which he reduces to the notion of picturesque, scenic, colourful (these synonyms compel us to consider the combined semantic weight, or rather the unbearable lightness, of this notion).*

Kempnaers himself claims that his research, conducted between 2006 and 2009 in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, significantly contributed to his PhD thesis, which he claims is based on "linking other works to certain criteria of the picturesque. First I selected a number of crucial photographers throughout history who were concerned with nature and landscape. On the basis of books by pioneer William Gilpin, I then tried to determine which of those criteria were typically conveyed in images like paintings. Afterwards I applied this approach to my own work".² I'm truly puzzled by the author's naive attitude, which is made clearer if we ask ourselves who William Gilpin is. William Gilpin³ is an Anglican priest, artist, and educator, who invented the notion of picturesque. Though certainly an interesting figure, not least because he advocated the abolishment of corporal punishment from the school system (an unattainable ideal for Great Britain until recently), there is still the matter of whether it is possible to write a serious PhD thesis on contemporary visual art based on one and only author. In doing that, the problem of naiveté is no longer naive and no longer individual, i.e. the problem of Kempnaers's discourse, but it instead becomes institutional, i.e. the problem of the institution from which it is possible to earn a PhD by exclusively and uncritically referring to the notion of the picturesque as defined by an Anglican priest in the early 18th century.

The often superficial reception of culture in general and the culture of the space of socialist Yugoslavia, as above, probably saw a degree of improvement with the recent exhibition in MoMA,⁴ yet the wave being ridden by Kempnaers continues to stay strong. Last year thus saw the publishing of another book which follows the successful recipe of depoliticisation and uses in its title the peculiar coinage "spomeniks" (which entered wider use via the foreword entitled Spomeniks: The Monuments of Former Yugoslavia. Introduction to the work of Jan Kempnaers, written for Kempnaers's book by Willem Jan Neutelings). The work by Jonathan Jimenez published by Carpet Bombing Culture (!) entitled, obviously, Spomeniks,⁵ follows closely in the footsteps of Kempnaers's best seller as it is another hardback with 200 pages of photographs of picturesque monuments from socialist Yugoslavia.

Sl. 1: Naslovnica knjige *Spomeniks* Jonathana Jimenez

Sl. 2: Izsek iz reklamne kampanje za sončna očala Valley Eyewear. Vir: balkaninsight.com.

Sl. 3, 4: Jonathan Jimenez: *Spomeniks*. Vir: amazon.com.

Fig. 1: Title page of the book *Spomeniks* by Jonathan Jimenez.

Fig. 2: Excerpt from the Valley Eyewear sunglasses campaign.

Source: balkaninsight.com

Figs. 3, 4: Jonathan Jimenez: "Spomeniks". Source: amazon.com

- 1 https://www.academia.edu/7609419/Review_Jan_Kempnaers_Spomeniks_at_UCLA_Fowler
- 2 Celoten intervju je dostopen na povezavi <https://www.urbanautica.com/interview/jan-kempnaers-modern-ruins/209>.
- 3 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Gilpin_\(priest\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Gilpin_(priest))
- 4 O njej sem več pisala tukaj: <https://vizkultura.hr/fokalne-tocke-jugoslavenske-arhitekture/>.
- 5 <https://www.amazon.com/Spomeniks-Jonathan-Jimenez/dp/1908211687>
- 6 <https://journal.eahn.org/articles/10.5334/ah.273/>

- 1 https://www.academia.edu/7609419/Review_Jan_Kempnaers_Spomeniks_at_UCLA_Fowler
- 2 The entire interview is available here: <https://www.urbanautica.com/interview/jan-kempnaers-modern-ruins/209>.
- 3 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Gilpin_\(priest\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Gilpin_(priest))
- 4 I discussed it here: <https://vizkultura.hr/fokalne-tocke-jugoslavenske-arhitekture/>.
- 5 <https://www.amazon.com/Spomeniks-Jonathan-Jimenez/dp/1908211687>



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Sl. 5, 6: Secret Mapping Experiment. Vir: timeout.com.

Sl. 7, 8, 9: Iz ponudbe spletne trgovine Unicorn.

Vir: unicornshop.com.

