

THE POLITICS OF ERASING REMEMBRANCE AND THE PATH TO IT

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DESTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS COMMEMORATING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AFTER THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

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ABSTRACT

The article deals with reasons that led to a change in the attitude towards the partisan movement in Yugoslavia and, consequently, the destruction of partisan memorials.

By evaluating World War II, political elites in respective republics aimed to strengthen their position and vision of a restructured Yugoslav society. Anything associated with evaluating the past became subject to polemic. Therefore the line between professional historiography and more popular genres was blurred and historiography became increasingly politicized, confining itself within the borders of its own republic. Following the first multi-party elections in respective republics (1990), history was still an important, in some places even the central factor in political battles within the newly established states. New states, and particularly the local authorities, thus decided to rewrite history, inter alia, also by demolishing memorials. Historical facts, quality, artistic value and top-quality authorship were not regarded as factors speaking in favour of their preservation.

Keywords: history, politics, culture, art, erasing remembrance, destruction of memorials commemorating the National Liberation War.

IZVLEČEK

Članek obravnava razloge, ki so v Jugoslaviji pripeljali do spremembe odnosa do partizanstva in posledično do uničevanja partizanskih spomenikov.

Politične elite v posameznih republikah so po Titovi smrti skozi vrednotenje druge svetovne vojne skušale utrditi svojo pozicijo in vizijo preureditve jugoslovanske družbe. Vse, kar je bilo povezano z vrednotenjem preteklosti, je postalo predmet polemik, zaradi česar se je meja med strokovnim zgodovinopisjem in bolj poljudnimi žanri zabrisala, zgodovinopisna stroka pa vedno bolj politizirala in zapirala v republiške meje. Po prvih večstrankarskih volitvah po posameznih republikah (1990) je zgodovina ostala pomemben, ponekod tudi osrednji dejavnik v političnih bojih znotraj novonastalih držav. Na tej podlagi so se nove državne, še večkrat pa lokalne oblasti, odločale za retuširanje zgodovine, med drugim tudi z rušenjem spomenikov. Zgodovinska dejstva, kakovost, umetniška vrednost in avtorstvo najboljših umetnikov seveda niso bili faktorji, ki bi odločali o njihovi ohranitvi.

Ključne besede: zgodovina, politika, kultura, umetnost, brisanje spomina, uničevanje spomenikov NOB.

The Second or AVNOJ Yugoslavia (named after the Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, which restored the country on federal foundations at a session held in the Bosnian town of Jajce) was built on the national liberation struggle and the contemporaneous revolution.¹ The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (Komunistična partija Jugoslavije, which was in the 1950s renamed Zveza komunistov Jugoslavije) also based its authority on this premise. The political leadership that controlled Yugoslavia at the time had its origins in the national liberation war; it was gradually replaced by a new, younger generation only after Tito's death in 1980. The majority of artists active in all realms of art (sculpture, painting, film, literature, poetry, etc.) stemmed from the national liberation war and the revolution, with the war being the focal point of their artistic creativity. Nevertheless, with this in mind, two factors should be taken into consideration; namely, Yugoslavia's national diversity, wherefore when discussing World War II, we can speak about common Yugoslav art only on the most general level, and Yugoslavia's specificity in a world divided into blocs. Following the conflict with the Soviet Union and the Informbiro in 1948, Yugoslavia sought to steer a middle course between the blocs and was one of the most important members of the Non-Allied Movement. From the mid-1950s onwards, when border-related questions were resolved, Yugoslavia opened its borders to the West. Consequently, a specific cultural environment and lifestyle came into being, where Western type of consumerism intertwined with socialist egalitarianism. Barring the first post-war years, when the Soviet influence and the socialist-realism type of culture prevailed, very diverse artistic movements were typical of Yugoslavia, including the most avant-garde ones, to which politics in respective environments were not always favourably disposed. Essentially, the motifs of World War II remained traditional, black and white, as well as, naturally, distinctly politically engaged. This does not hold universally true; different styles or approaches are noticeable in the discussion of this topic as well. The concept of revolutionary art, as developed during World War II within the resistance movement, was

1 More on the subject: Pirjevec, Jože. *Partizani*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2020; Repe, Božo. *S puško in knjigo. Narodnoosvobodilni boj slovenskega naroda 1941-1945*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2015.

preserved in the post-war decades, but merely as one of artistic (many times favoured) movements, particularly in the realm of memorials. Culture and art were in the service of political goals, i. e. glorification of the resistance or revolution and of the central slogan of the national liberation movement, namely brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Taboo topics, which were unwelcome or banned in art, were associated with interethnic conflicts during World War II, nationalist texts about specific nations, and problematizing the revolution or its leaders. The political borderline between the allowed and the forbidden was not particularly clear; consequently, artists that walked the line were always at risk of falling into disgrace or being prosecuted if that line was crossed. Literature and film were most exposed to that out of all artistic genres.

Memories and, particularly, historiography are said to support artistic topics.² There were a few ambitious joint projects in Yugoslav historiography; however, they were either done by halves or fell through. World War II and the partisan movement constituted the central or, at least, a significant part of all projects. Published in the Serbo-Croatian language, the first edition of *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, whose final volume was published in 1971, is one of successful projects materialized by entire Yugoslav science, with a significant historiographical contribution. The project was led by Miroslav Krleža, whose authority played a great part in the project's realization. An extended edition in languages of peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, whose preparation began in 1980 and was marked by disagreements concerning historiographical subjects, was in Serbo-Croatian published in six volumes, fewer in other languages, with the number of volumes differing in different republics. In the last published volume Yugoslav historians managed to write the entry Yugoslavia. The National Liberation War and art associated with it still held a prominent position in the encyclopedia despite the ongoing crisis in the country.

2 Additionally on the subject: Repe, Božo. *Jugoslavanska historiografija po drugi svetovni vojni*. In: *Tokovi Istorije 1-4 1999*. Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 312-325.

The largest and the most ambitious project of Yugoslav historiography was *Zgodovina narodov Jugoslavije*, a history of peoples of Yugoslavia, whose preparation began in 1949 on the initiative of the Science and Culture Council of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Originally, this was to be a secondary-school textbook.³ In the period when Yugoslavia was still centralized, this project was led by a special government commission; Volume I was published in 1953 and Volume II in 1959. The first two volumes covered the period up to the end of the 18th century. The project was discontinued due to major disagreements between historians working on Volume III, particularly between Croatian and Serbian historians. The efforts to continue working on *Zgodovina narodov Jugoslavije* (with »nationalities« being added to the title) were revived in 1985 and received political support (a decision stipulating that work must be completed was adopted at the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1986). A self-managing agreement about financing the project was signed. Ambitions were great, work on this project was expected to »revolutionize the scientific organization and scientific work.«⁴ However, the project came to a halt in its initial stage because disagreements between historians became even more deeper. In the past, controversial topics ranged from the emergence of nations to the Kingdom, while at this point World War II, particularly the question of the civil war, revolution, interethnic conflicts, post-war killings (with regard to these also interethnic relations in new Yugoslavia, etc.) came to the forefront.

A single-volume overview of the history of the League of Communists entitled *Pregled zgodovine zveze komunistov Jugoslavije* was published in 1963 with an ambition to produce a multi-volume history of the League in the following years. The work on this new book began on the initiative of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (CK ZKJ) in the late 1970s. This was a large-scale project, scientific groups for different periods and networks of associates were

3 Additionally on the subject: Koren, Snježana. *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945–1960). Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija*. Zagreb 2012.

4 Josip Hrvatin, *Aktuelni problemi istorijske nauke, Rasprava na predsedništvu Savezne konferencije SSRNJ (II)*, JIČ, XXII, No. 3, Belgrade 1987, 195

established in each Yugoslav republic. Their work was coordinated by special commissions for history with republics' Central Committees and by a History Commission at the Central Committee of the League of Communists. Eventually, only one book was published in 1986 and was not that extensive (the Slovene edition had 416 pages). It was entitled *Zgodovina zveze komunistiov Jugoslavije* (A History of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) and published in languages spoken by the peoples of Yugoslavia. The preparation of this book was marked by ideological and interethnic disputes, which were even greater than those occurring in the preparation of a history of Yugoslavia; additionally, politics exerted a strong impact on the book's contents. Regarded as the »official« history of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its victorious role during World War II by the public, this book was barely able to be published because views of history differed to the extent that severe political pressure and content-related »trading« were required to reach a consensus. Consequently, a few historians referred to it as »the League's reference book«. ⁵ A planned multi-volume history of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was never published and neither were histories of the League of Communists in respective republics.

In the 1980s the history of the National Liberation War was systematically researched only by the Military History Institute of the Yugoslav People's Army, which had branch offices in each republic or whose associates (as was the case in Slovenia) operated within national institutes. The Military History Institute was established in the period of the Informbiro to demonstrate the truth about the Yugoslav National Liberation War; in the following decades this institute published upwards of 140 volumes of documents. The military encyclopedia *Vojna enciklopedija* should be mentioned in this context as well; it was published twice, in 1958 and 1970, and reprinted in 1985. It focuses primarily on the national liberation struggle of Yugoslav peoples.

5 Čepo, Zlatko. »Opake besjede gospode akademika.« *Danas*, 14 October 1986, p. 25

Collections of sources, particularly the publication of collected works of Josip Broz Tito, which were published in 30 volumes in Serbo-Croatian and covered the period up to August 1946, are also believed to have formed the historical memory. (FIG. 1: *The collected works of Josip Broz Tito spanning up to 8 August 1946.*) Much like the history of the League



of Communists of Yugoslavia, the publication of collected works was initiated by politics.⁶ The only similar project that was realized was a series of collected works by Boris Kidrič; the preparation of collected works by Edvard Kardelj was discontinued in its initial stage.

To understand why throughout Yugoslavia the attitude towards the partisan movement changed to the extent that it became a basis for the destruction of memorials, one must turn to the 1980s. In the 1980s, the discussion about World War II (as well as the Yugoslav peoples' common past) was almost completely transferred to the realm of politics. By evaluating World War II (and history in general), political elites in respective republics strove to solidify their position and vision of re-organizing the Yugoslav society. Anything associated with evaluating the past, i. e. works of art, memoirs, feuilletons or »proper« historiographical works, became subject to polemic. Consequently, the line between professional historiography and more popular genres was blurred and historiography became increasingly politicized, limiting itself to the the

6 A decision to publish Tito's collected works was passed by the Presidency of the League of Communists in May 1972, on the occasion of Tito's 70th birthday.

borders of its own republic.⁷ »When one wants to write history from opposite positions, this becomes part of political struggle in Yugoslavia,« argued the author of *Istorija SFRJ* Dr Dušan Bilandžić in 1985.⁸ On the other hand, he himself »rewrote« his *Istorija* of SFRJ as a history of Croatia after the break-up of Yugoslavia. A similar thing happened with a few other eminent Yugoslav historians; they explored the history of World War II and then submitted their research to the nationalist politics and attempted to relativise their previous findings. In Serbia this holds good, for instance, in the case of Dr Branko Petranović. Following the end of socialism and Slovenia's independence, a few historians tailored their findings to the current political situation also in spheres where no new findings were discovered either regarding specific events and processes or individual figures, particularly in the case of Boris Kidrič and Edvard Kardelj. A turn of this kind can be observed, for instance, in the case of Dr Janko Prunk⁹. However, the main revisionist wave was made primarily by politics, for the first time in 1991 and for the second time in the years 2004–2008, in the period of Janša's first government, when this wave was much greater. Contrary to previous liberal governments, the governing coalition ascribed great significance to remembrance of the past and use of history for current political purposes, attempting to shape the historical awareness according to its own image. (Janša's current government is acting in a similar manner, e.g. with its arbitrary decision about the museum of independence, which is reminiscent of the former museums of revolution). Much like everything else, this was done distinctly non-dialogically and from the position of power.

7 Merely a few Yugoslav historians explored histories of other Yugoslav peoples. This holds true particularly in the case of Serbian historians, who had no command of languages of non-Serbian nations, which was an obstacle. Naturally, one should not make generalizations, as the Serbian historian Dr Momčilo Zečević made a name for himself also by researching Slovene history, as did a few others. Serbian historians were undoubtedly surprised by the advance of young Albanian historiography in the 1970s, which (often with a national and romantic orientation, also by concealing some facts and highlighting others) began to de-construct the Serbian perception of Kosovo both in general terms and with regard to World War II and its end. In doing so, Albanian historians sought to substantiate the Albanians' right to self-determination in Kosovo, including the right to secede.

8 Bilandžić, Dušan. »Predrasude povijesti.« *Vjesnik*, 9 November 1985, 6

9 Additionally on the subject: Repe, Božo. »Mit in resničnost komunizma.« In: *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino: zbornik 33. zborovanja Zveze zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, Kranj*, 19 – 21 October 2006, ed. Mitja Ferenc, Branka Petkovšek. Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2006, 285–302.

Two state secretaries (Dr Andrej Rahten and Aleksander Zorn) in the Prime Minister's cabinet were in the period of Janša's first government responsible (also) for history; much energy was devoted to this subject also by Dr Milan Zver, Minister of Education. Dr Lovro Šturm, Minister of Justice, established a special sector within the Ministry that was to "take care of" the "national reconciliation", i.e. the authorities' interpretation of recent history. By way of example of Eastern European states, he sought to stretch the post-war violence (totalitarianism) up to the year 1990. Stemming from this sector within the Ministry of Justice, the Study Centre for National Reconciliation was established shortly before the end of his term. The Centre operates to this day and, being a political institution, received budgetary funds from all governments. By means of a targeted interpretation of Slovenia's independence, select documentaries and selectively chosen current political daily segments produced by a new set of journalists, the Slovene national television actively helped to co-create an undifferentiated dark image of World War II and socialism. Overall, the intensity of dealing with history was too great a bite for the authorities to chew. The idea expressed by Dr Jerca Vodušek Starič, who helmed the Institute of Contemporary History at the time, according to which this institute would become a »national« institute modelled after the former socialist states and would thus concentrate means, human resources, and bases of documents, thus gaining control of the field of history, was shut down by pro-government historians themselves because her proposal interfered with their interests. A group of historians protested against the ideologization and division of historians into »ours« and »theirs« a few months into the term. Historians that could be reached easily by the authorities' voice were swiftly warned not to address the subject in public, to conduct research »in the new spirit« and obey. Fearing for their jobs or positions within their respective institutions, individual historians made public statements, maintaining that the protest had been a mistake and their reactions made in haste. The government's favoured historians, who became heads of museums, institutions, members of various councils, commissions or other bodies, provided the government with a professional framework and support for various renamings, new memorials, etc.

Let us turn back to the 1980s once again, a decade marked by the struggle to interpret the past in Yugoslavia; the controversial Serbian journalist Aleksandar Tijanić remarked ironically that we shall see what will happen in the past. No previous decade, perhaps not even all decades combined, saw this many books published, discussions, treatises, newspaper articles, round tables, debates broadcast by radio or television stations.¹⁰ The past was almost forgotten in this fervency.

The curve of dealing with historical subjects began to rise a year or two after Tito's death. The period prior to his death was still marked by a reverent calm, gathering of forces, which was followed by a downpour and the »historiographical storm« turned into persistent and constant rain, which did not stop falling until the early 1990s. The polemics were most intense from the mid-1980s to the year 1988, when the individual nations' attitude towards Yugoslavia's future was established and national programmes were in the making (the memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1986, the Slovene national programme was penned in 1987 and published in *Nova revija*.) Following the first multi-party elections in respective republics (1990), history lost its political function as far as Yugoslavia was concerned; however, it remained an important, in some places the central factor in political battles within the newly established states. This new basis induced the new state or, and even more often local authorities, to demolish memorials, rename streets and schools or re-write history. Although the polemics featured many controversial and diverse topics in the 1980s, concerning different historical periods (and focusing on more recent

¹⁰ Due to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and lacking documents it is impossible to have a comprehensive overview of the entire Yugoslav journalistic or historiographical production of the 1980s, when hundreds of articles were produced. About 150 articles published in periodicals were taken into account when writing this paper. They address subjects that were prominently featured in polemics, with an emphasis on World War II.

history), two points are clearly identifiable.¹¹ Firstly, the question of the (socialist) social order, which was problematized through a critique of the revolution in the period of World War II. Secondly, the question of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, which was problematized through a critique of Yugoslav (con)federalism, i. e. AVNOJ Yugoslavia, which was established during World War II, at the Second Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) held in the Bosnian town of Jajce in November 1943.

As the leader of the revolution and main creator of Yugoslavia's post-war social order, Josip Broz Tito was the subject of discussions in both points in the initial stage of the conflicts. The deconstruction of Tito's myth was initiated by his official biographer Vladimir Dedijer; in Part III of *Prispevki za biografijo Josipa Broza – Tita* he published a mix of documents, memoirs and unconfirmed stories, which were related to both Tito's private life and the question of revolutionary measures and interethnic relations.¹² Dedijer, who was more concerned for his own promotion than for any political concept, was still not consistent in his address of both controversial questions in this book (he was in a few of his books that were published later).

The book that caused cracks in the Yugoslav authorities' ideological structure was penned by two Belgrade-based sociologists, i. e. Vojislav Koštunica and Kosta Čavoški, and entitled *Stranački pluralizam ili monizam (1983)*. In this book the authors described the League of Communist's rise to power after World War II, whereby they took into

11 Subject matters that caused dispute included, e.g. existence of specific nations (Montenegrins, Macedonians, Muslims); the liberating or oppressing nature of Balkan Wars, the so-called Bujan Conference in late 1943 (where Albanian delegates were in favour of integrating Kosovo and Metohija into Albania); the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the question of the armed rebellion, the civil war, the formation of a federal state; subject matters associated with the post-war history included the conflict with the Informbiro, settling accounts with Djilas, the 1966 Brijuni Plenum (settling accounts with Aleksander Ranković as the main figure of Yugoslav centralism), national and "liberal" mass movements in 1971, as well as a wide range of other topics.

12 Critical texts about Tito prompted the authorities to adopt the Protection of the Name and Work of Josip Broz Tito Act and to form a committee that would protect Tito's work and name (and that of other late revolutionaries). The Slovene historian Dr Dušan Biber made an ironic proposal to form a committee for the protection of the revolution.

consideration merely the Serbian view of the problem.¹³ (FIG. 2: The cover of *Stranački pluralizam ili monizam, 1983*, by Vojislav Koštunica and Kosta Čavoški.)