Figs. 5, 6: Secret Mapping Experiment. Source: timeout.com

Figs. 7, 8, 9: A selection of wares from unicorn webstore.

Source: unicornshop.com

razliko: »drugost je tokrat bolj ideološke kot kulturološke ali rasne narave«. Ravno ta ideološka naravnost konstruiranja čudnosti socialističnega Drugega (v tem primeru socialistične Jugoslavije) je ključna značilnost vsake posledične komercializacije jugoslovanskih spomenikov. Med nedavne spada reklamna kampanja avstralske blagovne znamke sončnih očal Valley Eyewear, v kateri se kot ozadje (sic!) pojavi cvet Bogdana Bogdanovića iz Jasenovca. Sprožila je plaz zgražanja na družbenih omrežjih (o čemer je pisal tudi BBC).⁷ Marketinški strokovnjaki Valley Eyeweara trdijo, da so jasenovski cvet preprosto pomešali z »zapuščeni sedežem komunistične partije v Bolgariji, znanim kot 'Buzludža'«. ⁸

Prav tako je kolektiv Secret Mapping Experiment⁹ vizualno mapiral spomenik Dušana Džamonje vstaji ljudstva Moslavine v Podgariću (spomenik je bil leta 2014 celo na CNN-ovem seznamu najgrših spomenikov na svetu!), ki je tako doživel svojevrstno »polepšanje«. Akcijo so na družbenih omrežjih mnogi pozdravljali, nisem pa prepričana, kakšni bi bili odzivi, če bi na podoben način, s »poskusom skrivnega mapiranja«, projicirali peterokrake zvezde na indijske toteme ali na skulpture z Velikonočnih otokov.

Obstaja tudi spletna prodajalna (za zdaj le za kupce iz ZDA) z imenom Unicorns.¹⁰ Takole pravijo: »Unicorns je zgodba o ogromnih betonskih oblikah, ki so jih nekoč davno ustvarili v državi, ki ne obstaja, Jugoslaviji. Te fantazijske stvore najdemo po gozdovih in gorah po vseh nekdanjih jugoslovanskih pokrajinah.« Takšna pravljíčno-mitološka konstrukcija je primer ultimativne depolitizacije socialistične Jugoslavije: nekdanje republike postanejo »pokrajine« (provincije), spomeniki pa so fantazijski stvori. Šele v tretjem stavku se avtorji približajo resnici: »Pravzaprav govorimo o spomenikih, ki so bili po drugi svetovni vojni po vsej Jugoslaviji zgrajeni v čast tistih, ki so dali svoja življenja za svobodo naroda. Avtorji teh spomenikov so nekateri najbolj znani jugoslovanski umetniki in arhitekti tistega časa.« V resnici so ljudje padli za lastno svobodo in za svobodo svojih bližnjih ter za idejo boljše in pravičnejše družbe, ne pa za »svobodo naroda«. Tako – bližje mitu kot resnici – spletna prodajalna Unicorns prodaja, kot trdijo, »ekstrakte lepote jugoslovanskih spomenikov« v obliki majic, miniaturnih spomenikov in podobnega. Težava ni v *merchandizingu*, podobno so delali že v času Jugoslavije, tiskali so razglednice, izdelovali značke in še kaj, in vse to se je prodajalo; najslabše je ime spletne trgovine, ki kakor da pripoveduje, da je Jugoslavija enako neresnična kot samorogi. V svojem članku *Posebni primer spomenikov – monumentalne komemorativne skulpture v nekdanji Jugoslaviji med nevidnostjo in popularnostjo* (The Peculiar Case of Spomeniks – Monumental Commemorative Sculpture in Former Yugoslavia Between Invisibility and Popularity)¹¹ dr. Sanja Horvatić navaja seznam najpogosteje uporabljenih izrazov, ki izkušnjo spomenikov, s tem pa tudi izkušnjo socialistične Jugoslavije, z označevalci, kot so fascinantno, zapuščeno, futuristično, retrofuturistično, srhljivo, čudovito, skrivnostno, nadrealno, teatralno, monumentalno, posebno, izrazito, vsiljivo, presunljivo, vesoljsko, kot svetniški sij (»fascinating«, »abandoned«, »futuristic«, »retrofuturistic«, »eerie«, »amazing«, »mysterious«, »surreal«, »theatrical«, »monumental«, »peculiar«, »striking«, »imposing«, »haunting«, »space-

In his article "Orientalizing Socialism: Architecture, Media, and the Representations of Eastern Europe",⁶ Vladimir Kulić discusses the orientalism of such processes. Orientalism is a term used by Edward Said to deconstruct (post)colonial practices; however, Kulić points out a major difference: "otherness is now more ideological than cultural or racial". It is exactly this ideological predisposition of constructing the strangeness of the socialist Other (in this case socialist Yugoslavia) that is the key characteristic of each resulting commercialisation of Yugoslav monuments. One of the more recent ones is the ad campaign by Australian sunglasses brand Valley Eyewear, which uses Bogdan Bogdanović's blossom from Jasenovac as its backdrop (sic!). This prompted a wave of outrage on social media (the story was even picked up by the BBC).⁷ Valley Eyewear's marketing experts claim that they mistook the Jasenovac blossom for the "abandoned Communist Party headquarters in Bulgaria known as "Buzludža"."⁸

Elsewhere, Secret Mapping Experiment⁹ collective video-mapped Dušan Džamonja's monument to the uprising of the people of Moslavina in Podgarić (the monument even made CNN's 2014 list of the world's ugliest monuments!), which was in this way subjected to peculiar "beautification". The undertaking was met with considerable social-media approval, yet one hesitates to predict the reactions if five-pointed stars were projected onto Native American totems or Easter Island sculptures.

There is also a webstore (currently only available to US-based buyers) called Unicorns.¹⁰ The pitch reads: "Unicorns is a story about giant concrete shapes built once upon a time in the non-existing country of Yugoslavia. These phantasmic creatures can be found in forests, hills and along the countryside of former Yugoslav provinces." Such a fairytale-mythological construction is an example of the ultimate depoliticisation of socialist Yugoslavia: the former republics are turned into "provinces", and the monuments become phantasmic creatures. Unicorns begin to approach the truth only in the third sentence: "As a matter of fact, we are talking about monuments built in the years following World War II alongside Yugoslavia in glory of all who gave their lives for freedom of the nation. Authors of these memorials are some of the most renown Yugoslavian artists and architects of the time." In reality, people gave their lives for their own freedom and for the freedom of those dear to them, as well as for the idea of a better and more just society, rather than for the "freedom of the nation". Closer, therefore, to a myth than to the truth, webstore Unicorns sells, as they claim, "extracts of Yugoslav monuments beauty" in the form of T-shirts, miniature sculptures, etc. The problem is not the merchandising, this has a Yugoslav-period precedent with postcards being printed and pins being made alongside other things, and all of it sold. It is the name of the webstore that is the greatest offender, as if to say that Yugoslavia is as unreal as unicorns. In her article "The Peculiar Case of Spomeniks - Monumental Commemorative Sculpture in Former Yugoslavia Between Invisibility and Popularity"¹¹ Dr Sanja Horvatić includes a list of the most common expressions which place the experience of the monuments, and by extension the

6 <https://journal.eahn.org/articles/10.5334/ah.273/>

7 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44696492>

8 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WBHyO76YKYo>

9 https://www.timeout.com/croatia/news/spectacular-pictures-of-art-intervention-at-croatian-monument-051419?fbclid=IwAR1YfzhDoW5zmQxpGBd-U3cTgbJ9_nbSR8CHbQfGWt-851Wvb26j9k8MgZhl

10 <https://www.unicornshop.com>. Ime spletne trgovine je skovanka iz angleške besede za samoroga (unicorn) in angleške besede za Jugoslavijo (Yugoslavia) (op. prev.).

11 https://www.academia.edu/3362073/The_Peculiar_Case_of_Spomeniks_-_Monumental_Commemorative_Sculpture_in_Former_Yugoslavia_Between_Invisibility_and_Popularity

-age«, »Halo-esque«), uvrščajo v sfero čudnega, presenetljivega, skrivnostnega, nadrealnega, teatralnega itd., ne pa v sfero zgodovinskih dejstev.