The other question, i.e. the problem of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, was raised after the publication of Veselin Djuretić's book entitled *Zavezniki in jugoslovanska vojna drama* (The Allied and the Yugoslav Wartime Drama). This book, which was regarded as a »first-class historiographical provocation«, was aimed at rehabilitating the Chetniks. In this book Djuretić problematized also the question of the revolution and that of the civil war. A part of his book aims to prove that the second Assembly of AVNOJ, which was held on 29 November 1943 in Jajce and where the Second (federal) Yugoslavia was established, failed to find a proper solution to the

Serbian question. He argues that false interpretations of these decisions led to the process of Yugoslavia's disintegration at a later point. It was no coincidence that the call for the so-called third Yugoslavia (the restoration of the former centralist order) was first mentioned during

13 The »bourgeois« interpretation of relations in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the evaluation of the National Liberation War and the revolution was addressed in a few books in the 1970s; prior to that point it was typical of emigrant authors, whose works were brought to Yugoslavia illegally. Bourgeois writers negated the revolution's »noble« goals, presenting the National Liberation War as a civil war and the operation of the League of Communists as blind obedience of the Comintern and struggle to rise to power. They labelled the League as a Stalinist party, claiming that it was due to a turn of events and Machiavellianism that the League won this fight and that the revolution drove the Yugoslav society back to the eighteenth-century absolutism (this thesis was developed, for instance, by Ljubomir Tadić in his book entitled *Tradicija i revolucija*, which was published in the early 1970s. The rehabilitation of quislings and counter-revolutionary forces constituted another important element of their writings, which somewhat impacted Marxist historiography that partly began to address a few problematic topics, including the post-war killings of quislings or the so-called "left movements" (settling accounts with putative class enemies) in Montenegro in 1942 or elsewhere.

the promotion of Đuretić's book in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.¹⁴

While a certain harmony can be observed in criticism (and defence) of the revolution in each centre up to the late 1980s, in the mid-1980s the opposing positions of national historiographies became completely clear. Garnering a lot of attention, three historiographical works were published in 1985 and received very different responses in different centres, in line with the motto »*whatever statement you make today, related to history or anything else, you know that you will be greeted with an applause or boos and hisses.*«¹⁵ These were *Istorija SFRJ* by Dušan Bilandžić, *Nacije, Jugoslavija, revolucija* by Janko Pleterski, and *Jugoslavija 1918–1984* (a collection of documents) by Branko Petranović and Momčilo Zečević. Bilandžić was accused of ascribing tendencies to redefine Yugoslavia to Serbs; Petranović and Zečević were accused of attempting to demonstrate the Serbian view on the formation and development of Yugoslavia with their selection and abbreviation of documents; and Pleterski was criticized for his thesis about the “multinational revolution” (each Yugoslav nation won the fundamental political battle by itself, in its own way, with its strengths and its own specific problems during the Liberation War under the leadership of the working class as a leading political power). Petranović took a firm stand against this thesis, which resulted in polemics between these two historians; their first polemic took place two years earlier, in 1983, when Peranović's book *Revolucija i kontrarevolucija u Jugoslaviji* was published. Dr Dušan Biber got involved in a polemic with Petranović at a round table held at the Institute of Contemporary History in Belgrade, as well as in periodicals in late 1985. Being a severe critic of attempts to rehabilitate the Chetnicks and the Greater Serbian agenda, Biber objected to Petranović's thesis that the Chetniks were anti-fascists as well.¹⁶

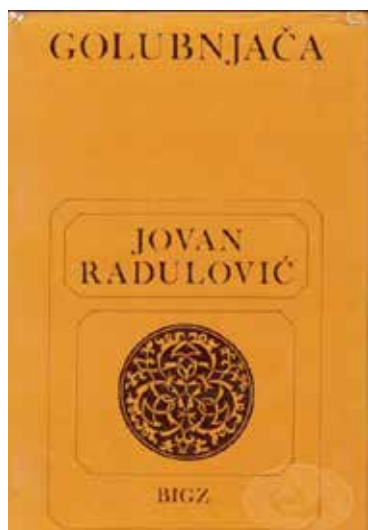
14 Dr Zlatko Čepo: Opake besjede gospoda akademika, *Danas*, 14 October 1986, 25–28.

15 Bilandžić, Dušan. »Predrasude povijesti.« *Vjesnik*, 9 November 1985, 6

16 Arsić, Mirko. »Ambicije in interesi.« *Komunist*, 27 December 1995, and other articles.

At that time Serbian and Montenegrin historians (e.g. Velimir Terzić in his book *Slom kraljevine Jugoslavije*) launched a thesis claiming that the Croatian nation betrayed Yugoslavia in 1941. The Croatian historian Dr Ljubo Boban objected publicly to this thesis. Theses of this kind prompted some historians to demand that historiography explore and prove »the existence of continuity between nationalist and separatist movements and organizations, which strove to break up Yugoslavia in the interwar period, and modern-day nationalisms.«¹⁷ They were referring to Ustashism, which was prominently featured during the war in Croatia.

Elsewhere (an article by Vasilije Krestić entitled *O genezi genocida nad Srbima*, which was published in *Književne novine*, 15 September 1986) a thesis about the Croats' genocidal nature was presented, maintaining that it stems from the 16th and 17th century, not »only« form the period of Pavelić's Independent State of Croatia (NDH). This marked an escalation of the historiographical war between Croatian and Serbian historians, whose articles were published in their respective national media.



However, historiography began to lose its position as the primary battlefield. Art, particularly literature, was brought into the limelight. Written by Jovan Radulović in 1980, *Golubnjača*, a play depicting the relations between Serbs and Croats in Dalmatian Zagora during the war, was one of the first among many literary works dealing with the Serbian issues or the problems stemming from interethnic relations from the same starting point as Serbian historiography. The play had a strong anti-Croatian note. (FIG. 3: The cover of Jovan Radulović's *Golubnjača*, 1980.) The author addressed crimes

17 »Agonija učiteljice življenja, a conversation with Prof Miomir Dašić, President of the Historians' Association of Yugoslavia.« Published in *Duga*, reprinted in *Naši razgledi*, 21 November 1986, 651.

committed by the Ustasha during the war and ignored those perpetrated by the Chetniks in the same area. Initially, the play was severely criticized, whereupon it received the prestigious award Seven Secretaries of SKOJ. In early 1989 Radulović accused the Croatian authorities of having stolen Serbs' identity, language, script, and even history in Dalmatia (and in Croatia in general). Danko Popović's book entitled *Knjiga o Milutinu*, which was published in 1985, is the most notable literary work of the 1980s; the author proclaimed that not only Croats were enemies of Serbs, which was a commonplace thesis, but also Slovenes. Serbs liberated Croats and Slovenes and got Yugoslavia in return, where they ended up scattered and economically exploited. This book about a Serbian peasant and his fate was sold out within a week and reprinted thirteen times (FIG. 4: *The cover of Danko Popović's Knjiga o Milutinu, 1985.*).

When a sentence was imposed on the Serbian poet Gojko Đogo due to his collection of poems entitled *Vunena vremena*, where he insulted Josip Broz Tito, a Committee for the Protection of Artistic Freedom was formed under the auspices of the Writers' Association in Belgrade in May 1982 (FIG. 5: *The cover of Gojko Đogo's Vunena vremena, 1982.*).



Yugoslav intellectuals, including Slovenes and Serbians, demonstrated mutual solidarity in the defence of artistic freedom despite the disagreements caused by the book *Stvarno i moguće*, which was penned by the most famous Serbian author Dobrica Ćosić in 1983. The authorities in different centres reacted differently to such texts, with a greater or lesser degree of repression; the publication of such texts was prohibited, personnel was replaced, arrests and convictions occurred.

The crossfire with historiographical topics was a double-edged sword for the politics. On the one hand, politics encouraged it because it was suitable, particularly in the case of disputes between republics, and on the other hand it got out of hand because it began to eat away its legitimacy, which had its foundations in the revolution. Politics thus sought to make historians-communists »chase the dog.« However, this action proved futile because Marxist historians had different nationalities and held different political and ideological convictions despite their membership in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; additionally, they were involved in mutual quarrels. Out of numerous attempts to ideologically discipline the historiographical community (and those writing about the past in general) on different levels in the 1980s these three attempts were the most notable: the Congress Historiography, Production of Memoirs and Feuilletons in Light of Current Ideational Controversies was held on 7 and 8 October in Zagreb; Week of Marxist Discussions was held between 4 and 8 February 1983 in the coastal town of Neum, Bosnia; and a session of the Presidency of the CK ZKJ was held on 17 December 1986 in Belgrade and attended by around sixty historians from all over Yugoslavia. This session was a preparation for a session of the CK ZKJ regarding ideological questions. The first congress was organized by the Centre for Ideational and Theoretical Operation with the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, under the leadership of Dr Stipe Šušar. Šušar prepared the so-called »White Book« of controversial texts about the past, where works penned by a portion of mostly Serbian historians (as many as 168 authors were mentioned in a negative context) were criticized under a cloak of defence of the revolution, Tito, and the socialist system. The congress (to which the accused were not invited) provoked strong reactions of

the public, particularly in Serbia. The publication of treatises from the congress (*Historija i suvremenost*, Zagreb 1984) did not appease the polemic; if anything, it aggravated them.

The Week of Marxist Discussions in Neum was alongside the previously mentioned disputes marked also by proponents of »pure« historiography and their conflicts with those who argued that Yugoslav historiography »cannot be pure science devoid of political content.«¹⁸

The Session of the CK ZKJ compromisable in terms of ideationally controversial texts and phenomena. The attendees believed that the politics reacts to such phenomena too hastily and historiography too slowly, that the League of Communists should not be merely an observer in domestic historiography and journalism. However, it would not be good if the League took on the role of an on-call arbitrator.¹⁹

The aforementioned assemblies (including those taking place in republics or municipalities) did not contribute to an improvement of the situation in »newfangled historiography« (as it was referred to in periodicals); in the late 1980s politics could not come up with any new attempts to discipline historians even on a symbolic level.

The destructive epilogue of processes in historiography, journalism, and art was transferred to the realm of politics, and eventually to that of the army. In each post-war decade Yugoslav authorities banked on the Yugoslav socialist patriotism, which was based on World War II. They paid particular attention to young generations; socialist patriotism founded on the national liberation struggle was a common thread in the curricula, particularly in subjects that included along with history, also literature, art and related topics.

A the same time, World War II was present in each artistic genre, even in comics. A comic about Mirko and Slavko, two young partisans, was iconic in Yugoslavia. (*FIG. 6: A detail from the comic Mirko and Slavko.*) However, the main part in glorifying the national liberation

18 Rajković, Žarko. »Naše zgodovinoisjsje ne more biti brez politične vsebine.« *Delo*, 5 February 1985.

19 »Iz politike v zgodovinoisjsje.« *Delo*, 18 December 1986.

struggle and the revolution was played by sculpture and painting; hundreds of memorials commemorating events taking place in World War II were produced. The film industry that conveyed a black-and-



white image of the good (partisans) and the evil (enemies) most effectively, ran somewhat parallel to them. Evil was logical as far as the oppressor was concerned because the peoples of Yugoslavia were subjected to brutal terror. The question of »domestic evil«, i. e.

collaboration, was a more problematic one because contemporaneously with the National Liberation War an inland conflict took place. The Yugoslav art of the 1980s rarely problematized this type of evil or individuals' personal dilemmas when faced with decisions.



The most important or glorified works of art were those associated with the leader of the national liberation movement and of the revolution Josip Broz Tito, as well as with two famous and mythologized battles fought by Yugoslav partisans: the battles of Neretva and Sutjeska (FIG. 7: The DVD sleeve of Battle of Neretva.). Partisans

managed to defeat Chetnik troops in the Battle of Neretva, in Bosnia, in the spring of 1943 and advance to Herzegovina, Montenegro, Sandžak, and eastern Bosnia. 120,000 soldiers, 150 aeroplanes, tank units and artillery were involved in the offensive on the river Neretva. Partisans demolished the bridge across the river, which made Germans believe that they would advance in the opposite direction. However, partisans did a makeshift repair on the bridge, dropped heavy weapons, crossed the bridge and penetrated the enemy's defence. Partisans took 4,000 wounded soldiers with them, the majority of whom were captured and killed by Germans during the offensive on the river Sutjeska (June 1943).

Fierce battles, unspeakable strains, exhaustion, shortage of food and medicine, contagious diseases, particularly typhoid fever, and retaliative measures in the period of both battles claimed the lives of many civilians and partisans. One-third of approximately 20,000 partisans (mostly Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Muslims, and other nationalities) died in the Battle of Sutjeska. Films depicting these two battles were the most famous partisan films of socialist Yugoslavia.

In *Battle of Sutjeska* the leads were played by Sergei Bondarchuk, Yul Brynner, Anthony Dawson, Milena Dravić, Boris Dvornik, and Orson Welles. The poster for the film was



made by Pablo Picasso for a symbolic fee of 15 bottles of wine made by various



Yugoslav wine producers.²⁰ (FIG. 8: Pablo Picasso's poster for Battle of Neretva.²¹) In Battle of Sutjeska Tito was portrayed by Richard Burton, one of the most prominent Western actors at the time. (FIG. 9: The DVD sleeve of Sutjeska.)

Dozens of films and serials about the partisan movement were produced, the bulk of which were the so-called »partisan westerns«. There were exceptions as well; namely, films highlighting the absurdity of war and doubts or distress of people who did not have a choice or any influence on their fate. Directed by Aleksandar Petrović, *Three* (1965) was nominated, inter alia, for the Academy Award in the category foreign-language film. The film depicts three wartime experiences of an ordinary partisan, whereby each experience draws the viewers' attention to moral dilemmas. Lordan Zafranović's film *Occupation in 26 Pictures* (1978) is a demonstration of harrowing brutality, when the logic of blood-stained nationalism prevails in Dubrovnik, a symbol of urban cultivation.

Art dealing with World War II, which was supposed to be in service of equality of Yugoslav peoples, strengthen brotherhood and unity, and constitute one of the main foundations of Yugoslav patriotism, lost its charge in the 1980s, as did historiography. To a great extent, it acquired the opposite, i. e. destructive meaning. That was not always the authors' intention, perhaps not in the majority of cases. Many of them used the gradual relaxation of the political situation to address previously forbidden topics. However, the artistic production was once again used as an instrument for political purposes, this time not for Yugoslav patriotism or glorification of the national liberation struggle, it was used for the growing nationalism and consolidating the role of national politics and politicians in respective republics. By evaluating the past,

20 »Kinoteka BiH proudly preserves Picasso's poster for Battle of Neretva.« <https://visitbih.ba/kinoteka-bih-proudly-preserves-picassos-poster-for-battle-of-neretva/> (Retrieved in December 2020). »Don't Watch That, Watch This: Geek Cinema Selfie Party.« <https://www.riverfronttimes.com/stlouis/dont-watch-that-watch-this-geek-cinema-selfie-party/> Content?oid=2506803 (Retrieved in December 2020).

21 Source: <https://www.google.si/search?source=univ&tbm=isch&q=picasso+neretva&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiliCkvrXtAhVmxYUKHXBvDA4QjkkEegQIAhAC&biw=1536&bih=722> (Retrieved in December 2020).

political elites in individual republics strove to strengthen their position and vision of restructuring the Yugoslav society. The national and ideological conflict between intellectuals of different nations (Croats and Serbs, Slovenes and Serbs, Serbs and Albanians) intensified. Consequently, associations of Yugoslav historians were discontinued, as were those of writers. The first pan-Yugoslav association to be discontinued was the Writers' Association of Yugoslavia, the most important joint organization of Yugoslav literary authors. The public fall-out of the Croatian actor Boris Dvornik, who played the lead in the serial *Kapelski kresovi*, and his Serbian colleague Bata Živojinović was perhaps the most symbolic one. These iconic actors appeared in the most famous partisan films, including *Battle of Sutjeska*. (FIG. 10: A poster for the film *Sutjeska*. Bottom left: the actors Bata Živojinović and Boris Dvornik) They fell out after the break-up of Yugoslavia, not exchanging a single word for the rest of their lives. Following the first



multi-party elections in individual republics (1990), the history of World War II lost its political function with regard to Yugoslavia. All artistic production, i. e. literature, film and other productions associated the common national liberation struggle, the creation of a federal state and Yugoslavia's socialist patriotism, were rendered irrelevant and

unwelcome. Actually, more or less anything related to Yugoslavia was considered undesirable and even hostile, at least as far as right-wing and nationalist political options were concerned, while left-wing options kept tactically and carefully mum.

However, looking at former Yugoslavia – which was transformed into a bunch of undemocratic, nationalist, small states that either in part or entirely revised the remembrance of World War II – after its disintegration and from a 30-year distance, it is paradoxical that it was precisely the artistic production that transcended the break-up of the former state. Films such as *Sutjeska* and *Neretva* were succeeded by *No Man's Land*, *Pretty Village*, *Pretty Flame*, etc. that garnered the same degree of international attention and Yugoslav socialist art and architecture were exhibited in the most prestigious galleries the world over.

The partisan art built on the standpoint that the partisan struggle was not merely a struggle against the, it was also a struggle for a more just, humane and sympathetic world. In Yugoslavia, this idea united and expressed itself with a progressive artistic form. The most eminent artists were asked to produce the most notable anti-fascist monuments. Unlike the Soviet Union, where socialist realism based on nineteenth-century style prevailed, the Yugoslav socialism supported a progressive artistic form. Following the conflict with the Soviet Union, modernism became the official art in Yugoslavia, not socialist realism, as was the case in the Soviet Union and throughout the Eastern Bloc.

The singer Tomaž Pengov recorded a single entitled *Napisi padajo* (Inscriptions are falling down) in 1978, in protest against the destruction of Slovene-language inscriptions in Carinthia, Austria.²² Namely, politics installed and removed inscriptions and memorials at all times and in all places.

22 Pengov, Tomaž. »Napisi Padajo.« <https://youtu.be/avXvAPqyvLo> (Retrieved in December 2020).; Klobučar, Teja. »Tomaž Pengov. Sedem desetletij od rojstva samospevca.« <http://www.sigic.si/tomaz-pengov-sedem-desetletij-od-rojstva-samospevca.html> (Retrieved in December 2020).

Many memorials from the period of the National Liberation War were demolished in a large part of former Yugoslavia. Consequently, its blood-stained disintegration brought about the erection of new ones. In Slovenia these were memorials commemorating the war of independence,²³ memorial plaques commemorating members of the Home Guard,²⁴ and a memorial commemorating the »reconciliation.«²⁵ Croatia has commemorated its war of independence and its first president Dr Franjo Tuđman;²⁶ Bosnians in Bosnia and Herzegovina set up memorials commemorating victims.²⁷ Memorials commemorating Draža Mihajlović were erected in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and streets were named after him,²⁸ a memorial depicting the film character Rocky, who was portrayed by Sylvester Stallone,²⁹ was put up, as was that commemorating the Jamaican singer Bob Marley,³⁰ a statue of Tito was re-erected in Podgorica, Montenegro, in 2018,³¹ and in Macedonia the nationalist government was obsessed with the ancient past, which is evident from two huge memorials commemorating Philip

23 »Kenotaf žrtvam vojne za Slovenijo razglasili za kulturni spomenik.« <https://www.rtvlo.si/kultura/drugo/kenotaf-zrtvam-vojne-za-slovenijo-razglasili-za-kulturni-spomenik/395307> (Retrieved in December 2020).

24 »Foto: V Grahovem odkritje spomenika domobrancem in poklon žrtvam nacizma.« <https://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/foto-v-grahovem-odkritje-spomenika-domobrancem-in-poklon-zrtvam-nacizma.html> (Retrieved in December 2020).

25 »Jutrišnja slovesnost na Kongresnem trgu: spomenik sprave ali spomenik razdora.« <https://www.dnevnik.si/1042777875> (Retrieved in December 2020).

26 »Spomen-obilježja žrtvama Domovinskog rata na mjestima masovnih grobnica.« <https://braniteljski.hr/spomen-obiljezja-zrtvama-domovinskog-rata-na-mjestima-masovnih-grobnica/> (Retrieved in December 2020).

27 »Clinton ob spomeniku žrtvam v Srebrenici.« <https://www.rtvlo.si/svet/clinton-ob-spomeniku-zrtvam-v-srebrenici/9841> (Retrieved in December 2020).

28 »Ulico Draže Mihailovića bomo branili s svojimi telesi.« <https://www.delo.si/novice/svet/ulico-draze-mihailovica-bomo-branili-s-svojimi-telesi/> (Retrieved in December 2020).

29 »Otkriven spomenik Rokiju u Žitištu.« https://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2007&mm=08&dd=19&nav_category=15&nav_id=259816 (Retrieved).

30 Bob Marley je ujedinio Srbe i Hrvate.« <https://www.index.hr/magazin/clanak/bob-marley-je-ujedinio-srbe-i-hrvate/399630.aspx> (Retrieved in December 2020).

31 »Naval jugonostalgije: Titov kip spet sredi Podgorice, nekoč Titograda.« <https://www.rtvlo.si/kultura/drugo/naval-jugonostalgije-titov-kip-spet-sredi-podgorice-nekoc-titograda/476014> (Retrieved in October 2020).