Kot poudarja Kulić, se trend depolitizacije kulture spomenikov socialistične Jugoslavije in socializma ni začel s Kempenaersom. Kulić trdi, da je bil »zeitgeist zrele«, in navaja nekaj naslovov, ki so bili objavljeni približno hkrati s Kempenaersovo knjigo: *Socialist Modernism* (2011, avtor Roman Bezjak, izšlo pri berlinski založbi Hatje Cantz Verlag), *Socialist Architecture: The Vanishing Act* (2012, avtorja Armin Linke in Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss, izšlo pri žüriški založbi JRP-Ringier) ter *Forget Your Past, Communist Era Monuments in Bulgaria* (2012, avtor Nikola Mihov, izšlo pri plovdivski založbi Janet-45 Print and Publishing).

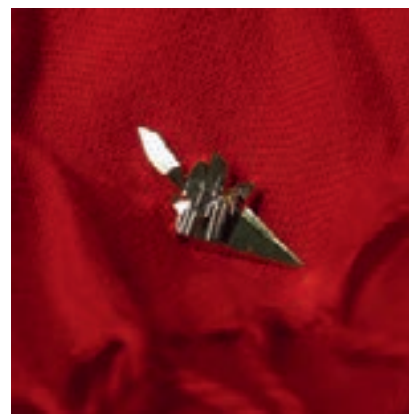
Govoriti o socialistični arhitekturi skozi optiko »izgubljenega«, »zapuščenega« oziroma nečesa »v nastajanju« sicer ni tako daleč od resnice, če pa se želimo približati zgodovinskim dejstvom, moramo vseeno pogosteje in glasneje poudarjati, da gre za sistematično uničevanje: številni spomeniki niso »izgubljeni« ali »zapuščeni«, ampak se jih sistemsko in sistematično uničuje. Začnemo lahko z divjaško uničenim spomenikom vstaji slavonskega naroda v Kamenski kiparja Vojina Bakića, nadaljujemo pa z vsemi ostalimi dragocenimi in ogroženimi spomeniki, med drugim s številnimi deli Bogdanovića in drugih (tudi neimenovanih) avtorjev. Njihova dela so na udaru (ne pozabimo) (ne)uradne politike ponarejanja in pohabljanja zgodovine, ki se med drugim izvaja tudi skozi izobraževalni sistem; ta zanemce dejansko vzgaja tako, da bodo spomeniško dediščino NOB, pa tudi vse ostale dosežke socializma v najslabšem primeru še naprej uničevali, v boljšem primeru pa zanemarjali ali »izgubljali«.

Strokovna literatura, v kateri je socializem pogosto naveden kot fenomen, ki ga je mogoče pojasnjevati izključno skozi predpono »post«, ni toliko vplivala na uradne tranzicijske politike pozabljanja socialistične preteklosti v danes (domnevno) neodvisnih republikah, naslednicah socialistične Jugoslavije, kolikor je k temu pripomogla uradna politika EU o dveh totalitarizmih. Leta 2008 je skupina konservativnih vzhodnoevropskih politikov (ki so bili v svojih matičnih državah tako kot tudi številni člani HDZ-ja še predvčerajšnjim vidni člani komunistične partije, če ne sami, pa njihovi očetje) v češkem parlamentu podpisala praško deklaracijo o evropski zavesti in komunizmu. Podpisniki deklaracije so razglasili, da imajo »milijoni žrtev komunizma in njihove družine pravico do sočutja, razumevanja in priznanja njihovega trpljenja«. Povsem bi se strinjala z njimi, še posebej zato, ker sem kot dijakinja v Pragi spoznala situacijo na Češko-slovaškem v osemdesetih in željo praških študentov, da bi odvrgli svoj del jarma hladne vojne v obliki Varšavskega pakta. Toda deklaracija se nadaljuje z besedami »na enak način, kot so moralno in politično prepoznane žrtve nacizma« ter z izjavo, da je treba vzpostaviti »vseevropski sporazum (...), da je treba številne zločine v imenu komunizma preprišati kot zločine proti človeštvu (...), na enak način, kot so nacistične zločine obravnavali na nürnberškem sodišču«. Nikomur pri zdravi pameti (in še manj zavednemu) zanikanje zločinov seveda ne bi smelo pasti na pamet. Poleg ustvarjanja pogojev za državljansko vojno z drugimi sredstvi v Evropi pa je izenačevanje nacističnih in komunističnih zločinov dobra krinka za