II and his son Alexander the Great.³² A statue of the former U.S. president Bill Clinton was erected in Kosovo, etc.³³ These memorials were mostly devoid of artistic value, in many instances mere kitsch. The year 2020 saw a mass destruction of memorials associated with the colonial past and imperialism in Europe and in the USA.³⁴

Sentiments of people whose suffering was caused by someone or something are understandable; however, by destroying memorials, we will not change the past. Where does the erasure of collective memory thorough destruction of memorials lead? Is a complete break with the past possible in the first place? Are we in for a better future by bending the past? Barring a few exceptions, memorials commemorating the National Liberation War in Slovenia were not destroyed after the break-up of Yugoslavia.

One of more significant interventions occurred on the Trail of Remembrance and Comradeship (Pot spomina in tovarištva, i. e. PST or POT), a 32.5-km long path around Ljubljana, along the route of barbed wire that surrounded the city during World War II. It was set up by the Italian army to isolate the city's resistance movement and hinder its contacts with the city's surroundings. Ljubljana holds a special place in the history of World War II because only a small fraction of occupied cities were turned into mass prisons. Additionally, a heavily fortified occupation border between fascist Italy and Nazi Germany ran immediately next to it. Nevertheless, partisans and activists of the Liberation Front used secrets channels to get illegally in and out of this guarded ring. This trail running along the former barbed wire is a memorial commemorating the rebellion against the oppressor and the desire for freedom. In 1985, seven steel masts were erected along the trail as part of its overall layout. The architect Janez Koželj and his associates designed and marked the trail. In his opinion these seven

32 »Makedonski Disneyland ali sejem baročnega kiča.« <https://old.delo.si/druzba/panorama/makedonski-disneyland-ali-sejem-barocnega-kica.html> (Retrieved in December 2020).

33 »Foto: Clinton v Prištini na odkritju svojega kipa.« <https://www.rtvlo.si/svet/foto-clinton-v-pristini-na-odkritju-svojega-kipa/215920> (Retrieved in December 2020).

34 »Bomo z odstranitvijo kipov lahko odstranili tudi zgodovino?« <https://www.rtvlo.si/kultura/drugo/bomo-z-odstranitvijo-kipov-lahko-odstranili-tudi-zgodovino/527496> (Retrieved in December 2020).

masts, which served as signposts, were one its most prominent features. Their design echoed Russian constructivism and they were known as an installation of neo-constructivism in professional circles. Led by the mayor Jože Strgar, the city's right-wing authorities removed these masts after Slovenia's independence. In the Trail, and particularly in the masts with a red star, the authorities saw ideological connotation or a memorial to communism. The city's secretary of utility services Janez Lesar had all seven masts removed under pretence that rust would be removed, masts repainted and put back in place. However, cut-down masts could not be restored; damaged masts were found at a waste dump along the street Zaloška cesta and kept in the Museum of Contemporary History for a few years. Helmed by the mayor Zoran Jankovič, the new municipal authorities put up new steel masts with red stars in 2018. These masts are identical to those that used to stand at intersections of the Trail and the city's arteries (*FIG. 11: One of seven masts along the Trail of Remembrance and Comradeship in Ljubljana. The municipal authorities removed them, damaging them beyond repair. In 2018 the new municipal authorities set up new masts. Ljubljana, 3 November 2020.*). As masts were part of a protected cultural



monument, the Ljubljana-based Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage filed a criminal complaint against unknown persons for having committed a suspected criminal offence of defiling a monument; however, this action did not have an epilogue. On the other hand, the State Prosecutor's Office filed a criminal complaint against the periodical *Mladina* for having disclosed Lesar's illegal act. These masts were not the only victim of post-independence lustration. Memorial stones that used to stand in 102 spots along the Trail were removed as well; they had stood in the former locations of World War II bunkers; moreover, machinery needed for obliterating the Trail was on standby. The complete wipe-out did not take place because the Civil Committee for the Preservation of the Trail took a firm stand against the destruction. Later on, this committee was renamed the Green Ring Association.³⁵

Similarly, one of Demos' parties sought to wipe out the Trebče Memorial Park, arguing that the park is a remnant of the former regime. At a later stage, this memorial park developed into Kozjansko Park. Rich in history, memorials, and nature, it provides its inhabitants with new possibilities for development. It is only thanks to a few individuals that this did not happen.³⁶

Under pretence of reconciliation and under the auspices of Borut Pahor, President of the Republic of Slovenia, attempts have been made to bend history by means of new memorials.³⁷ Namely, Pahor advocates for joint memorials, for names of partisans and oppressor's collaborationists to appear on the same memorial plaque, as was the case at Karlovica near Velike Lašče.³⁸ To reduce the National Liberation War to a fratricidal war is to defy historical facts. As if the oppressor,

35 Marn, Urša. »V Ljubljano se vračajo jambori z rdečimi zvezdami.« <https://www.mladina.si/185293/vrnitev-odpisanih/> (Retrieved in December 2020).

36 Flajšman, Božidar. *Podsreda, zgodbe z razglednic*. Podsreda: Kozjanski park, 2017, 78–79. The book contains a letter written by Stane Peterlin, who described the story of Kozjansko Park in detail.

37 The philosopher Dr Boris Vežjak wrote several articles on Pahor's false image as a reconciler of Slovenes: Vežjak, Boris. »Pahorjeva zlagana podoba spravitelja Slovencev.« <https://vezjak.com/2015/07/17/pahorjeva-zlagana-podoba-spravitelja-slovencev/> (Retrieved in December 2020).

38 Ibid.

whose aim was to destroy the Slovene nation, had not existed. On the other hand, it is impossible to imagine and accept that a single memorial plaque would feature the names of the Allied pilots, partisans, oppressors and collaborationists. This would imply equating victims with their executioners. A path to new divisions and acts of horror is paved by way of distorting history and under pretence of nobility.

According to Geopedia, there have been 5,120 partisan memorials recorded in Slovenia thus far, of which about 2,700 to 2,900 were entered into the Register of Immovable Cultural Heritage.³⁹

A few memorials, mostly those depicting Tito, were not destroyed, they were transferred to museums. Or in words of the historian Peter Mikša: *»Not to destroy, but to keep and to show in the context of history.«*⁴⁰

Anti-fascist memorials in former Yugoslavia did not convey solely ideological messages. Many of them were and still are of high artistic value. This fact was recognized also by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, which hosted the exhibition *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980* in 2018. The exhibition was accompanied by an extensive catalogue showcasing a series of memorials in Ilirska Bistrica, on Petrova Gora, Kozara, in Sutjeska,

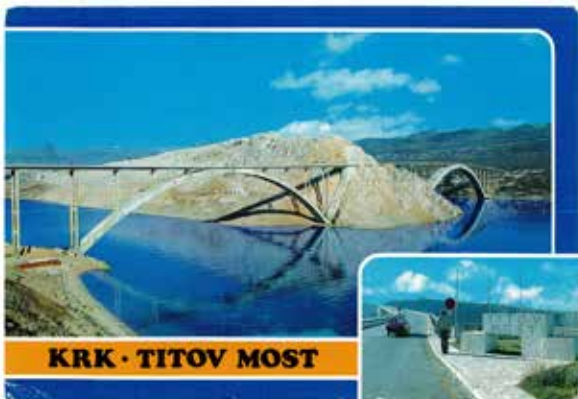


39 »Partizanski spomenik.« https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partizanski_spomenik#cite_note-1 (Retrieved in December 2020).

40 Štok, Katja. »Bomo z odstranitvijo kipov lahko odstranili tudi zgodovino?« <https://www.rtvlo.si/kultura/drugo/bomo-z-odstranitvijo-kipov-lahko-odstranili-tudi-zgodovino/527496> (Retrieved in December 2020).

Kamensko, Mostar, etc.⁴¹ The time frame spans from the period of the Informbiro to the House of Flowers, i. e. from Tito's conflict with Stalin, which was followed by a gradual opening of the state and the policies of the Non-Aligned, to Tito's death, when a new period began. The former state, which was built on brotherhood and unity, began to break up. Historical revisionism and the madness of nationalism grew wings. The ideology of hatred prevailed. Bloody wars were brought about.

In each Yugoslav republic and in both autonomous provinces a town or city was named after Tito (*FIG. 12: During Tito's lifetime and after his death in 1980 several towns or cities in Yugoslavia were named after him. These were situated in each republic and province. After the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s their original names were restored. Postcards from the 1980s depicting: 1. Titovo Velenje - Velenje (Slovenia); 2. Titova Korenica - Korenica (Croatia); 3. Titov Drvar - Drvar (Bosnia and Herzegovina); 4. Titovo Užice - Užice (Serbia); 5. Titov Vrbas - Vrbas (Vojvodina); 6. Titova Mitrovica - Kosovska Mitrovica (Kosovo); 7. Titograd - Podgorica (Montenegro); 8. Titov Veles - Veles (Macedonia).*). None of these names survived Yugoslavia's disintegration. At the present these locations are situated in seven different states. The imposing bridge to the island of Krk was renamed as well; Tito Bridge became the Krk Bridge (*FIG. 13: Tito Bridge, connecting the mainland with the island of Krk was opened in 1980; it was renamed the Krk Bridge (Croatian: Krčki most) after the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A postcard sent in 1984.*). In some places statues of Tito remained in place even after his death and a few streets or squares were named after him. New ones cannot bear his



41 *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980*. Edited by Stephanie Emerson. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2018.

names, at least not in Slovenia, where the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia evaluated Josip Broz Tito's historical role in 2001 and issued a decision that prohibited naming streets after the former president of Yugoslavia.⁴² The negative aspect of Tito's symbolic value was regarded as key. The court decided that if something symbolizes both the good and the bad at the same time, it is unacceptable in its entirety because it stands also for something bad. Another decision issued by the same court stipulated that if the Roman Catholic Church and other religious communities appear as denationalization claimants, it is not admissible to equate them with large feudal estates or property relations stemming from historically attested feudal relations. The court stated the Church's role as a public benefit institution as a foundation for admissible distinction.⁴³ Despite having a dark, even criminal history, in the case of the Roman Catholic Church its positive side prevailed, from which the Church benefited materially, while in the case of Tito, the negative prevailed.⁴⁴ Does the Constitutional Court really think that such arbitrary, black-and-white decision-making would protect people's dignity? Antifascist memorials received a similar treatment after Yugoslavia's disintegration. Partisans were declared criminals and collaborationists heroes or victims. Anti-fascist memorials were interpreted as symbols of the communist regime and of the socialist past, with which accounts should be settled once and for all. The destruction of memorials began, often on the initiative of or due to the indifference of state bodies. Quality, artistic value and top-quality authorship were not regarded as deciding factors in favour of their preservation.

According to the data compiled thus far, the most memorials were destroyed in Croatia. Juraj Hrženjak collected extensive materials on the subject and published it in *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj*

42 Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia, No.: U-I-109/10-11, 26 September 2011.

43 Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia, No.: U-I-107/96, 5 December 1996.

44 Flajšman, Božidar. »Pogumna vsebinska presoja.« *Delo*, 6. October 2011, p. 5.; Repe, Božo. »Kdo piše zgodovino?« *Mladina*, 21. October 2011.

1990 – 2000; Irena Škorić made a telling and convincing documentary entitled *Neželjena dediščina* (Unwanted Heritage).⁴⁵

Political reasons for demolishing anti-fascist memorials in Croatia are probably best illustrated by a graffiti written in honour of head of the former Independent State of Croatia (NDH). It is situated on the island of Vis, near Komiža, in one of the abandoned buildings of the former Yugoslav People's Army rocket base Stupišće. Painters doing the military service were frequently asked to paint the barracks with military motifs and political slogans. The inscriptions TITO, NATION, PARTY, ARMY can be found in this rocket base alongside paintings of ships and Yugoslav flags. This base was demolished to a considerable degree after the break-up of Yugoslavia, the red star was dug out and the inscription »LONG LIVE ANTE PAVELIĆ NDH« was carved into the wall. Somebody else added »FUCK YOU ANTE, SLO« to the bottom right-hand corner. (FIG. 14: An unknown graffiti artist added LONG LIVE ANTE PAVELIĆ, NDH to the inscription TITO, NATION, PARTY, ARMY. The Yugoslav People's Army rocket base Stupišće (Vis), 26 June 2004.).



45 »Regioskop: Neželjena baština« <https://youtu.be/byKpQ4QcAwo> (Retrieved in December 2020).

Theft of bronze sculptures, which are melted and sold by vandals, is also a form of destruction of memorials. This causes great cultural and historical damage; in the majority of cases moulds produced by great Yugoslav artists are not preserved and these sculptures cannot be re-cast.

Some people destroy memorials out of sheer vandalism. By destroying memorials of the National Liberation War, political vandals seek to erase the remembrance of the anti-fascist struggle, on which modern Europe is founded. Such destruction thus stands for the demolition of foundations, on which modern Europe was built.

A few examples:

Petrova gora

Unveiled in 1981, the memorial commemorating the rebellion of people in Banija and Kordun preserves the memory of civilians and combatants who fell fighting fascism. Made of reinforced concrete and designed by the sculptor Vojin Bakić, the memorial is covered with stainless-steel sheets (*FIG. 15: The memorial on Petrova Gora, a postcard from around 1981.*). After the disintegration of Yugoslavia commemorative ceremonies next to the memorial were discontinued; in the following years vandals demolished parts of the building, as well as museum pieces or archival objects. The destruction continues to this day – people still remove stainless-steel sheets (*FIG. 16: The destruction of the memorial on Petrova Gora continues to this day. Petrova Gora, 4 March 2016.*).





A partisan hospital and Dr Marija Schlesinger operated on Petrova Gora. Her grave, which originally featured her relief portrait and an inscription in Croatian, is located next to one of underground bunkers (dug-outs). The inscription read:

SCHLESINGER Dr MARIJA
1895 - 1943
ZA VRIJEME 4. NEPRIJATELJSKE
OFANZIVE OVDJE JE SAHRANJENA
PARTIZANSKA DOKTORICA MARIJA
SCHLESINGER
MRTVA PARTIZANKA GROBOM JE
MASKIRALA I ŠTITILA RANJENE
DRUGOVE

(The partisan physician Schlesinger Dr Marija, 1895–1943 was buried here during the Fourth Enemy offensive. With her grave this deceased partisan hid and protected her wounded comrades) (FIG. 17: *The grave of the partisan physician Dr Marija Schlesinger and the entrance to an underground bunker. The partisan hospital on Petrova Gora, a postcard from around 1980.*).

Only a few letters remained on a concrete plate, her bronze portrait was broken and thrown in a bunker in three pieces.⁴⁶ (FIG. 18: *The demolished plate on the grave of the partisan physician Dr Marija Schlesinger. The partisan hospital on Petrova Gora, 4 March 2016.*) On 28 June 1991 Sabor, the Croatian Parliament, adopted an order by means of which the Act Repealing the Dr Marija Schlesinger Award Act was passed. This award was presented to health professionals.⁴⁷

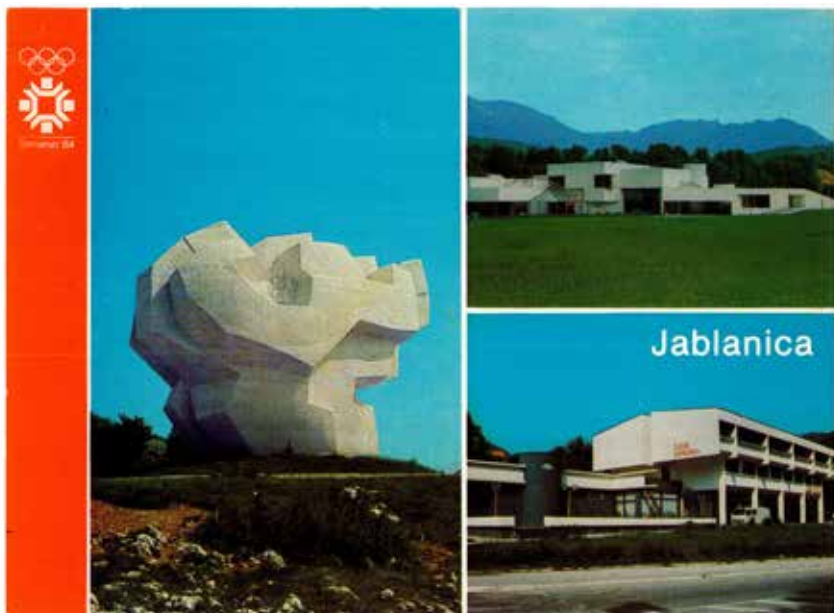
46 Kresojević, Željko. »Zapisi iz gore (4): Doktorica Marija.« <https://banija.rs/obicaji/20035-zapisi-iz-gore-4-doktorica-marija.html> (Retrieved in December 2020).

47 Zakon o prestanku važenja Zakona o "Nagradi dr. Marija Schlesinger".« https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1991_07_34_947.html (Retrieved in December 2020).

Makljen

A partisan memorial commemorating the Battle of Neretva (also known as the Fourth Enemy Offensive or the Battle for the Wounded) was erected on Mt. Makljen, Bosnia and Herzegovina. (*FIG. 19: A postcard depicting the memorial dedicated to the Battle of Neretva on Makljen; the other two photographs depict the Museum of the National Liberation War in Jablanica, 1984.*). Designed by the sculptor Boško Kućanski, the memorial was blasted in 2000; at the present, its uncanny structure consisting of reinforced-concrete columns protrudes from the ground (*FIG. 20: The blasted memorial on Makljen. Makljen, 24 April 2004.*). Evidently, nationalists interpreted this memorial as a symbol of the communist regime and the socialist past, with which accounts must be settled.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Monumenti, promenljivo lice sećanja*, eds. Daniel Bromund, Christian Pfeifer. Belgrade: Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst, 2013, 58–59.



Tjentište

Designed by the sculptor Miodrag Živković, this exceptional memorial stands in the Sutjeska National Park. It was erected in Tjentište in 1971 to commemorate combatants who fell in the Battle of Sutjeska, where in 1943, during the Fifth German Offensive, partisans pierced the oppressor's ring, suffering great losses (7,366 fallen combatants). An ossuary with mortal remains of 3,301 combatants stands next to it. The central memorial has been in good condition since 2019. A few other buildings were added in its immediate proximity, a memorial building, a few hotels, and additional memorials. The bulk of these buildings were damaged in the most recent war. Its interior boasts 13 exceptional frescoes produced by the painter Krsto Hegedušić, which were vandalized (*FIGS. 21: The oppressors depicted on Hegedušić's fresco in the Battle of Sutjeska Commemorative Centre, a postcard from around 1975. and 22: A vandalized fresco in the Battle of Sutjeska Commemorative Centre. Tjentište, 6 August 2011*). Dates and individuals' signatures were carved in these frescoes, gunshot-damage is present as well, which indicates that these acts of vandalism were not based on ideology. A few years ago the memorial building was somewhat mended to prevent further ruin. Many Croats, mostly Dalmatians, were killed on the river Sutjeska. The Croatian Sabor declined to grant patronage to the ceremony; however, the Croatian Parliament provides constant support to meetings of the Ustasha sympathizers in Bleiburg, Austria.⁴⁹

49 Gall, Zlatko. »Kako se Hrvatska odrekla svojih mrtvih sa Sutjeske.« <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/kolumne/kako-se-hrvatska-odrekla-svojih-mrtvih-sa-sutjeske-525772> (Retrieved in December 2020).



Drvar

On 25 May 1944 the German oppressor conducted an airdrop raid on Drvar, which was a failed attempt to capture Josip Broz Tito, the Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia. A postcard of Drvar from around 1985 depicts a memorial complex arranged as a park on the hillock Šobića Glavica above the town. Its central part is represented by by a memorial with four slanting, 20-m high columns. These columns point skywards in all cardinal directions and feature relief depictions from the period of World War II⁵⁰ (FIG. 23: *The memorial commemorating the National Liberation War in Drvar, a postcard from around 1985*). The monument commemorating fallen combatants and victims of fascist terror, which was designed by Lujo Šverer and Marijan Kocković is now completely ruined (FIG. 24: *The demolished memorial commemorating the National Liberation War in Drvar. Drvar, 26 April 2011.*).