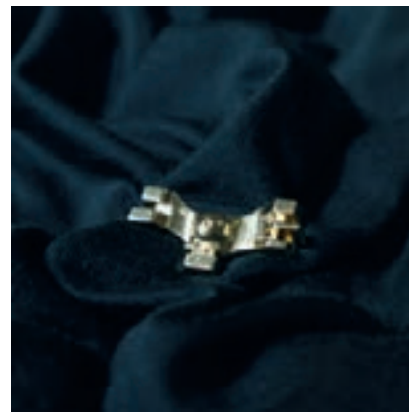
experience of socialist Yugoslavia - using signifiers such as "fascinating", "abandoned", "futuristic", "retrofuturistic", "eerie", "amazing", "mysterious", "surreal", "theatrical", "monumental", "peculiar", "striking", "imposing", "haunting", "space-age", "Halo-esque" - in the realm of the weird, the perplexing, the mysterious, the surreal, the theatrical, etc., but not in the realm of historical fact.

*As emphasised by Kulić, the trend of depoliticising the culture of the monuments of socialist Yugoslavia and socialism did not begin with Kempenaers. Kulić claims that the "Zeitgeist was certainly ripe" and references several titles published roughly concurrently with Kempenaers's book: *Socialist Modernism* (2011, author Roman Bezjak, published by Hatje Cantz, Berlin), *Socialist Architecture: The Vanishing Act* (2012, authors Armin Linke in Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss, published by JRP-Ringier, Zurich), and *Forget Your Past, Communist Era Monuments in Bulgaria* (2012, author Nikola Mihov, published by Janet-45 Print and Publishing).*

The discourse on socialist architecture through the optics of the "lost", the "neglected", or something "in the making" is not dramatically far from the truth if we want to get closer to historical facts, but it needs to be stressed with increasing frequency and assertion that the issue is systematic destruction: numerous monuments are not "lost" or "neglected" but systemically and systematically destroyed. We can start with the savagely demolished monument to the uprising of Slavonian people in Kamenska by sculptor Vojin Bakić, and continue with all the other precious and endangered monuments, including many works by Bogdanović, as well as those by all the other authors, including unnamed ones. Let us not forget that their works are under siege in the name of (un)official policy of falsification and distortion of history, which is being carried out, among others means, through the educational system that is actually teaching the posterity to - in a worst-case scenario - continue to destroy or, more optimistically, to continue to "neglect" and "lose" the monument heritage of the People's Liberation Struggle, as well as all the other achievements of socialism. Specialised literature, in which socialism is often referred to as a phenomenon only explainable through the prefix "post-", did not affect the official transition policies of forgetting the socialist past in the present-day (nominally) independent republics descended from socialist Yugoslavia as much as the official EU policy of two totalitarianisms did. In 2008, a group of conservative Eastern European politicians (who, like so many members of Croatian Democratic Union, only yesterday still figured - or their fathers did - as prominent members of the Communist Party in their respective states) signed the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism in the Czech parliament. Those undersigned proclaimed that "millions of victims of Communism and their families are entitled to enjoy justice, sympathy, understanding and recognition for their sufferings". I'd go along with that completely, especially because as a secondary-school student in Prague, I'm familiar with the situation in Czechoslovakia in the 1980s and the desire of



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Sl. 10: Spomenik vstaji ljudstva Banije in Korduna avtorja Vojina Bakića na Petrovi gori. Foto: Valentin Jeck za muzej MoMA.

Fig. 10: Monument to the uprising of the people of Banija and Kordun on Petrova gora by Vojin Bakić. Photo: Valentin Jeck for Museum MoMA.

nadaljnje ropanje virov nekdanjega vzhoda, vključno z državami nekdanje Jugoslavije, ki so sicer vzhodnemu (oziroma sovjetskemu) bloku v hladni vojni pripadale le zelo kratek čas.

Naslednice Jugoslavije bi morale bolje poznati svojo zgodovino, razlike med obdobjema Federativne ljudske republike Jugoslavije (1945–1963) in Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije (1963–1992), pa tudi razlike med državami, ki so bile hočeš nočeš (kot na primer Češkoslovaška, ki so jo leta 1968 dobesedno okupirali s tanki) članice Varšavskega pakta, in državami, ki so zasnovale gibanje neuvrčenih, kot je bila socialistična Jugoslavija.

Dokler se kanadsko podjetje pripravlja na fracking (hidravlično drobljenje) na več kot dveh tretjinah ozemlja domnevno svobodne Hrvaške, nemška podjetja pa gradijo hidroelektrarne na skoraj vsaki rečici v Bosni in Hercegovini, je vloga dediščine spomenikov socialistične Jugoslavije zvedena na eno od orodij trgovskega razreda, eno od mnogih za zatiskanje oči, izigravanje ustavne ureditve, opuščanje vseh oblik pravne države in vse druge vsakodnevne »malenkosti«, s katerimi se soočajo državljani vseh nekdanjih republik socialistične Jugoslavije, z manjšimi in večjimi podobnostmi in razlikami. Ustavitev depolitizacije protifašističnih spomenikov na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije pomeni tudi ustavljanje pohoda fašizma in s tem tudi trgovskega kapitalizma. Toda to ni v interesu trgovskega razreda. Položitev venca na Sutjeski je gesta umirjanja lastne, pa tudi tuje vesti. Nihče ne more imeti čiste vesti v deželi, katere reke in podtalnica so zastrupljene. Te namreč ne poznajo državnih in nacionalnih meja.

Spomeniki, kot so Bogdanovičevi ali Džamonjevi, bi v kakem distopičnem scenariju res lahko postali fantazmični totemi, kamnite priče, ki bodo preživele ljudi, ki so verjeli, da kri ni voda, pozabili pa so, da brez vode ni (niti njihovega lastnega) življenja.

V vsem tem vloga diskurzov o slikovitim in apolitičnem ni majhna. Pa vseeno so posamezna imena manj zanimiva od močnih institucij, ki ta imena ustvarjajo in jih razglašajo za globalna.

Prague students to throw off their share of the shackles of the Cold War in the shape of the Warsaw Pact. However, the Declaration continues with "in the same way as the victims of Nazism have been morally and politically recognized" and a call for "an all-European understanding [...] that many crimes committed in the name of Communism should be assessed as crimes against humanity [...] in the same way Nazi crimes were assessed by the Nuremberg Tribunal". No conscious (and much less conscientious) person would dream of denying the crimes. However, along with the conditions for a civil war fought by other means in Europe, equating Nazi and communist crimes acts as a perfect smokescreen for further ruthless exploitation of resources from the erstwhile East, including the ex-Yugoslav states, which only belonged to the Eastern (or rather Soviet) Block during the cold war for a very short period of time.

Yugoslav successor states should be more aware of their history, of the difference between the era of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1963) and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963–1992), and the difference between states who had no say in belonging to the Warsaw Pact (such as Czechoslovakia, which was literally occupied by tanks in 1968) and states who founded the Non-aligned Movement, such as socialist Yugoslavia.

As long as a Canadian company is getting ready to commence fracking on more than two thirds of the territory of the supposedly free Croatia, and German companies are building hydro plants on almost every rivulet in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the role of the monument heritage of socialist Yugoslavia is reduced to one of the tools in the hands of the dealer class, one of the many schemes for turning a blind eye, perverting the constitutional order, evacuating all forms of the rule of law, and all other everyday "trifling matters" facing the citizens of all former republics of socialist Yugoslavia, with similarities and differences great and small. Putting a stop to the depolitisation of antifascist monuments in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia also means throwing a spanner in the works of the strident fascism and, by corollary, of dealer capitalism. But this is not in the interest of the dealer class. Laying one wreath on the Sutjeska is a gesture of pacifying one's own, but also others' consciousness. No one will have a clear conscience on the land whose rivers and groundwater are poisoned, for they do not recognise state and national borders.

In a dystopian scenario, monuments such as those by Bogdanović or Džamonja could really become phantasmic totems, stone witnesses that would outlive people who believed that blood is thicker than water but forgot that without water, there is no life (not even their own).

In all of this, the role of discourses and the apolitical is not minor. Still, individual names are less interesting than strong institutions which create these names and establish them as global.