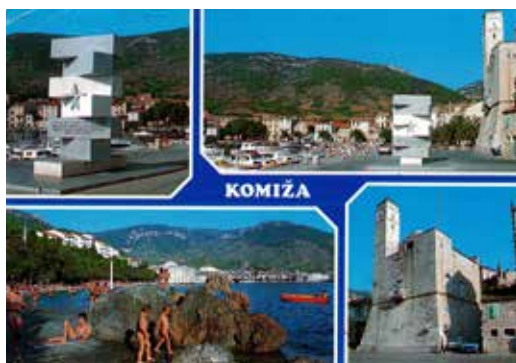


50 Niebyl, Donald. *Spomenik, Monument database*. London: Fuel, 2018, 42–43.

Vis

Soon after the airdrop raid on Drvar on 25 May 1944, the political and military leadership of the partisan movement, led by Josip Broz Tito, arrived at the island of Vis via Italy. To commemorate this event an inscribed monument was erected at the port of Komiža. The inscription on the monument read: »Od 7. 6. – 15. 9. 1944 Tito je s Visa usmeravao borbu za oslobođenje zemlje i međunarodno priznanje nove Jugoslavije« (From 7 June to 15 September 1944 Tito led the struggle for liberation and international recognition of Yugoslavia from the island of Vis), (FIG. 25: Top photographs depict the partisan memorial at the port of Komiža. It commemorates the arrival of Tito and leaders of the partisan movement on the Island of Vis on 7 June 1944. A postcard from around 1985.). The memorial was removed after the break-up of Yugoslavia; its fate is unknown (FIG. 26: A view of the port in Komiža after the removal of the memorial depicted at no. 14. Komiža, 26 June 2004.).

On 12 September 1944, at a ceremony marking the second anniversary of the establishment of the First Dalmatian Shock Brigade, which was held on Vis, Josip Broz Tito addressed the question of future state borders. It was on this occasion that he spoke his famous words: »*Theirs we do not want, ours we do not give.*«⁵¹ To commemorate this occasion, a white-marble monument produced by Antun Augustinčić was unveiled at the port in the town of Vis on 27 July



51 Josip Broz Tito, *Borba za osloboditev Jugoslavije, članki in govori iz narodno osvobodilne borbe 1941-1945*. Belgrade: Državna založba Jugoslavije, 1945, 217-223.

1964. The above-mentioned sentence was engraved in the memorial, the remaining three sides featured a text about the First Dalmatian Brigade⁵² (FIG. 27: *The memorial with the inscription that reads: »Theirs we do not want, ours we do not give.«*⁵³). The memorial was removed and transferred to the Samogor barracks in 1994, where it was completely destroyed in the following years.⁵⁴ The memorial was removed in line with a decree issued by the Vis municipal authority, which was at the time at the hands of the Croatian Democratic Union.⁵⁵ In 2002, when the memorial lay heavily damaged in the abandoned barracks, the locals maintained that the authority could not blast it because it was lying too close to the inhabited area. A few members of the Croatian Democratic Union were concerned that the new authorities might want to set it up once again. To prevent this from happening, they used mallets to destroy all inscriptions on the memorial (FIG. 28: *The demolished memorial »Theirs we do not want, ours we do not give.« The former Samogor barracks on the island of Vis, 27 June 2002.*).



52 Spomenik v pristanišču na Visu: "Mi tujega nočemo, a svojega ne damo." V: *Vis*, eds. Drago Zdunić, Darivoj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani; Zagreb: Spektar, 1974, 77, 123.

53 Source: *Vis*, eds. Drago Zdunić, Darivoj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani Rijeka; Zagreb: Spektar, 1974.

54 »Vis – "Tude nečemo – svoje ne damo".« <https://www.sebenico.com/our-works/vis-tude-necemo-svoje-ne-damo/> (Retrieved in December 2020).

55 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 235.

A memorial commemorating British pilots was put up on the hill Čunkovica, about 5 km from the town of Vis. The inscription on the memorial said: »Na slavnju uspomenu avijatičara Royal Air Force, koji su dali svoje živote u operacijama nad Jugoslavijom.« (In proud memory of the men of the Royal Air Force who lost their lives whilst operating over

Yugoslavia), (FIG. 29: The memorial dedicated to RAF pilots on the island of Vis before Yugoslavia was replaced with Croatia.⁵⁶). In the early 1990s, during the period of political changes and radical nationalist tendencies, the memorial was left in place, but Yugoslavia was replaced by Croatia in the inscription. The memorial's other side features an inscription in English and Yugoslavia was replaced by Croatia here as well (FIGS. 30: The memorial dedicated to RAF pilots on the island of Vis after Yugoslavia was replaced with Croatia. Vis, 26 June 2001. and 31: The memorial commemorating British pilots on the island of Vis. In the English-language inscription Yugoslavia was replaced by Croatia as well. Vis, 26 June 2001.).



56 Source: Vis, eds. Drago Zdunić, Darivoj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani Rijeka; Zagreb: Spektar, 1974.

Other memorials dedicated to pilots were completely destroyed, including a memorial at the former Allied airfield operating on the field Plisko Polje after Italy's capitulation in 1943 (*FIG. 32: The demolished memorial at Plisko Polje, the location of an Allied airfield, Vis, 27 June 2002.*).



At the intersection of roads Vis-Komiža-Podstražje a rough-hewn stone memorial was erected in 1951 (*FIG. 33: The memorial situated at the intersection of roads Vis-Komiža-Podstražje and dedicated to fallen pilots and officers.*⁵⁷). The memorial dedicated to the memory of fallen pilots and officers was completely destroyed after the break-up of Yugoslavia (*FIG. 34: The demolished memorial at the intersection of the roads Vis-Komiža-Podstražje and dedicated to fallen pilots and officers. Vis, 27 June 2002.*).

⁵⁷ Source: *Vis*, eds. Drago Zdunić, Darivoj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani Rijeka; Zagreb: Spekter, 1974.



Podgora

The memorial commemorating the Yugoslav Navy – Seagull Wings.

The first detachment of the Yugoslav Navy was established in the hamlet of Podgora in September 1942. Unveiled by President Tito two decades later, the memorial was dedicated to the Navy's role. It was designed by the sculptor Rajko Radović between 1960 and 1961. Measuring 23 m in height, it was made of white concrete and rises from a black granite platform measuring 12 by 30 m. Situated between the shore and the steep mountain range Biokovo, it creates a powerful visual accent in the landscape (FIG. 35: *The memorial commemorating the Yugoslav Navy – Seagull Wings in Podgora. A postcard from around 1975.*). After the disintegration of Yugoslavia the monument was blasted on several occasions; later on, the importance of events unfolding

during the anti-fascist resistance was purposefully marginalized. Revisionism is indicated in the new description featured on the memorial plaque, which says that the memorial is dedicated to all »Croatian sailors«, with no reference to the partisan resistance.⁵⁸ An anecdote is associated with the repeated attempts to destroy the memorial, when Dr Franjo Tuđman, President of the Republic of Croatia, visited Podgora in 1997. In his speech he addressed the audience: »Thank you, villagers of Podgora, for having preserved this wonderful memorial.« A woman from the crowd replied: »We did not preserve it. The monument's tenacity makes it stronger than your demolishers or blasters are.«⁵⁹



58 Bugarič, Boštjan (et al.). *Arhitektura. Skulptura. Spomin, Umetnost spomenikov Jugoslavije 1945–1991*. Ljubljana: Društvo arhitektov, 2020, 108–109.

59 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*. Zagreb: Savez antifašističnih boraca Hrvatske, 2002, 217.

Kamensko

The memorial commemorating the victorious population of Slavonija (referred to also as the memorial to the people-heroes of Slavonija) was a stainless-steel monument, built on the hillside of Papuk, near the village of Kamensko, in the present-day Požega-Slavonija County. It was designed by the sculptor Vojin Bakić. Unveiled in 1968, this was the largest post-modernist sculpture in the world in the period of its erection (FIG. 36: *The memorial dedicated to the victory of the population of Slavonija in Kamensko. A postcard from around 1980.*). The memorial was completely destroyed in 1992 (FIG. 37: *Demolishing the memorial in Kamensko, 1992.*⁶⁰). The Croatian army is suspected of having blasted



60 Source: <https://www.spomenikdatabase.org/kamenska> (Retrieved in December 2020).

the memorial.⁶¹ Due to the fact that it was made of stainless steel it was turned into pots and pans in Slavonski Brod.⁶²

Mostar

In 1993 the Croatian army demolished the famous bridge, which was built by Mimar Hayruddin in 1566. The bridge was rebuilt and opened ceremoniously in 2004.⁶³ However, the exceptional partisan cemetery designed by Bogdan Bogdanović, which was vandalized on several occasions and thus heavily damaged, was not restored. It was designed as terraces cut into the hillside. The city of the dead replicated the city of the living, with its streets, squares, bridges, towers, and city gates. Massively built stone-clad support walls feature engraved ornamental symbols and names of approximately 800 fallen partisans. A few hundred unidentified bodies were laid to rest in a shared tomb (*FIG. 38: The partisan cemetery in Mostar, a postcard from around 1980.*). Miha Dešman wrote that he was stunned by the contrast between the



61 »Spomenik pobjedi naroda Slavonije.« https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spomenik_pobjedi_naroda_Slavonije (Retrieved in December 2020).

62 Juraj Hrženjak, Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000, 8.

63 »Odpri most v Mostarju.« <https://www.rtvsllo.si/svet/odpri-most-v-mostarju/21337> (Retrieved in December 2020).

memorial's neglect, silent beauty, and unbridled tourist crowds occupying the nearby city with the bridge, where the memorial's beauty was degraded into a mercantile backdrop.⁶⁴ The author of the memorial Bogdan Bogdanović said:

This is a memorial to Yugoslav solidarity. It is dedicated to the Mostar Battalion. I was touched by the fact that the combatants were practically still children. They bore Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian names. They reminded me of a children's crusade. The majority of them were killed. Cenotaphs, symbolic graves, are dedicated to them. A few of them are buried here, not very many. The memorial is severely damaged; however, it cannot be demolished because it is carved into a hill and thus rendered indestructible.⁶⁵

64 Bugarič, Boštjan (et al.). *Arhitektura. Skulptura. Spomin, Umetnost spomenikov Jugoslavije 1945-1991*. Ljubljana: Društvo arhitektov, 2020, 114–115.

65 Bogdanović, Bogdan. *Bogdanović by Bogdanović, Yugoslav Memorials through the Eyes of Their Architect*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018, 28–35.

Karlovac

In the local Liberty Park a memorial dedicated to the fallen combatants and victims of fascism was unveiled in 1955; it was designed by Vanja Radauš (*FIG. 39: The bottom photograph depicts the memorial commemorating the National Liberation War in Karlovac, a postcard from around 1975.*). The memorial was completely destroyed in 1991, as was the majority of anti-fascist memorials in the city of Karlovac (*FIG. 40: The completely demolished memorial commemorating the National Liberation War in Karlovac. Karlovac, 4 March 2016.*). A statue produced by Franjo Pucak was blasted as well. In the same location the association Croatian Home Defenders (Udruga Hrvatski domobran) erected a memorial dedicated to the Ustasha and home defenders. It features an inscription that reads: »Dedicated to Croatian soldiers who died for Croatia 1941 – 1945 and 1991 – 1995. Erected by the Veterans' Association Croatian Home Defenders Karlovac 1991 – 1995.«⁶⁶ (Hrvatskim vojnicima palim za Hrvatsku 1941 – 1945. Podiže Udruga veterana Hrvatski domobran Karlovac).

66 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 69.



Pozdrav iz Karloveca



Opuzen

A memorial commemorating the national hero Stjepan Filipović, who was born in Opuzen in 1919 and courageously, with his hands thrust in the air, called for freedom and appealed to people to stand up to the oppressor and their servants while standing under the Nazi-Chetnik gallows, was unveiled in October 1978 and blasted in July 1991⁶⁷ (FIG. 41: *The hanging of Stjepan Filipović on 22 May 1942 in Valjevo*.⁶⁸). The statue produced by the sculptors Miro Vuco and Stjepan Gračan was demolished by a group led by the Ustasha emigrant Daidža, a future general of the Croatian army.⁶⁹

Prior to its demolition, this memorial commemorating Stjepan Filipović was along with the eponymous memorial in Valjevo, Serbia, which was produced by the sculptor Vojin Bakić, one of two monumental paraphrases of the famous photograph of Filipović standing with a noose around his neck in 1942 (FIGS. 42: The memorial commemorating Stjepan Filipović in Opuzen.⁷⁰ and 43: The memorial commemorating Stjepan Filipović completely demolished by blasting.⁷¹). The dismay and protests of antifascists from Opuzen and



67 The story of the memorial to Stjepan Filipović was presented in detail in a documentary by Irena Škorić; entitled *Unwanted Legacy*, this documentary is dedicated to demolished anti-fascist memorials in Croatia. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=byKpQ4QcAwo&t=1s>

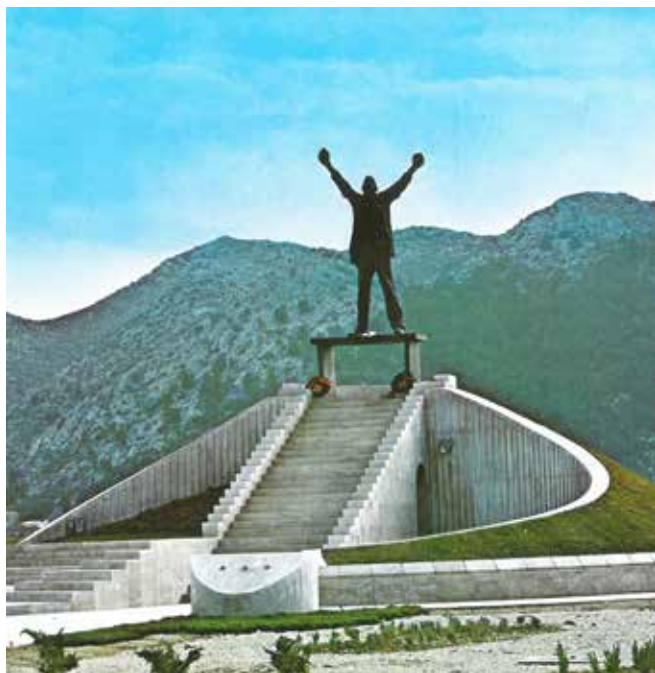
68 Source: https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stjepan_Filipovi%C4%87#/media/Slika:Stjepan_Stevo_Filipovi%C4%87.jpg (Retrieved in December 2020).

69 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 51.

70 Source: *Putovima revolucije* (ed. Dr. Zdravko Krnić), Zagreb, Turitkomerc and Republički odbor Saveza udruženja boraca NOR SR Hrvatske, 1979.

71 Source: <https://radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/regija/spomenik-slavnog-partizana-miniran-na-njegovom-mjestu-industrijska-zona/366878> (Retrieved in December 2020).

Dalmatia directed at the Republic of Croatia's highest authority did not receive a response.⁷²



Gregor Jazbec maintained that a photograph and an accompanying text are preserved in Gestapo archives, which says, inter alia, that Filipović marched bravely alongside the guard, making the stride of

72 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 51.

those accompanying him look ridiculous. When he was placed under the gallows, he kept shouting, insulting the oppressor and the great leader of the Third Reich himself with the following words: »*Long live the communists, long live the workers' struggle, down with Hitler.*« His last words were: »*What are you waiting for, what are you suffering?! Grab guns and expel this vermin out of the country! Long live the League of Communists of Yugoslavia! Long live the Red Army!*« When his Serbian executioners put a noose around his neck, Filipović, who was of Croatian descent, said: »*Do not hang me, my Serbian brothers, let the Germans do it.*«⁷³

Another eyewitness, SS Sergeant Maletan, wrote that due to his »*inciting behaviour that could provoke incidents with a section of the infected Serbian population*« he was hanged before eleven o'clock, as originally planned. In fact, he should have been hanged two months earlier, but was unable to stand on his feet due to having been tortured. They waited with the execution until he got better.⁷⁴

A photograph depicting Stjepan Filipović's execution hangs in the headquarters of the United Nations in New York, as a symbol of rebellion against tyranny.⁷⁵

The late Icelandic film composer Jóhann Jóhannsson, made his directorial debut (which premiered at the 2020 Berlinale), a minimalist sci-fi abstraction entitled *First and Last Men*, which showcases by means of monochrome photographs in an exceptionally aesthetic manner the most renowned Yugoslav memorials commemorating the National Liberation War (Tjentište, Petrova Gora, Jasenovac, Kadinjača, etc.) without reference to their authors or locations.⁷⁶ Memorials and their details are depicted through mists, while Tilda Swinton narrates

73 Jazbec, Gregor. *Bitka na Sutjeski*. Gornja Radgona: Gregor Jazbec s. p., 2020, 242, 243.

74 Ibid., 243.

75 Ibid.

76 »Last and First Men.« <https://youtu.be/nqDBIBKlbDA> (Retrieved in December 2020).; Kohn, Eric. »'Last and First Men' Review: Jóhann Jóhannsson's Posthumous Film Is a Dazzling Vision of the Apocalypse.« <https://www.indiewire.com/2020/02/last-and-first-men-review-johann-johannsson-berlin-1202213596/> (Retrieved in December 2020).

the story of an apocalyptically destroyed world, where former advanced civilizations were survived only by memorials with typical brutalist characters of concrete buildings. Even without knowledge of the context of the National Liberation War these memorials and their high-quality artistic expression represent a convincing document about life of a specific era. These works of art are marked by the spirit of the period that symbolizes the rebellion against evil and efforts for a better future. They induce, invite and encourage us to contemplate on man's past and future actions. At the same time, they convey that mankind is capable of doing good but also perpetrating the most despicable deeds. Without preserving the collective historical memory, also by way of memorials, despicable actions might soon be repeated.

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SUMMARY

To understand why throughout Yugoslavia the attitude towards the partisan movement changed to the extent that it became a basis for the destruction of memorials, one must turn to the 1980s. In the 1980s, soon after Tito's death, the discussion about World War II was almost completely transferred to the realm of politics. By evaluating World War II (and history in general), political elites in respective republics strove to solidify their position and vision of re-organizing the Yugoslav society. Anything associated with evaluating the past, i.e. works of art, memoirs, feuilletons or »proper« historiographical works, became subject to polemic. Consequently, the line between professional historiography and more popular genres was blurred and historiography became increasingly politicized, limiting itself to the borders of its own republic. Following the first multi-party elections in respective republics (1990), history lost its political function as far as Yugoslavia was concerned; however, it remained an important, in some places the central factor in political battles within the newly established states. This new basis induced the new state or, and even more often local authorities, to demolish memorials, rename streets and schools or re-write history. Anti-fascist memorials were interpreted as symbols of the communist regime and of the socialist past, with which accounts should be settled once and for all. Historical facts, quality, artistic value and top-quality authorship were not regarded as factors in favour of their preservation.

POLITIKA BRISANJA SPOMINA IN POT DO NJE

Uničevanje spomenikov NOB po razpadu SFRJ

Druga ali »avnojska« Jugoslavija (kot se je imenovala po Protifašističnem svetu narodne osvoboditve Jugoslavije, ki jo je leta 1943 na zasedanju v bosanskem mestecu Jajce obnovil na federativnih osnovah) je bila utemeljena na narodnoosvobodilnem boju in sočasni revoluciji.¹ Na tem je svojo oblast utemeljevala tudi Komunistična partija Jugoslavije (v petdesetih letih preimenovana v Zvezo komunistov Jugoslavije). Politična garnitura, ki je obvladovala Jugoslavijo, je izšla iz narodnoosvobodilnega boja in šele po Titovi smrti leta 1980 jo je postopoma zamenjevala nova, mlajša generacija. Tudi večina ustvarjalcev na vseh umetniških področjih (kiparstvo, slikarstvo, film, literatura, poezija idr.) je izšla iz narodnoosvobodilnega boja in revolucije, posledično je bila vojna v ospredju njene ustvarjalnosti. Vendar je pri navedenem treba upoštevati dve stvari. Prva je nacionalna raznolikost Jugoslavije, zaradi katere je tudi pri obravnavi druge svetovne vojne o skupni jugoslovanski umetnosti mogoče govoriti le na najbolj posplošeni ravni. Druga pa je specifičnost Jugoslavije v blokovsko razdeljenem svetu. Jugoslavija je po sporu s Sovjetsko zvezo in Informbirojem leta 1948 iskala vmesno pot med obema blokoma in bila ena pomembnejših članic gibanja neuvrščениh. Od srede petdesetih let, ko je uredila mejna vprašanja, je odprla meje z Zahodom. Posledično je prišlo do nastanka posebnega kulturnega okolja in načina življenja, v katerem se je potrošništvo zahodnega tipa prepletlo s socialističnim egalitarizmom. Zato so za Jugoslavijo – razen v prvih povojnih letih, ko je prevladoval sovjetski vpliv in socrealistični tip kulture – značilne zelo različne umetniške smeri. Tudi najbolj avantgardne, čeprav jih politika v posameznih okoljih ni vedno sprejemala z naklonjenostjo. Motivika druge svetovne vojne pa je v osnovi ostajala tradicionalna, črno-bela in seveda zlasti politično angažirana. Tudi to seveda ne velja absolutno, saj so tudi v obravnavi te tematike vidni različni slogi in pristopi. Koncept revolucionarne umetnosti, kot se je razvil med drugo svetovno vojno

¹ Za več glej: Pirjevec, Jože. *Partizani*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2020.; Repe, Božo. *S puško in knjigo. Narodnoosvobodilni boj slovenskega naroda 1941-1945*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2015.

znotraj odporniškega gibanja, se je v osnovi ohranil tudi v povojnih desetletjih, vendar le kot ena od (sicer pogosto favoriziranih) smeri, še zlasti na področju postavljanja spomenikov. Kultura in umetnost sta služili političnim ciljem: poveličevanju odpora in revolucije ter glavni paroli narodnoosvobodilnega gibanja o bratstvu in enotnosti jugoslovanskih narodov. Obstajale so t. i. tabu teme, ki v umetnosti niso bile zaželeni oz. so bile prepovedane, zadevale pa so zlasti mednacionalne obračune med drugo svetovno vojno, nacionalistično pisanje o posameznih narodih in problematiziranje revolucije in njenih voditeljev. Politična meja med dovoljenim in nedovoljenim ni bila prav jasna, zato so umetniki, ki so hodili po robu, vedno tvegali, da ga bodo prestopili in padli v nemilost ali da bodo administrativno in sodno preganjani. Od različnih zvrsti umetnosti sta bila temu najbolj izpostavljena film in literatura.

Umetniškim tematikam naj bi oporo poleg spominov dajalo zlasti zgodovino pisje.² Jugoslovanska historiografija je sicer imela nekaj ambicioznih skupnih projektov, ki pa so bili izvedeni le napol ali pa so propadli. V vseh sta osrednji ali zelo pomemben del predstavljala druga svetovna vojna in partizansko gibanje. Med uspele projekte, ki jih je uresničila celotna jugoslovanska znanost z znatnim sodelovanjem historiografije, lahko štejemo prvo izdajo *Enciklopedije Jugoslavije* v srbohrvaškem jeziku (zadnji zvezek je izšel leta 1971). K realizaciji je veliko prispevala avtoriteta vodje projekta, hrvaškega pisatelja Miroslava Krleže. Ponovljena in razširjena izdaja v jezikih narodov in narodnosti Jugoslavije, ki se je začela pripravljati leta 1980, pa je ob razhajanjih prav glede zgodovino pisnih tem uspela izdati v srbohrvaški izdaji šest knjig, v jezikih narodov pa (različno po republikah) manj. V zadnjem izdanem zvezku pa je jugoslovanskim zgodovinarjem še uspelo napisati geslo Jugoslavija. NOB in z njo povezana umetnost sta imela v njej kljub krizi v državi še vedno pomembno mesto.

Največji in najambicioznejši projekt jugoslovanske historiografije je bila sicer *Zgodovina narodov Jugoslavije*, ki so jo začeli pripravljati leta

2 Za več glej: Repe, Božo. »Jugoslovanska historiografija po drugi svetovni vojni.« V: *Tokovi Istorije*: časopis Instituta za noviju istoriju Srbije, 1-4 (1999), 312-325.

1949 na pobudo Sveta za znanost in kulturo FLRJ s prvotno ambicijo, da bi napisali učbenik za srednje šole.³ Projekt je v času, ko je bila Jugoslavija še centralizirana, vodila posebna vladna komisija in leta 1953 je izšla prva, nato pa leta 1959 še druga knjiga. Knjigi sta zaobsegli čas do konca 18. stoletja. Delo je bilo nato prekinjeno zaradi globokih nesoglasij med zgodovinarji, ki so delali na tretji knjigi, še posebej zaradi nesoglasij med hrvaškimi in srbskimi zgodovinarji. Leta 1985 so prizadevanja za nadaljevanje *Zgodovine narodov Jugoslavije* (v naslovu so dodali tudi »narodnosti«) oživila in doživela politično podporo (sklep, da je treba delo nadaljevati, je bil med drugim sprejet na 13. kongresu ZKJ leta 1986). Podpisan je bil samoupravni sporazum o financiranju projekta. Ambicije so bile velike, pričakovali so celo, da naj bi delo pri projektu revolucioniralo znanstveno organizacijo in znanstveno delo.⁴ Projekt pa je zastal že v začetni fazi, saj so se razhajanja med zgodovinarji medtem še poglobila. Če so prejšnje sporne teme segale od nastanka narodov do kraljevine, je bila tu že v ospredju druga svetovna vojna, zlasti vprašanje državljanske vojne, revolucije, medsebojnih obračunov, povojnih pobjev (ob tem tudi glede mednacionalnih odnosov v novi Jugoslaviji ipd.).

Leta 1963 je izšel *Pregled zgodovine Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije* v eni knjigi z ambicijo, da jugoslovanski zgodovinarji v prihodnjih letih pripravijo večdelno zgodovino ZKJ. Novo delo ja na pobudo predsedstva CK ZKJ začelo nastajati konec sedemdesetih let. Delo je bilo zastavljeno zelo široko, z ustanovitvijo znanstvenih skupin za posamezna obdobja in mrežo sodelavcev po vseh republikah. Delo so koordinirale posebne komisije za zgodovino pri republiških centralnih komitejih in zgodovinska komisija pri CK ZKJ. Na koncu je leta 1986 izšla le ena niti ne preveč obsežna knjiga (416 strani v slovenski izdaji) v jezikih vseh narodov Jugoslavije in z naslovom *Zgodovina Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije*. Pri pripravi knjige so še bolj kot pri jugoslovanski zgodovini do izraza prihajali ideološki in mednacionalni spori, močan je bil vpliv

3 Za več glej: Koren, Snježana. *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960). Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012.

4 Josip Hrvatin. *Aktuelni problemi istorijske nauke*, Rasprava na predsedništvu Savezne konferencije SSRNJ (II), JIČ, XXII, št. 3, Beograd 1987, 195.

politike na nastajanje in vsebino knjige. Knjiga, ki je bila v javnosti sprejeta kot »uradna« zgodovina jugoslovanske komunistične partije in tudi njene zmagovite vloge med drugo svetovno vojno, je komajda še lahko izšla, saj so bili pogledi na zgodovino že tako različni, da je bil za dosego konsenza potreben močan politični pritisk in tudi »kupčevanje« glede vsebine. Zato so jo nekateri zgodovinarji označevali za »partijski priročnik«. ⁵ Načrtovana večdelna zgodovina ZKJ seveda potem ni nikoli izšla, prav tako pa ne monografije o zgodovini komunističnih partij po republikah.

V osemdesetih letih je tako zgodovino narodnoosvobodilne borbe sistematično raziskoval le še Vojno-historijski institut JNA, ki je imel izpostave po vseh republikah ali pa so njegovi sodelavci (kot npr. v Sloveniji) delovali pod okriljem nacionalnih inštitutov. Institut je nastal v času Informbiroja z ambicijo prikazati resnico o narodnoosvobodilnem boju v Jugoslaviji, v naslednjih desetletjih pa je izdal več kot 140 zvezkov dokumentov. V tem kontekstu je treba omeniti tudi *Vojno enciklopedijo*, ki je bila izdana dvakrat: leta 1958 in 1970 ter ponatisnjena leta 1985. Seveda ogromno prostora namenja narodnoosvobodilnemu boju jugoslovanskih narodov.

K oblikovanju zgodovinskega spomina naj bi prispevale tudi nekatere zbirke virov, zlasti izdajanje zbranih del Josipa Broza – Tita, ki so v srbohrvaški izdaji izšla v tridesetih knjigah, časovno pa je zbirka segla do avgusta 1946. (*SLIKA 1: Zbrana dela Josipa Broza – Tita, časovno zbirka sega do 8. avgusta 1946.*) Tudi izdajanje zbranih del se je – podobno kot zgodovina ZKJ – začelo na politično pobudo. ⁶ Od podobnih projektov je bila uresničena le zbirka zbranih del Borisa Kidriča, medtem ko je bila priprava zbranih del Edvarda Kardelja prekinjena v začetni fazi.

Da bi razumeli, zakaj se je odnos do partizanstva po vsej Jugoslaviji tako spremenil, da je postal podlaga za uničevanje spomenikov, je treba poseči v osemdeseta leta. Obravnava druge svetovne vojne (tudi sicer skupne preteklosti jugoslovanskih narodov) se je v osemdesetih letih

5 Čepo, Zlatko. »Opake besjede gospode akademika.« *Danas*, 14. oktober 1986, 25.

6 Sklep o izdajanju Titovih zbranih del je sprejelo predsedstvo ZKJ maja 1972 ob Titovi sedemdesetletnici.

preselili skorajda v čisto politiko. Politične elite v posameznih republikah so skozi vrednotenje druge svetovne vojne (in sicer zgodovine) skušale utrditi svojo pozicijo in svojo vizijo preureditve jugoslovanske družbe. Vse, kar je bilo povezano z vrednotenjem preteklosti: umetniška dela, spomini, feljtonistika ali »prava« zgodovinopisna dela, je postalo predmet polemik, zaradi česar se je meja med strokovnim zgodovinopisjem in bolj poljudnimi žanri zabrisala, zgodovinopisna stroka pa vedno bolj politizirala in zapirala v republiške meje.⁷ »Kadar se cela zgodovina hoče napisati z določenih, medsebojno nasprotnih pozicij, to postane del politične borbe v Jugoslaviji,« je leta 1985 zapisal avtor *Istorije SFRJ* dr. Dušan Bilandžić.⁸ Tudi sam je svojo *Istorijo SFRJ* po razpadu Jugoslavije »predelal« v zgodovino Hrvaške, podobno se je zgodilo še z nekaterimi eminentnimi jugoslovanskimi zgodovinarji, ki so obravnavali zgodovino druge svetovne vojne, potem pa so svoje dotedanje raziskave podredili nacionalistični politiki in skušali relativizirati svoje dotedanje ugotovitve. V Srbiji je tak primer dr. Branko Petranović. Tudi v Sloveniji so nekateri zgodovinarji po koncu socializma in po osamosvojitvi svoje ugotovitve prilagodili aktualnim političnim razmeram – tudi tam, kjer ni bilo nekih novih odkritij bodisi o posameznih dogodkih in procesih bodisi o posameznih osebnostih – tu sta najbolj v ospredju Boris Kidrič in Edvard Kardelj. Tak obrat opazimo pri dr. Janku Prunku.⁹ Vendar je glavni revizionistični val opravila predvsem politika, prvič leta 1991, drugič mnogo izraziteje pa v času prve Janševe vlade v letih 2004–2008. Vladajoča koalicija je tedaj v nasprotju s prejšnjimi liberalnimi vladami spominu na preteklost in uporabi zgodovine v

7 Le redki jugoslovanski zgodovinarji so se raziskovalno ukvarjali z zgodovino drugih narodov. Še posebej to velja za srbske zgodovinarje, pri katerih je bila ovira tudi neznanje jezikov nesrbskih narodov (čeprav stanja seveda ne moremo v celoti posploševati, saj se je npr. srbski zgodovinar dr. Momčilo Zečević uveljavil tudi z raziskovanjem slovenske zgodovine, obstajajo pa še drugi primeri). Zagotovo pa je bil za srbske zgodovinarje veliko presenečenje prodor mlade albanske historiografije v sedemdesetih letih, ki je (sicer pogosto usmerjena nacionalno romantično in tudi z zamolčevanjem enih in poudarjanjem drugih dejstev) začela rušiti srbsko predstavo o Kosovu, tako na splošno kot tudi glede druge svetovne vojne in njenega konca, s čimer je hotela zgodovinsko utemeljiti pravico Albancev na Kosovu do samoodločbe vključno s pravico do odcepitev.

8 Bilandžić, Dušan. »Predrasude povijesti.« *Vjesnik*, 9. november 1985, 6.

9 Za več glej: Repe, Božo. »Mit in resničnost komunizma.« V: *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino: zbornik 33. zborovanja Zveze zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, Kranj, 19.–21. oktober 2006*. Ur. Mitja Ferenc in Branka Petkovšek, 285–302. Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije.

aktualne politične namene pripisovala zelo velik pomen in skušala zgodovinsko zavest oblikovati po svoji podobi (podobno tudi v sedanji Janševi vladi, npr. z arbitrarno odločitvijo o muzeju osamosvojitve, kar spominja na nekdanje muzeje revolucije). To je, tako kot vse drugo, počela izrazito nedialoško in z oblastne pozicije. Kar dva državna sekretarja v kabinetu predsednika vlade (dr. Andrej Rahten, Aleksander Zorn) sta bila v mandatu prve Janševe vlade zadolžena (tudi) za zgodovino, precej energije je temu vprašanju namenjal še šolski minister dr. Milan Zver, minister za pravosodje dr. Lovro Šturm pa je ustanovil celo poseben sektor ministrstva, ki naj bi skrbel za »narodno spravo«, to je oblastno interpretacijo novejšje zgodovine. Ta je skušala po vzoru vzhodnoevropskih držav povojno nasilje (totalitarizem) raztegniti vse do leta 1990. Iz sektorja pravosodnega ministrstva je tik pred koncem mandata nastal Študijski center za narodno spravo, ki deluje še danes in so ga vse vlade kot politično institucijo financirale neposredno iz proračuna. Nediferencirano črno podobo druge svetovne vojne in celotnega obdobja socializma ter usmerjeno interpretacijo osamosvojitve je s selektivno izbranimi dokumentarci in dnevopolitičnimi prispevki nove garniture novinarjev aktivno pomagala soustvarjati tudi nacionalna televizija. Vzeto skupaj je bila intenzivnost ukvarjanja z zgodovino večja, kot jo je bila zmožna prebaviti celo oblast sama. Idejo tedanje direktorice Inštituta za novejšjo zgodovino dr. Jerce Vodušek Starič, da bi inštitut po vzoru nekdanjih socialističnih držav postal »nacionalni« in na tak način koncentriral sredstva, kadre in dokumentacijske baze ter s tem dobil tudi nekakšen nadzor nad stroko, so uspeli ustaviti provladni zgodovinarji sami, saj je predlog posegal tudi v njihove interese. Po nekaj mesecih mandata je proti ideologizaciji in delitvam zgodovinarjev na »naše« in »vaše« protestirala skupina zgodovinarjev. Tisti, ki jih je oblastni glas lahko dosegel, so bili hitro opozorjeni, naj se javno ne oglašajo, naj raziskujejo »v novem duhu« in ubogajo. Posamezni zgodovinarji so v strahu za svoje službe ali položaj svojih institucij potem javno izjavljali, da je bil protest napaka ali da je šlo za prehitro reakcijo. Vladi všečni zgodovinarji, ki so po političnih kriterijih postali direktorji muzejev in inštitutov, člani raznih svetov, komisij in drugih teles, so tako dali tudi strokovni okvir in oporo za razna preimenovanja, postavljanje novih spomenikov in podobno.

A vrnimo se nazaj v osemdeseta, ki so bila v Jugoslaviji boj za interpretacijo preteklosti, kar je kontroverzni srbski novinar Aleksandar Tijanić ironično komentiral z mislijo, da bomo šele videli, kaj se bo zgodilo v preteklosti. Toliko knjig, strokovnih razprav, publicističnih del, časopisnih člankov, raznih okroglih miz, radijskih, televizijskih in drugih debat z zgodovinsko vsebino ni izšlo oz. ni bilo v nobenem desetletju prej, morda celo v vseh skupaj.¹⁰ V tej ihti je bila prihodnost praktično pozabljena.

Krivulja obravnave zgodovinskih tem se je začela vzpenjati leto ali dve po Titovi smrti. Pred tem je še vladalo nekakšno pietetno zatišje, zbiranje sil, potem pa se je kar usulo in »zgodovinska nevihta« se je sprevrgla v vztrajen in nepretrgan dež, ki je ponehal šele v začetku devetdesetih. Najbolj intenzivne so bile polemike od srede osemdesetih let do leta 1988, ko se je oblikoval odnos posameznih narodov do bodočnosti Jugoslavije in so nastajali nacionalni programi (leta 1986 memorandum Srbske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, leta 1987 slovenski nacionalni program, objavljen v *Novi reviji*). Po prvih večstrankarskih volitvah po posameznih republikah (1990) je zgodovina svojo politično funkcijo, kar zadeva Jugoslavijo, izgubila, še vedno pa je ostala pomemben, ponekod tudi osrednji dejavnik v političnih bojih znotraj novonastalih držav. Na tej podlagi so se nove državne, še večkrat pa lokalne oblasti tudi odločale za rušenje spomenikov, preimenovanje ulic in šol ter drugo retuširanje zgodovine na novi podlagi. Čeprav je bilo spornih tem v polemikah osemdesetih let ogromno in so bile zelo raznolike, zajemale pa so tudi različna zgodovinska obdobja (vendar s poudarkom na novejši zgodovini), pa sta povsem jasno prepoznavni

¹⁰ Celovitega pregleda nad vso jugoslovansko časopisno in drugo historiografsko produkcijo, ki gre v osemdesetih letih v stotine člankov, si zaradi razpada države in pomanjkljivih dokumentacij niti ni mogoče ustvariti. V tukajšnji obravnavi je upoštevanih približno 150 časopisnih in revijalnih člankov o tistih temah, ki so bile najbolj v ospredju polemik, s poudarkom na drugi svetovni vojni.

dve »ciljni« točki polemik.¹¹ Vprašanje (socialistične) družbene ureditve je bilo problematizirano skozi kritiko revolucije v času druge svetovne vojne. Vprašanje mednacionalnih odnosov v Jugoslaviji pa je bilo problematizirano skozi kritiko jugoslovanskega (kon)federalizma, torej t. i. avnojske Jugoslavije, ki je prav tako nastala med drugo svetovno vojno na drugem zasedanju AVNOJ-a novembra 1943 v bosanskem mestecu Jajce.

V začetni fazi konfliktov je postal »objekt« obravnave zlasti Josip Broz - Tito, ki je bil kot vodja revolucije in glavni kreator povojne jugoslovanske ureditve simbol obeh spornih točk. Rušenje Titovega mita je začel njegov uradni biograf Vladimir Dedijer, ki je v tretjem delu »Prispevkov za biografijo Josipa Broza - Tita« objavil mešanico dokumentov, spominov in tudi nepreverjenih zgodb, ki so zadevale tako Titovo zasebno življenje kot tudi vprašanje revolucionarnih ukrepov in mednacionalnih odnosov.¹² Dedijer (ki se mu je bolj kot za takšen ali drugačen politični koncept šlo za lastno promocijo) v tej knjigi še ni konsistentno načenojal obeh spornih vprašanj (je pa to storil v nekaterih kasnejših).

Knjiga, ki je dejansko načela ideološko strukturo oblasti v Jugoslaviji, je bilo delo beograjskih sociologov Vojislava Koštunice in Koste Čavoškega *Stranački pluralizam ili monizam* (1983), v katerem sta avtorja opisala povojni prevzem oblasti s strani komunistične partije, pri čemer sta upoštevala zlasti srbsko videnje problema.¹³ (*SLIKA 2: Naslovnica knjige Vojislava Koštunice in Koste Čavoškega Stranački pluralizam ili monizam, 1983.*)

11 Med konkretnimi temami, ki so povzročale razhajanja, so npr. obstoj posameznih narodov (črnogorskega, makedonskega in muslimanskega), osvobodilni ali okupatorski značaj balkanskih vojn, t. i. bujanska konferenca konec leta 1943 (na kateri so se albanski delegati izrekli za priključitev Kosova in Metohije k Albaniji), nastanek Kraljevine SHS, vprašanje oborožene vstaje, državljanske vojne, ustanovitev federalne države, iz povojne zgodovine pa spor z Informbirojem, obračun z Djilasom, brijski plenum 1966 (obračun z Aleksandrom Rankovićem kot glavnim nosilcem jugoslovanskega centralizma), množična nacionalna in "liberalna" gibanja leta 1971 in še vrsta drugih tem.

12 Kritični zapisi o Titu so oblasti spodbudile, da so sprejele zakon o zaščiti imena in dela Josipa Broza - Tita, ustanovljen je bil tudi poseben odbor, ki naj bi se ukvarjal s tem (podobno tudi z zaščito drugih mrtvih revolucionarjev). Slovenski zgodovinar dr. Dušan Biber je nato ironično predlagal, da bi ustanovili kar odbor za zaščito revolucije.

Drugo vprašanje, to je problem ureditve mednacionalnih odnosov v Jugoslaviji, se je odprlo ob objavi knjige Veselina Djuretića *Zavezniki in jugoslovanska vojna drama*. Knjiga (ki je bila proglašena za »prvorazredno historiografsko provokacijo«) je sicer imela za namen rehabilitacijo četništva. Đuretić je v njej problematiziral tudi vprašanje revolucije in državljanske vojne. Del knjige pa je bil namenjen tudi dokazovanju, da drugo zasedanje AVNOJ-a 29. novembra 1943 v Jajcu, na katerem je bila ustanovljena druga (federalna) Jugoslavija, ni ustrezno rešilo srbskega vprašanja. Z napačnim tolmačenjem teh sklepov naj bi se po pisateljevem mnenju kasneje začel tudi proces dezintegracije Jugoslavije. Seveda ni bilo naključje, da je bila ob svečani promociji Đuretićeve knjige v Srbski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti prvič omenjena tudi zahteva po t. i. tretji Jugoslaviji (povrnitvi na nekdanjo centralistično ureditev).¹⁴

Medtem ko je pri kritiki (in obrambi) revolucije v vseh sredinah obstajalo določeno sozvočje praktično do konca osemdesetih let, pa so se sredi osemdesetih let nasprotujoče si pozicije nacionalnih historiografij že popolnoma izkristalizirale. Leta 1985 so izšla tri historiografska dela, ki so zbudila veliko pozornosti in so bila v različnih sredinah sprejeta zelo različno, pač v znamenju gesla »*kakršno koli izjavo daste danes, bodisi o zgodovini, bodisi o čemerkoli, vnaprej veste, da bo vaša sodba v nekaterih sredinah dočakana z aplavzom, v drugih pa na nož*«. ¹⁵ Šlo je za knjige Dušana Bilandžića *Istorija SFRJ*, Janka Pleterskega *Nacije, Jugoslavija, revolucija* in Branka Petranovića ter Momčila Zečevića

13 »Meščanska« interpretacija odnosov v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji ter vrednotenje narodnoosvobodilnega boja in revolucije se je sicer v posameznih delih pojavila že v sedemdesetih letih (prej je bila značilna le za pisanje emigrantskih piscev, katerih dela so ilegalno prihajala v Jugoslavijo). Meščanski pisci so v svojem pisanju negirali »plemenite« cilje revolucije, predstavljali narodnoosvobodilni boj kot državljansko vojno, dejavnost KPJ pa kot slepo poslušnost Kominterni in boj za oblast. Ta boj naj bi KPJ (označena za stalinistično partijo) dobila le zaradi spleta okoliščin in »makavelizma«, z izvedbo revolucije pa naj bi jugoslovansko družbo vrnila v absolutizem 18. stoletja (to tezo je razvijal npr. Ljubomir Tadić v knjigi *Tradicija i revolucija*, ki je izšla na začetku sedemdesetih let). Pomemben element pisanja je bila tudi rehabilitacija kvizlinških in kontrarevolucionarnih sil. To pisanje je imelo določen vpliv tudi na marksistično zgodovinopisje, saj je le-to vsaj deloma načelo nekatere problematične teme (npr. poboj kvizlingov po drugi svetovni vojni ali t. i. »leva gibanja« (obračun z domnevnimi razrednimi nasprotniki) v Črni gori leta 1942 in tudi drugod).

14 Čepo, Zlatko. »Opake besjede gospoda akademika.« *Danas*, 14. oktober 1986, 25–28.

15 Bilandžić, Dušan. »Predrasude povijesti.« *Vjesnik*, 9. november 1985, 6.

Jugoslavija 1918–1984 (zbirka dokumentov). Bilandžić je bil obtožen, da Srbom pripisuje težnje po redefiniranju Jugoslavije, Petranović in Zečević, da sta z izborom in krajšavami dokumentov skušala prikazati srbski pogled na nastanek in razvoj Jugoslavije, Pleterski pa je bil kritiziran zaradi teze o »mnogonacionalni revoluciji« (vsak posamezen narod v Jugoslaviji je med osvobodilnim bojem med drugo svetovno vojno pod vodstvom delavskega razreda kot vodilne politične sile izbojeval temeljno politično bitko sam, na svoj način, s svojimi močmi in svojimi specifičnimi problemi). Tej tezi se je ostro uprl Petranović, zaradi česar je med obema zgodovinarjema prišlo do polemik (prvič sta sicer polemizirala že dve leti prej, leta 1983 ob izidu Petranovićeve knjige *Revolucija i kontrarevolucija u Jugoslaviji*). V polemiko s Petranovićem se je najprej na okrogli mizi v beograjskem Inštitutu za sodobno zgodovino nato pa tudi v časopisih konec leta 1985 spustil tudi dr. Dušan Biber. Slednji (sicer oster kritik poskusov rehabilitacije četništva in velikosrbstva) je nasprotoval Petranovićevi tezi, da so bili četniki tudi antifašisti.¹⁶

Srbski in črnogorski zgodovinarji (npr. Velimir Terzić v knjigi *Slom kraljevine Jugoslavije*) so v tem času lansirali tudi tezo, da je hrvaški narod leta 1941 izdal Jugoslavijo, čemur je javno nasprotoval predvsem hrvaški zgodovinar dr. Ljubo Boban. Na osnovi takih tez je del zgodovinarjev zahteval, da zgodovinopisje razišče in dokaže »*obstajanje kontinuitete med nacionalističnimi in separatističnimi gibanji in organizacijami, ki so si prizadevale razbijati Jugoslavijo med svetovnimi vojnami in današnjimi nacionalizmi*«. ¹⁷ V mislih so imeli seveda predvsem ustaštvo, ki je nato res prišlo močno do izraza med vojno na Hrvaškem. V nekaterih drugih delih (članek Vasilije Krestića O genezi genocida nad Srbima v *Književnih novinah* 15. septembra 1986) je bila postavljena teza o genocidnosti Hrvatov, ki naj bi izvirala še iz 16. in 17. stoletja, ne pa »samo« iz časov Paveličeve NDH. To je pomenilo stopnjevanje historiografske vojne med hrvaškimi in srbskimi zgodovinarji (vsak je pisal seveda v svojih medijih).

16 Arsić, Mirko. »Ambicije in interesi.« *Komunist*, 27. december 1995.

17 »Agonija učiteljice življenja, pogovor s prof. dr. Miomirjem Dašićem, predsednikom Zveze zgodovinarjev Jugoslavije.« *Naši razgledi*, 21. november 1986.

Vendar je zgodovinopisje izgubljalo pozicijo primarnega polja boja. V ospredje je stopila umetnost, zlasti literatura. V literaturi je bila ena prvih med številnimi literarnimi deli, ki so iz istega izhodišča kot srbsko zgodovinopisje obravnavala srbsko problematiko oz. problematiko mednacionalnih odnosov, drama Jovana Radulovića Golubnjača iz leta 1980, ki je prikazovala odnose med Srbi in Hrvati v dalmatinski Zagori med vojno in je imela močno protihrvaško vsebino. (*SLIKA 3: Naslovnica knjige Jovana Radulovića Golubnjača, 1980*). Avtor je v njej obravnaval ustaške zločine med vojno, zamolčal pa četniške, ki so se dogajali na istem območju. Drama je bila sprva ostro kritizirana, potem pa celo nagrajena s tedaj prestižno mladinsko nagrado sedem sekretarjev Skoja. Radulović je čez nekaj let (v začetku leta 1989) hrvaške oblasti obtožil, da so Srbom v Dalmaciji (in na Hrvaškem sploh) vzele identiteto, jezik, pisavo in celo zgodovino. Najodmevnejše literarno delo v osemdesetih letih je bila sicer knjiga Danka Popovića *Knjiga o Milutinu* iz leta 1985, v kateri je avtor za srbske sovražnike razglasil ne samo Hrvate (kar je bila pogosta teza), pač pa tudi Slovence. Srbi naj bi osvobodili oboje, v zameno pa dobili Jugoslavijo, v kateri so nacionalno razbiti in ekonomsko izkoriščani. Knjiga, ki sicer govori o srbskem kmetu in njegovi usodi, je bila razprodana v tednu dni, sledilo pa je še trinajst izdaj. (*SLIKA 4: Naslovnica knjige Danka Popovića Knjiga o Milutinu, 1985*.) Ko je bil zaradi zbirke pesmi *Vunena vremena* (v njej je žalil Josipa Broza - Tita) obsojen srbski pesnik Gojko Đogo, je bil v Beogradu maja 1982 pod okriljem društva književnikov osnovan Odbor za zaščito umetniške svobode. (*SLIKA 5: Naslovnica knjige Gojka Đoga Vunena vremena, 1982*.) Jugoslovanski intelektualci (tudi slovenski in srbski) so bili v prvi polovici osemdesetih let medsebojno solidarni pri obrambi umetniške svobode, čeprav je med njimi že prihajalo do nacionalnih nasprotij, ki jih je izzvala knjiga najbolj znanega srbskega pisatelja Dobrice Čosića *Stvarno i moguće* iz 1983. Oblasti v različnih sredinah so na tovrstno pisanje reagirale različno, z večjo ali manjšo stopnjo represije: s prepovedmi izdajanja, kadrovskimi menjavami, ponekod tudi aretacijami in obsodbami.

Navzkrižno obstreljevanje z zgodovinopisnimi temami je bilo za politiko dvorezno. Po eni strani ji je ustrezalo (in ga je – zlasti v

medrepubliških sporih – spodbujala), po drugi strani ji je zraslo čez glavo, saj je načenjalo njeno legitimnost, utemeljeno v revoluciji. Zato je skušala komunistične zgodovinarje komuniste nekako pripraviti do tega, da bi »psa začeli loviti«. Ker pa so bili tudi marksistični zgodovinarji različnih nacionalnosti in kljub članstvu v ZKJ tudi različnih političnih in ideoloških prepričanj, nenazadnje pa med sabo tudi sprti, je bil to dokaj jalov posel. Med sicer številnimi poskusi ideološkega discipliniranja zgodovinopisne (in sploh o preteklosti pišoče) srenje na raznih ravneh so bili v osemdesetih letih najbolj odmevni trije: Posvetovanje historiografija, memoarsko-publicistička i feljtonistička produkcija u svjetlu aktualnih idejnih kontroverzi, ki je bilo 7. in 8. oktobra 1983 v Zagrebu, Teden marksističnih razprav od 4. do 8. februarja 1983 v Neumu in seja predsedstva CK ZKJ 17. decembra 1986 v Beogradu, ki se jo je udeležilo okrog šestdeset zgodovinarjev iz vse Jugoslavije, namenjena pa je bila pripravam na sejo CK ZKJ o ideoloških vprašanjih. Prvo posvetovanje je organiziral Centar CK SK Hrvatske za idejno-teorijski rad pod vodstvom dr. Stipeta Šuvarja. Ta je za posvetovanje pripravil t. i. »Belo knjigo« spornih del o preteklosti, v kateri so bila sicer še prikrito (pod plaščem obrambe revolucije, Tita in jugoslovanskega socialističnega sistema) kritizirana zlasti dela srbskih piscev (v celoti je bilo v negativnem kontekstu omenjenih kar 168 piscev). Sam posvet (na katerega obtoženi niso bili vabljeni) je izzval ostre reakcije v javnosti, zlasti srbski. Objava razprav s posveta (*Historija i suvremenost*, Zagreb, 1984) ni polemik niti najmanj umirila, kvečjemu povečala.

Teden marksističnih razprav v Neumu je ob sporih v zvezi s temami, ki smo jih že omenili, potekal zlasti v znamenju polemik zagovornikov »čiste« historiografije s tistimi, ki so trdili, da jugoslovansko zgodovinopisje »ne more biti čista znanost brez politične vsebine«.¹⁸

Seja predsedstva CK ZKJ je bila v odnosu do idejno spornih besedil in pojavov kompromisna. Razpravljavci so menili, da na tovrstne pojave politika reagira prehitro, zgodovinopisje pa prepočasi, da zveza komunistov ne sme biti samo opazovalka v domačem zgodovinopisju in

18 Rajković, Žarko. »Naše zgodovinopisje ne more biti brez politične vsebine.« *Delo*, 5. februar 1985.

publicistiki, vendar tudi ne bi bilo dobro, če bi prevzela vlogo dežurnega razsodnika.¹⁹

Omenjeni zbori (vključno z drugimi na republiških in lokalnih ravneh) k umiritvi razmer v »novokomponiranem« zgodovinoписju (kot so ga označevali po časopisju) niso kaj dosti prispevali, proti koncu osemdesetih let pa politika za morebitne nove poskuse discipliniranja ni več imela moči niti na simbolni ravni.

Rušilni epilog procesov v zgodovinoписju publicistiki in umetnosti se je preselil na politično področje, na koncu pa znova na vojaško. Jugoslovanske oblasti so v vseh povojnih desetletjih veliko stavile na jugoslovanski socialistični patriotizem, utemeljen v drugi svetovni vojni. Še posebej so bile pazljive pri mladih generacijah. Socialistični patriotizem, utemeljen v narodnoosvobodilnem boju, je bil tudi rdeča nit šolskih programov, še posebej pri predmetih, ki so poleg zgodovine zajemali literaturo, likovno umetnost in sorodne tematike.

Hkrati je bila druga svetovna vojna navzoča tudi v vseh umetniških zvrsteh, segala je celo na področje stripa. Tako je bil v Jugoslaviji kulturni strip o dveh mladih partizanih *Mirko in Slavko*. (*SLIKA 6: Motiv iz stripa Mirko in Slavko.*) A glavno vlogo v povečevanju narodnoosvobodilnega boja in revolucije sta imela kiparstvo in slikarstvo, saj je v povojnih desetletjih nastalo na stotine spomenikov in spominskih obeležij v spomin na dogodke iz druge svetovne vojne. Nekako vzporedno s tem je bil film, ki je najbolj učinkovito ustvarjal črno-belo sliko dobrega (partizani) in zla (sovražniki). Slednje (zlo) je bilo, kar zadeva okupatorje, logično, saj so bili jugoslovanski narodi izpostavljeni brutalnemu terorju. Bolj problematično je bilo vprašanje »domačega zla«, torej kolaboracije, saj je v Jugoslaviji sočasno z narodnoosvobodilnim bojem potekal tudi notranji spopad. Jugoslovanska umetnost je do osemdesetih let redko posegla v problematiziranje tega ter v osebne dileme pri odločitvah posameznikov.

¹⁹ »Iz politike v zgodovinoписje.« *Delo*, 18. december 1986.

Najpomembnejša oziroma najbolj gloricirana umetniška dela so bila tista, ki so bila povezana z voditeljem narodnoosvobodilnega gibanja in revolucije Josipom Brozom – Titom ter dvema najbolj znanima in mitiziranimi bitkama jugoslovanske partizanske vojske: bitka na Neretvi in bitka na Sutjeski. (SLIKA 7: DVD ovitek za film Bitka na Neretvi.) V hudi bitki na Neretvi v Bosni spomladi leta 1943 je partizanom uspelo zlomiti četniške oddelke in se do sredine maja 1943 prebiti v Hercegovino, Črno goro, Sandžak in vzhodno Bosno. V ofenzivi na Neretvi je sodelovalo 120.000 vojakov in 150 letal, močne oklepne enote in topništvo. Partizani so porušili most čez Neretvo, kar je Nemce prepričalo, da se bodo prebijali v nasprotni smeri. V resnici pa so porušeni most za silo povezali, odvrgli težko orožje, most prečkali in prebili obrambo okupatorjev. Pri tem so s sabo nosili tudi 4000 ranjencev, toda večino so Nemci nato zajeli in pobili med ofenzivo na Sutjeski (junija 1943). Srdite bitke, nečloveški napori, izčrpanost, pomanjkanje hrane in zdravil, nalezljive bolezni (zlasti tifus) ter maščevalni ukrepi napadalcev so v času obeh bitk zahtevali velike žrtve tako med civilnim prebivalstvom kot partizani. Tretjina od približno 20.000 partizanov (večinoma Srbov, Črnogorcev, Hrvatov, Muslimanov idr.) je na Sutjeski padla. Filma, posneta po obeh bitkah, sta bila najbolj znana partizanska filma socialistične Jugoslavije. V filmu Bitka na Neretvi so glavne vloge igrali Sergej Bondarčuk, Yul Brynner, Anthony Dawson, Milena Dravić, Boris Dvornik in Orson Welles. Plakat za film pa je za simbolično ceno – 15 steklenic vina raznih jugoslovanskih proizvajalcev – ustvaril Pablo Picasso.²⁰ (SLIKA 8: Plakat Pabla Picassa za film Bitka na Neretvi.²¹) V Bitki na Sutjeski je Tita igral tedaj eden najbolj znanih zahodnih igralcev – Richard Burton. (SLIKA 9: DVD ovitek za film Sutjeska.)

V filmski industriji je sicer nastalo na desetine filmov in nadaljevanj o partizanskem gibanju, večinoma je šlo za t. i. »partizanske vesterne«. So pa obstajale tudi izjeme – filmi, ki so v ospredje postavljali nesmiselnost vojne ter dvome in stiske ljudi, ki niso imeli izbire in niso mogli vplivati na

20 »Kinoteka BiH proudly preserves Picasso's poster for "Battle of Neretva.« <https://visitbih.ba/kinoteka-bih-proudly-preserves-picassos-poster-for-battle-of-neretva/> (dostop: december 2020).;

21 Dostopno na povezavi: <https://www.google.si/search?source=univ&tbm=isch&q=picasso+nere+tv&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiliCkvrXtAhVmxYUKHXBvDA4QjjkEegQIAhAC&biw=1536&bih=722> (dostop: december 2020).

svojo usodo, denimo film *Tri Aleksandra Petrovića* (1965), ki je bil med drugim nominiran za tujejezičnega oskarja. Pripoveduje o treh vojnih izkustvih navadnega partizana, pri čemer vsako od teh opozarja na moralne dileme. Ali pa film *Okupacija v 26 slikah* Lordana Zafranovića (1978), ki je prikaz grozljive brutalnosti, ko v Dubrovniku, simbolu urbane kultiviranosti, zavlada logika krvavega nacionalizma.

Umetniška obravnava druge svetovne vojne, ki naj bi služila enakopravnosti jugoslovanskih narodov, krepila bratstvo in enotnost ter bila eden glavnih temeljev jugoslovanskega patriotizma, je svoj naboj, tako kot zgodovinska obravnava, izgubila v osemdesetih letih. V veliki meri je dobila nasproten, rušilen pomen. Seveda to ni bil vedno namen avtorjev, morda celo večinoma ne. Mnogi so postopno sproščanje političnih razmer izkoristili za odpiranje prej prepovedanih tem. A je bila umetniška produkcija znova instrumentalizirana v politične namene. Tokrat ne za jugoslovanski patriotizem in glorificiranje narodnoosvobodilnega boja, pač pa za rastoči nacionalizem in utrjevanje vloge nacionalnih politik in politikov po posameznih republikah. Politične elite v posameznih republikah so skozi vrednotenje preteklosti skušale utrditi svojo pozicijo in svojo vizijo preureditve jugoslovanske družbe. Nacionalni in ideološki konflikt med intelektualci posameznih narodov (hrvaškimi in srbskimi, slovenskimi in srbskimi, srbskimi in albanskimi) se je začel stopnjevati. Tako kot so razpadle povezave med jugoslovanskimi zgodovinarji, so tudi med pisatelji. Najpomembnejša skupna organizacija jugoslovanskih pesnikov in pisateljev, Zveza pisateljev Jugoslavije, je celo razpadla kot prva vsejugoslovanska organizacija. Morda najbolj simbolen pa je bil razhod kulturnih igralcev najbolj znanih partizanskih filmov, npr. Hrvata Borisa Dvornika, ki je igral glavno vlogo v nadaljevanki *Kapelski kresovi*, in srbskega igralca Bate Živojinovića. Igrala sta tudi v filmu *Sutjeska*. (*SLIKA 10: Eden od plakatov za film Sutjeska. Na spodnji levi fotografiji sta igralca Bata Živojinović in Boris Dvornik.*) Po razpadu Jugoslavije sta se sprla in nista do smrti nikoli več spregovorila. Po prvih večstrankarskih volitvah po posameznih republikah (1990) je zgodovina druge svetovne vojne svojo politično funkcijo, kar zadeva Jugoslavijo, izgubila. Vsa umetniška produkcija: literarna, filmska in druga, povezana s skupnim narodnoosvobodilnim

bojem, ustvarjanjem federalne države in jugoslovanskim socialističnim patriotizmom, je postala nepomembna in nezaželeno. Pravzaprav je bolj ali manj vse, kar je bilo jugoslovanskega, postalo nezaželeno in celo sovražno, vsaj pri desnih in nacionalističnih političnih opcijah, medtem ko so leve taktično in previdno molčale.

A če z današnje tridesetletne distance pogledamo na celoten prostor nekdanje Jugoslavije po njenem razpadu, ki se je spremenil v kopico nedemokratičnih, nacionalističnih manjših držav, ki so vse deloma ali v celoti ideološko revidirale spomin na drugo svetovno vojno, je paradoksalno prav umetniška produkcija preseгла razpad nekdanje države. Filme kot sta *Sutjeska* in *Neretva* so z enako mednarodno pozornostjo nasledili filmi *Nikogaršnja zemlja*, *Lepe vasi lepo gorijo* in drugi, jugoslovanska socialistična umetnost in arhitektura pa sta predmet mednarodnih razstav tudi v najbolj elitnih galerijah po svetu.

Partizanska umetnost je izhajala iz stališča, da partizanski boj ni bil samo boj proti okupatorju, temveč tudi boj za bolj pravičen, bolj človeški in solidaren svet. Ta ideja se je v Jugoslaviji združila in izrazila z napredno umetniško formo. Za izdelavo najpomembnejših antifašističnih spomenikov so vabili najboljše umetnike. S podpiranjem naprednega in svobodne umetniške forme se je jugoslovanski socializem razlikoval od Sovjetske zveze, kjer je prevladoval socrealizem, temelječ na slogu iz 19. stoletja. Modernizem je po sporu s Sovjetsko zvezo v bistvu postal uradna umetnost v Jugoslaviji, ne pa socrealizem kot v Sovjetski zvezi in v takratnem celotnem vzhodnem bloku.

Pevc Tomaž Pengov je leta 1978 izdal ploščo z naslovom *Napisi padajo*, s katero je protestiral proti uničevanju slovenskih napisov na avstrijskem Koroškem.²² Politika je namreč vedno in povsod postavljala napise in spomenike ter jih tudi rušila.

Mnoge iz obdobja NOB so na večjem delu nekdanje Jugoslavije porušili. Krvavi razpad Jugoslavije je posledično povzročil postavljanje

22 Pengov, Tomaž. »Napisi Padajo.« <https://youtu.be/avXvAPqyvLo> (dostop: december 2020).; Klobučar, Teja. »Tomaž Pengov. Sedem desetletij od rojstva samospevca.« <http://www.sigic.si/tomaz-pengov-sedem-desetletij-od-rojstva-samospevca.html> (dostop: december 2020).

novih spomenikov – v Sloveniji spomenike osamosvojitveni vojni,²³ spominske plošče domobrancem²⁴ in spomenik »sprave«. ²⁵ Na Hrvaškem slavijo spomin na domovinsko vojno in prvega predsednika dr. Franja Tuđmana,²⁶ Bošnjaki v BiH postavljajo spomenike svojim žrtvam.²⁷ V Srbiji in BiH postavljajo spomenike Draži Mihajloviču in po njem poimenujejo ulice,²⁸ spomenik sta dobila tudi filmski lik bokсар Roki, ki ga je igral Sylvester Stallone,²⁹ in jamajški pevec Bob Marley.³⁰ V Črni gori so leta 2018 v Podgorici ponovno postavili Titov kip,³¹ v Makedoniji je bila nacionalistična vlada obsedena z antično preteklostjo, kar je razvidno iz postavljanja ogromnih spomenikov Filipu II. in njegovemu sinu Aleksandru Velikemu.³² Na Kosovu so postavili spomenik Billu Clintonu, nekdanjemu amerišškemu predsedniku itd.³³ Večinoma gre za dela brez umetniške vrednosti, v mnogih primerih za navaden kič. V letu 2020

23 »Kenotaf žrtvam vojne za Slovenijo razglasili za kulturni spomenik.« <https://www.rtvsl.si/kultura/drugo/kenotaf-zrtvam-vojne-za-slovenijo-razglasili-za-kulturni-spomenik/395307> (dostop: december 2020).

24 »Foto: V Grahovem odkritje spomenika domobrancem in poklon žrtvam nacizma.« <https://www.24ur.com/novice/slovenija/foto-v-grahovem-odkritje-spomenika-domobrancem-in-poklon-zrtvam-nacizma.html> (dostop: december 2020).

25 »Jutrišnja slovesnost na Kongresnem trgu: spomenik sprave ali spomenik razdora.« <https://www.dnevnik.si/1042777875> (dostop: december 2020).

26 »Spomen-obilježja žrtvama Domovinskog rata na mjestima masovnih grobnica.« <https://braniteljski.hr/spomen-obiljezja-zrtvama-domovinskog-rata-na-mjestima-masovnih-grobnica/> (dostop: december 2020).

27 »Clinton ob spomeniku žrtvam v Srebrenici.« <https://www.rtvsl.si/svet/clinton-ob-spomeniku-zrtvam-v-srebrenici/9841> (dostop: december 2020).

28 »Ulico Draže Mihailovića bomo branili s svojimi telesi.« <https://www.delo.si/novice/svet/ulico-draze-mihailovica-bomo-branili-s-svojimi-telesi/> (dostop: december 2020).

29 »Otkriven spomenik Rokiju u Žitištu.« https://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2007&mm=08&dd=19&nav_category=15&nav_id=259816 (dostop: december 2020).

30 »Bob Marley je ujedinio Srbe i Hrvate.« <https://www.index.hr/magazin/clanak/bob-marley-je-ujedinio-srbe-i-hrvate/399630.aspx> (dostop: december 2020).

31 »Naval jugonostalgije: Titov kip spet sredi Podgorice, nekoč Titograda.« <https://www.rtvsl.si/kultura/drugo/naval-jugonostalgije-titov-kip-spet-sredi-podgorice-nekoc-titograda/476014> (dostop: oktober 2020).

32 »Makedonski Disneyland ali sejem baročnega kiča.« <https://old.delo.si/druzba/panorama/makedonski-disneyland-ali-sejem-barocnega-kica.html> (dostop: december 2020).

33 »Bomo z odstranitvijo kipov lahko odstranili tudi zgodovino?« <https://www.rtvsl.si/kultura/drugo/bomo-z-odstranitvijo-kipov-lahko-odstranili-tudi-zgodovino/527496> (dostop: december 2020).

se je v Evropi in ZDA razmahnilo množično uničevanje spomenikov, povezanih s kolonialno preteklostjo in imperializmom.³⁴

Razumljiva so čustva ljudi, ki so trpeli zaradi nekoga ali nečesa, vendar z uničevanjem spomenikov ne bomo spremenili preteklosti. Kam pelje brisanje kolektivnega spomina z uničevanjem spomenikov? Je popoln prelom s preteklostjo sploh možen? Se nam obeta boljša prihodnost z izkrivljanjem preteklosti? Z razpadom Jugoslavije se vsaj v Sloveniji, razen nekaj izjem, ni uničevalo spomenikov iz NOB.

Eden od večjih posegov se je zgodil na Poti spomina in tovarštva (PST oz. POT), 32, 5 km dolgi pešpoti okoli Ljubljane, ki poteka po trasi bodeče žice, ki je med drugo svetovno vojno obdajala mesto. Postavila jo je italijanska vojska z namenom, da osami odporniško gibanje v mestu in prepreči njegove stike z okolico. Ljubljana ima v zgodovini druge svetovne vojne posebno mesto, saj je bilo le malo okupiranih mest spremenjenih v množični zapor, tik ob njem pa je potekala še močno utrjena okupacijska meja med fašistično Italijo in nacistično Nemčijo. Kljub temu so iz tega zastraženega obroča po skrivnih kanalih ilegalno prehajali partizani in aktivisti Osvobodilne fronte. Zato je pot ob nekdanji žici spomenik upora proti okupatorju v želji po svobodi. Leta 1985 so kot del celostne ureditve ob poti postavili tudi sedem jeklenih jamborov. Po mnenju arhitekta Janeza Koželja, ki je bil skupaj s sodelavci avtor celostne ureditve in označitve poti, so bili prav ti jambori, ki so služili kot smerokaz, ena od najbolj prepoznavnih prvin poti. Oblikovani so bili v jeziku ruskega konstruktivizma in so v strokovnih krogih znani kot instalacija neokonstruktivizma. Po osamosvojitvi Slovenije je tedanja desno usmerjena mestna oblast pod vodstvom župana Jožeta Strgarja jambore odstranila. V poti, predvsem pa v jamborih z rdečo zvezdo je videla ideološko konotacijo oziroma neke vrste spomenik komunizmu. Takratni mestni sekretar za komunalno dejavnost Janez Lesar je dal vseh sedem jamborov odstraniti pod pretvezo, da jih bodo očistili rje, prebarvali in ponovno postavili. Toda požaganih jamborov ni bilo več mogoče obnoviti, poškodovane so našli na odlagališču ob Zaloški

34 »Bomo z odstranitvijo kipov lahko odstranili tudi zgodovino?« <https://www.rtvlo.si/kultura/drugo/bomo-z-odstranitvijo-kipov-lahko-odstranili-tudi-zgodovino/527496> (dostop: december 2020).

cesti in jih nekaj let hranili v Muzeju novejšje zgodovine Slovenije. Leta 2018 je nova mestna oblast pod vodstvom župana Zorana Jankovića postavila nove jeklene jambore z rdečimi zvezdami, kakršni so nekoč stali na križiščih poti z mestnimi vpadnicami (*SLIKA 11: Eden od sedmih spominskih jamborov ob Poti spomina in tovarštva (PST oz. POT) v Ljubljani. Po osamosvojitvi Slovenije jih je mestna oblast odstranila in tako poškodovala, da jih ni bilo več mogoče obnoviti. Leta 2018 je nova mestna oblast postavila nove spominske jambore. Ljubljana, 3. november 2020.*). Ker so bili jambori del z odlokom zavarovanega kulturnega spomenika, je ljubljanski regionalni zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine na ljubljansko tožilstvo podal ovadbo zoper neznanega storilca zaradi suma storitve kaznivega dejanja poškodovanja spomenika, vendar ni doživela epiloga. Je pa tožilstvo ovadilo revijo *Mladina*, ker je ta Lesarjev nezakoniti poseg razkrila. A jambori niso bili edina žrtev poosamosvojitvene lustracijske ihte. Odstranjeni so bili tudi spominski kamni, ki so stali na 102 mestih ob poti, kjer so med drugo svetovno vojno stali bunkerji, poleg tega so bili že pripravljeni stroji, ki naj bi pot v celoti izbrisali. Popolno uničenje ni sledilo, saj se je temu odločno uprl civilni odbor za ohranitev poti, ki se je pozneje preimenoval v društvo Zeleni prstan.³⁵

Nekaj podobnega je ena od Demosovih strank želela doseči z izbrisom Spominskega parka Trebče, ki se je kasneje razvil v Kozjanski park. Park z bogato zgodovino, spomeniki in naravo, ki prinaša prebivalstvu nove razvojne možnosti, so želeli ukiniti z argumentom, da gre za ostanek prejšnjega režima. Le po zaslugi nekaterih posameznikov se to ni zgodilo.³⁶

Se pa dandanes skuša pod krinko sprave in pod pokroviteljstvom Boruta Pahorja, predsednika Republike Slovenije, potvarjati zgodovino

35 Marn, Urša. »V Ljubljano se vračajo jambori z rdečimi zvezdami.« <https://www.mladina.si/185293/vrnitev-odpisanih/> (dostop: december 2020).

36 Flajšman, Božidar. *Podsreda, zgodbe z razglednic*. Podsreda: Kozjanski park, 2017, 78–79. V knjigi je objavljeno pismo Staneta Peterlina, ki je podrobno opisal zgodbo o Kozjanskem parku.

z novimi spomeniki.³⁷ Slednji se namreč zavzema za skupna obeležja, za to, da so imena partizanov in sodelavcev okupatorja navedena na isti spominski plošči, kot se je zgodilo na Karlovcih pri Velikih Laščah.³⁸ Reducirati NOB na bratomorno vojno je skregano z zgodovinskimi dejstvi. Kot da ni bilo okupatorja, katerega cilj je bil uničiti slovenski narod. Nemogoče pa je sprejeti, da bi se, če si to predstavljamo, na isti spominski plošči znašla imena zavezniških pilotov, partizanov, okupatorjev in okupatorjevih sodelavcev. To bi pomenilo enačenje žrtev in njihovih rabljev. S potvarjanjem zgodovine in pod krinko plemenitosti se tlakuje pot zgolj v nove delitve in nove grozote.

Po podatkih na Geopediji je bilo v Sloveniji doslej popisanih 5120 partizanskih spomenikov, 2700–2900 pa jih vodijo v Registru nepremične kulturne dediščine.³⁹

Nekateri spomeniki, predvsem podobe Tita, so šli v muzeje in jih niso uničili. Ali kot je dejal zgodovinar Peter Mikša: »*Ne uničevati, ampak ohranjati in prikazati v kontekstu zgodovine.*«⁴⁰

Antifašistični spomeniki v nekdanji Jugoslaviji niso izražali le ideoloških sporočil. Mnogi med njimi so in še vedno imajo veliko umetniško vrednost. To so spoznali tudi v Muzeju moderne umetnosti (MoMA) v New Yorku, kjer so leta 2018 pripravili veliko razstavo Proti betonski/konkretni utopiji: o Jugoslovanski arhitekturi med letoma 1948 in 1980. Razstavo je spremljal obsežen katalog, v katerem so podrobno predstavili vrsto spomenikov, ki se nahajajo v Ilirski Bistrici, na Petrovi gori, Kozari, Sutjeski, Kamenskem, Mostarju itd.⁴¹ Časovni okvir razstave

37 O Pahorjevi zlagani podobi spravitelja Slovencev je več analitičnih člankov napisal filozof dr. Boris Vežjak: Vežjak, Boris. »Pahorjeva zlagana podoba spravitelja Slovencev.« <https://vezjak.com/2015/07/17/pahorjeva-zlagana-podoba-spravitelja-slovencev/> (dostop: december 2020).

38 Prav tam.

39 »Partizanski spomenik.« https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partizanski_spomenik#cite_note-1 (dostop: december 2020).

40 Štok, Katja. »Bomo z odstranitvijo kipov lahko odstranili tudi zgodovino?« <https://www.rtvsl.si/kultura/drugo/bomo-z-odstranitvijo-kipov-lahko-odstranili-tudi-zgodovino/527496> (dostop: december 2020).

41 *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980*. Ur. Stephanie Emerson. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2018.

sega od Informbiroja do Hiše cvetja. Se pravi od spora Tita s Stalinom, kateremu je sledilo postopno odpiranje države in politika neuvrščenosti, do Titove smrti, ko se začne novo obdobje. Nekdanja država bratstva in enotnosti je začela razpadati. Zgodovinski revizionizem in norosti nacionalizmov so dobili krila. Zavladata je ideologija sovraštva.

Končalo se je s krvavimi vojnami.

V vsaki izmed šestih jugoslovanskih republik in dveh avtonomnih pokrajin je po eno mesto nosilo Titovo ime (*SLIKA 12: Še za Titovega življenja in po njegovi smrti leta 1980 je bilo več mest v Jugoslaviji poimenovanih po njem. V vsaki republici in pokrajini je bilo po eno. Po razpadu države v 90. letih pa so dobila prvotna imena. Razglednice iz 80. let prikazujejo: 1. Titovo Velenje - Velenje (Slovenija); 2. Titova Korenica - Korenica (Hrvaška); 3. Titov Drvar - Drvar (Bosna in Hercegovina); 4. Titovo Užice - Užice (Srbija); 5. Titov Vrbas - Vrbas (Vojvodina); 6. Titova Mitrovica - Kosovska Mitrovica (Kosovo); 7. Titograd - Podgorica (Črna gora); 8. Titov Veles - Veles (Makedonija).*). Po razpadu Jugoslavije se niti eno ime ni obdržalo. Danes so ta mesta v sedmih različnih državah. Tudi impozanten most na otok Krk so iz Titovega preimenovali v Krški most (*SLIKA 13: Titov most na otok Krk, odprli so ga leta 1980, po razpadu SFRJ so ga preimenovali v Krški most (hrvaško Krčki most). Razglednica, poslana leta 1984.*). Po Titu pa so ponekod še vedno ostali njegovi kipi, poimenovane ulice in trgi. Novih pa vsaj v Sloveniji ni več možno poimenovati s tem imenom, ker je slovensko ustavno sodišče leta 2011 podalo tudi zgodovinsko oceno Josipa Broza - Tita in z odločbo prepovedalo poimenovanje ulice po nekdanjem predsedniku Jugoslavije.⁴² Kot ključno so upoštevali negativni vidik simbolne teže Titovega imena. Odločili so, da če nekaj hkrati simbolizira nekaj dobrega in nekaj slabega, kot celota ni sprejemljivo, saj simbolizira tudi nekaj slabega. V neki drugi odločbi pa so ustavni sodniki odločili, da Rimokatoliške cerkve (RKC) in verskih skupnosti v primerih, ko se pojavljajo kot denacionalizacijski upravičenci, ne bi bilo dopustno enačiti z veleposestmi fevdalnega izvora oz. z lastninskimi odnosi, ki izvirajo iz historično izkazanih fevdalnih odnosov. Kot temelj

42 Odločba Ustavnega sodišča RS, št. U-I-109/10-11, 26. 9. 2011.

za dopustno razlikovanje je ustavno sodišče navedlo vlogo Cerkve kot obče koristne ustanove.⁴³ Pri RKC je kljub njeni temni (tudi zločinski) plati zgodovine obveljala le pozitivna plat, ki je šla v njeno neposredno materialno korist, pri Titu pa je obveljala le negativna plat.⁴⁴ Tovrstno arbitrarno črno-belo odločanje naj bi po mnenju ustavnega sodišča zavarovalo dostojanstvo ljudi!? Na podoben način so po razpadu Jugoslavije nekateri začeli obravnavati antifašistične spomenike. Partizane so začeli razglašati za zločince, sodelavce okupatorja pa za junake in žrtve. Antifašistične spomenike se je začelo interpretirati kot simbole komunističnega režima in socialistične preteklosti, s katero je treba dokončno obračunati. Začelo se je njihovo uničevanje, pogosto ob ravnodušnosti ali celo na pobudo državnih organov. Kakovost, umetniška vrednost in avtorstvo najboljših umetnikov seveda niso bili faktorji, ki bi odločali o njihovi ohranitvi.

Po do sedaj zbranih podatkih je bilo največ spomenikov uničenih na Hrvaškem. Juraj Hrženjak je o tem zbral obširno gradivo, objavljeno v knjigi *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, Irena Škorić pa je posnela zelo zgovoren in prepričljiv dokumentarni film »Neželena dediščina«.⁴⁵

Verjetno politične razloge rušenja antifašističnih spomenikov na Hrvaškem najbolje ilustrira grafit izpisan v čast poglaviniku nekdanje ustaške Neodvisne države Hrvaške (NDH). Nahaja se v enem od zapuščenih prostorov nekdanje raketne baze Jugoslovanske ljudske armade (JLA) Stupišče na Visu v bližini Komiže. Likovni umetniki, ki so služili vojaški rok v JLA, so bili pogosto angažirani, da so z vojaškimi motivi in političnimi parolami poslikali vojašnice. Tudi v tej raketni bazi najdemo poleg ladij naslikane tudi jugoslovanske zastave in napise TITO, NAROD, PARTIJA, ARMILJA. Po razpadu Jugoslavije so neznanci tudi to bazo precej uničili, izgrebli rdečo zvezdo in zraven v zid vrezali napis »ŽIVIO ANTE PAVELIČ NDH.« Je pa nekdo v desni spodnji kot vrezal tudi:

43 Odločba Ustavnega sodišča RS, št. U-I-107/96, 5. 12. 1996.

44 Flajšman, Božidar. »Pogumna vsebinska presoja.« *Delo*, 6. oktober 2011, 5.; Repe, Božo. »Kdo piše zgodovino?« *Mladina*, 21. oktober 2011.

45 »Regioskop: Neželjena baština« <https://youtu.be/byKpQ4QcAwo> (dostop: december 2020).

»JEBI SE ANTE, SLO.« (SLIKA 14: *Napisu TITO, NAROD, PARTIJA, ARMIJA je neznani grafitar dodal ŽIVIO ANTE PAVELIČ, NDH. Raketna baza JLA, Stupišče (Vis), 26. junij 2004.*).

Ena od oblik uničevanja spomenikov je tudi kraja bronastih skulptur, ki jih vandali pretopijo in preprodajajo. S tem se povzroča velika kulturna in zgodovinska škoda, ker v večini primerov niso ohranjeni kalupi, ki so velikokrat dela velikih jugoslovanskih umetnikov, jih ni mogoče ponovno uliti.

Nekateri spomenike uničujejo iz golega vandalizma. Z uničevanjem spomenikov NOB pa želijo politični vandali izbrisati spomin na antifašistični boj, na katerem temelji sodobna Evropa. Zato tovrstno uničevanje pomeni tudi rušenje evropskih temeljev.

Nekaj primerov:

Petrova gora

Spomenik vstaji ljudstva Banije in Korduna, odkrit leta 1981 na Petrovi gori, ohranja spomin na civilne žrtve in borce padle v boju proti fašizmu. Spomenik iz armiranega betona, kiparja Vojina Bakića, prekrivajo plošče iz nerjavečega jekla (SLIKA 15: *Spomenik na Petrovi gori, razglednica iz okoli leta 1981.*). Po razpadu Jugoslavije je komemorativna dejavnost ob spomeniku zamrla, v naslednjih letih pa so vandali popolnoma uničili tako stavbne dele kot zgodovinske muzejske in arhivske predmete. Uničevanje se še kar nadaljuje – ljudje še naprej odstranjujejo plošče iz nerjavečega jekla (SLIKA 16: *Uničevanje spomenika na Petrovi gori se še kar nadaljuje. Petrova gora, 4. marec 2016.*).

Na Petrovi gori je delovala tudi partizanska bolnica in v njej zdravnica dr. Marija Schlesinger.

Zraven enega od podzemnih bunkerjev (zemunic) se nahaja tudi njen grob, kjer se je prvotno nahajal tudi njen reliefni portret z napisom:

SCHLESINGER Dr MARIJA
1895 - 1943
ZA VRJEME 4. NEPRIJATELJSKE
OFANZIVE OVDJE JE SAHRANJENA
PARTIZANSKA DOKTORICA MARIJA
SCHLESINGER
MRTVA PARTIZANKA GROBOM JE
MASKIRALA I ŠTITILA RANJENE
DRUGOVE

(Schlesinger dr. Marija 1895–1943. V času 4. sovražnikove ofenzive je bila tukaj pokopana partizanska zdravnica doktorica Marija Schlesinger. Mrtva partizanka je z grobom prikrila in varovala ranjene tovariše.) (SLIKA 17: Grob partizanske zdravnice dr. Marije Schlesinger in vhod v podzemni bunker. Partizanska bolnica na Petrovi gori, razglednica iz okoli leta 1980.).

Na betonski plošči je dandanes ostalo le še nekaj ulitih črk, zdravničin bronasti portret je bil zlomljen in v treh delih vržen v bunker.⁴⁶ (SLIKA 18: Uničena plošča na grobu partizanske zdravnice dr. Marije Schlesinger. Partizanska bolnica na Petrovi gori, 4. marec 2016.). Sabor Republike Hrvaške pa je 28. junija 1991 sprejel ukaz, s katerim so razglasili zakon o prenehanju veljavnosti Zakona o »Nagradi dr. Marije Schlesinger«, ki se je podeljevala zdravstvenim delavcem.⁴⁷

46 Kresojević, Željko. »Zapisi iz gore (4): Doktorica Marija.« <https://banija.rs/obicajji/20035-zapisi-iz-gore-4-doktorica-marija.html> (dostop: december 2020).

47 Zakon o prestanku važenja Zakona o "Nagradi dr. Marija Schlesinger".« https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1991_07_34_947.html (dostop: december 2020).

Makljen

Na planini Makljen v Bosni in Hercegovini so leta 1978 postavili partizanski spomenik v spomin na bitko na Neretvi (znano tudi kot četrta sovražnikova ofenziva ali bitka za ranjence). (SLIKA 19: Razglednica spomenika na Makljenu, posvečenega Bitki na Neretvi; zraven sta še fotografiji muzeja NOB v Jablanici, 1984.). Kip kiparja Boška Kučanskega je bil leta 2000 miniran, danes v zrak štrli samo njegova grozljiva konstrukcija iz armiranih betonskih stebrov (SLIKA 20: Miniran spomenik na Makljenu. Makljen, 24. april 2004.). Očitno so nacionalisti tudi ta spomenik interpretirali kot simbol komunističnega režima in socialistične preteklosti, s katero je treba dokončno obračunati.⁴⁸

Tjentište

Izjemen spomenik, delo kiparja Miodraga Živkovića, stoji v Narodnem parku Sutjeska.

Na Tjentištu so ga leta 1971 postavili v spomin na borce, padle v bitki na Sutjeski, v kateri so se partizani v peti nemški ofenzivi leta 1943 z velikimi žrtvami (7366 padlih borcev) prebili iz okupatorjevega obroča. Zraven je še kostnica s posmrtnimi ostanki 3301 borca. Osrednji spomenik je od leta 2019 v dobrem stanju. V neposredni bližini so zgradili še nekaj objektov – spominski dom, nekaj hotelov in dodatna obeležja. Večina teh objektov je bila v času zadnje vojne poškodovana. Notranjost spominskega doma krasi 13 izjemnih fresk slikarja Krste Hegedušića, ki pa so doživele vandalsko izživljanje (SLIKI 21: Okupatorji, upodobljeni na Hegedušičevi freski v spominskem domu bitke na Sutjeski, razglednica iz okoli leta 1975. in 22: Vandalsko poškodovana freska v spominskem domu bitke na Sutjeski. Tjentište, 6. avgust 2011.). Gre predvsem za vrezane datume in podpise posameznikov pa tudi za nekaj strelnih poškodb, kar kaže, da je šlo za vandalizem brez neke ideološke podlage. Spominski dom so pred leti vsaj toliko uredili, da so preprečili nadaljnje propadanje. Na Sutjeski je padlo tudi veliko Hrvatov, predvsem Dalmatincev. Ob 75. obletnici bitke na Sutjeski je

48 *Monumenti, promenjivo lice sečanja*. Ur. Daniel Bromund, Christian Pfeifer. Beograd: Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst, 2013, 58–59.

hrvaški sabor zavrnil pokroviteljstvo nad slovesnostjo, redno pa podpira srečanja pristašev ustašev v Bleiburgu.⁴⁹

Drvar

25. maja 1944 je nemški okupator izvedel desant na Drvar, ki je bil neuspešen poskus zajetja vrhovnega komandanta NOV in POJ Josipa Broza – Tita. Razglednica Drvarja iz okoli leta 1985 prikazuje parkovno urejen spominski kompleks na hribčku Šobića glavica nad mestom. Osrednji del predstavlja leta 1967 postavljen spomenik s štirimi poševnimi in v štiri smeri neba dvigajočimi se 20 metrov visokimi stebri z reliefnimi podobami iz časa 2. svetovne vojne.⁵⁰ (SLIKA 23: Spomenik NOB v Drvarju, razglednica iz okoli leta 1985.). Monumentalni spomenik padlim borcem in žrtvam fašističnega terorja, ki sta ga oblikovala Lujo Šverer in Marijan Kockovič, je danes popolnoma uničen (SLIKA 24: Uničen spomenik NOB v Drvarju. Drvar, 26. april 2011.).

Vis

Kmalu po desantu na Drvar, 25. maja 1944, je politično in vojaško vodstvo partizanskega gibanja z Josipom Brozom – Titom na čelu preko Italije prispelo na Vis. V spomin na ta dogodek so v pristanišču v Komiži postavili spomenik z napisom: »Od 7. 6. – 15. 9. 1944 Tito je s Visa usmeravao borbu za oslobođenje zemlje i medjunarodno priznanje nove Jugoslavije.« (Od 7. 6. – 15. 9. 1944 je Tito z Visa vodil boj za osvoboditev in mednarodno priznanje Jugoslavije.) (SLIKA 25: Zgornji fotografiji prikazujeta partizanski spomenik v pristanišču v Komiži, posvečen prihodu vodstva partizanskega gibanja s Titom na čelu na Vis 7. junija 1944. Razglednica iz okoli leta 1985.). Po razpadu Jugoslavije je bil spomenik odstranjen. Kaj točno se je z njim zgodilo, ni znano (SLIKA 26: Pogled na pristanišče v Komiži po odstranitvi spomenika pod št. 14. Komiža, 26. junij 2004.).

Na proslavi dvoletnice ustanovitve Prve dalmatinske udarne brigade 12. septembra 1944 na Visu je Josip Broz – Tito govoril tudi o bodočih

49 Gall, Zlatko. »Kako se Hrvatska odrekla svojih mrtvih sa Sutjeske.« <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/kolumne/kako-se-hrvatska-odrekla-svojih-mrtvih-sa-sutjeske-525772> (dostop: december 2020).

50 Niebyl, Donald. *Spomenik, Monument database*. London: Fuel, 2018, 42–43.

državnih meja. Takrat je izrekel tudi znani stavek: »Mi tujega nočemo, a svojega ne damo.«⁵¹ V spomin na ta dogodek so 27. julija 1964 v pristanišču na Visu odkrili monumentalen spomenik iz belega marmorja avtorja Antuna Auguštinčića. V spomenik je bil spredaj vklesan omenjeni Titov stavek, v stranskih in zadnji ploskvi spomenika pa besedilo o Prvi dalmatinski brigadi.⁵² (SLIKA 27: Spomenik v pristanišču na Visu: »Mi tujega nočemo, a svojega ne damo.«⁵³). Leta 1994 je bil spomenik odstranjen in prepeljan v vojašnico Samogor, kjer je bil v naslednjih letih popolnoma uničen.⁵⁴ Spomenik je bil odstranjen z odlokom občinske oblasti Visa, ki je bila takrat v rokah stranke HDZ (Hrvatske demokratske zajednice).⁵⁵ Nekateri domačini so leta 2002, ko je spomenik že močno poškodovan ležal v zapuščeni vojašnici Samogor, pripovedovali, da ga oblast ni mogla razstreliti, ker je bil preblizu naseljenemu območju. Nekateri člani HZD so se bali, da bi ga morebitna nova oblast skušala ponovno postaviti nazaj. Da bi to preprečili, so na spomeniku z macolami razbili vse napise (SLIKA 28: Uničen spomenik »Mi tujega nočemo, a svojega ne damo.« Nekdanja vojašnica JLA Samogor na Visu. Vis, 27. junij 2002.).

Na hribu Čunkovica, približno pet kilometrov iz Visa, je bil postavljen kamnit spomenik angleškemu pilotom. Napis se je glasil: »Na slavnu uspomenu avijatičara Royal Air Force, koji su dali svoje živote u operacijama nad Jugoslavijom.« (V slavni spomin pilotom Royal Air Force, ki so žrtvovali svoja življenja v operacijah nad Jugoslavijo.) (SLIKA 29: Spomenik angleškemu pilotom na Visu pred izbrisom besede Jugoslavija in zamenjavi s Hrvaško.⁵⁶). V začetku devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja so ob političnih spremembah in skrajnih nacionalističnih težnjah ta spomenik sicer pustili, odstranili pa so napis Jugoslavija in ga zamenjali

51 Josip Broz Tito. *Borba za osvoboditev Jugoslavije, članki in govori iz narodno osvobodilne borbe 1941–1945*. Beograd: Državna založba Jugoslavije, 1945, 217–223.

52 Spomenik v pristanišču na Visu: "Mi tujega nočemo, a svojega ne damo." V: *Vis*, ur. Drago Zdunić, Darivaj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani; Zagreb: Spektar, 1974, 77, 123.

53 V: *Vis*, ur. Drago Zdunić, Darivaj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani; Zagreb: Spektar, 1974, 77, 123.

54 »Vis – "Tude nečemo – svoje ne damo".« <https://www.sebenico.com/our-works/vis-tude-necemo-svoje-ne-damo/> (dostop: december 2020).

55 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 235.

56 V: *Vis*, ur. Drago Zdunić, Darivaj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani; Zagreb: Spektar, 1974.

s Hrvaško. Na drugi strani spomenika je bil isti napis tudi v angleščini zato so tudi tu zamenjali Jugoslavijo s Hrvaško (*SLIKI 30: Spomenik angleškim pilotom na Visu po odstranitvi besede Jugoslavija in zamenjavi s Hrvaško. Vis, 26. junij 2001. in 31: Spomenik angleškim pilotom na Visu. Tudi na napisu v angleškem jeziku so odstranili besedo Jugoslavija in jo zamenjali s Hrvaško. Vis, 26. junij 2001.*).

Ostale spomenike posvečene pilotom pa so popolnoma uničili. Gre za spomenik na nekdanjem zavezniškem letališču, ki je na Pliskem polju delovalo po kapitulaciji Italije leta 1943 (*SLIKA 32: Uničen spomenik na Pliskem polju, kjer je med 2. svetovno vojno delovalo zavezniško letališče, Vis, 27. junij 2002.*).

Na križišču cest Vis–Komiža–Podstražje so leta 1951 postavili spomenik iz grobo obdelanega kamna (*SLIKA 33: Spomenik na križišču cest Vis–Komiža–Podstražje, posvečen padlim pilotom in oficirjem.*⁵⁷). Spomenik postavljen v spomin na padle pilote in oficirje je bil po razpadu Jugoslavije popolnoma uničen (*SLIKA 34: Uničen spomenik na križišču cest Vis–Komiža–Podstražje, posvečen padlim pilotom in oficirjem. Vis, 27. junij 2002.*).

Podgora

Spomenik jugoslovanske vojne mornarice – Krila galebov.

V vasici Podgora je bil septembra 1942 ustanovljen prvi oddelek jugoslovanske mornarice. Njeni vlogi je bil dvajset let pozneje posvečen spomenik, ki ga je odkril jugoslovanski predsednik Tito. Spomenik je med letoma 1960 in 1961 zasnoval kipar Rajko Radović. Skulptura je visoka 32 m, narejena pa je iz belega betona, ki se dviga iz črnega granitnega platoja dimenzij 12 x 30 m. Postavljen je med morsko obalo in strmo gorovje Biokovo in tako ustvarja močan vizualni poudarek v pokrajini (*SLIKA 35: Spomenik jugoslovanske vojne mornarice – Krila Galebov v Podgori. Razglednica iz okoli leta 1975.*). Po razpadu Jugoslavije so spomenik večkrat neuspešno minirali, pozneje pa je bil pomen dogodkov iz protifašističnega upora namerno marginaliziran.

⁵⁷ V: Vis, ur. Drago Zdunić, Darivoj Žilić. Rijeka: Otokar Kerševani; Zagreb: Spektar, 1974.

Revizionizem se kaže tudi pri novem opisu spomenika na spominski plošči, ki trdi, da je spomenik posvečen vsem »hrvaškim mornarjem«, partizanskega upora pa ne omenja.⁵⁸ Na večkratne poskuse rušenja spomenika je vezana tudi anekdota, ko je predsednik Hrvaške dr. Franjo Tuđman leta 1997 obiskal Podgoro. Med govorom zbranim je dejal: »Hvala vam Podgorjani, ker ste ohranili ta čudoviti spomenik.« Neka ženska iz množice mu je odvrnila: »Nismo ga mi ohranili, ampak je bil on s svojo žilavostjo močnejši od tvojih rušiteljev – minerjev.«⁵⁹

Kamensko

Spomenik zmagi prebivalcev Slavonije (znan tudi kot spomenik ljudstvu-junaku Slavonije) je bil monumentalni spomenik iz nerjavečega jekla, postavljen na pobočjih Papuka, in sicer v bližini vasi Kamenska v današnji Požeško-slavonski županiji. Spomenik je delo kiparja Vojina Bakića. Odkrit je bil leta 1968 in je bil ob postavitvi največja postmodernistična skulptura na svetu (SLIKA 36: *Spomenik posvečen zmagi prebivalcev Slavonije v Kamenskem. Razglednica iz okoli leta 1980.*). Spomenik je bil leta 1992 popolnoma uničen (SLIKA 37: *Uničevanje spomenika v Kamenskem, 1992.*⁶⁰). Obstaja sum, da so za razstreljevanje spomenika odgovorne sile hrvaške vojske.⁶¹ Ker je bil izdelan iz nerjavečega jekla, so ga v Slavonskem Brodu predelali v posode.⁶²

Mostar

Leta 1993 je hrvaška vojska v Mostarju porušila znameniti most arhitekta Mimarja Hayruddina iz leta 1566. Leta 2004 so ga na novo zgradili in slavnostno odprli.⁶³ Niso pa obnovili izjemnega

58 Bugarić, Boštjan (et al.). *Arhitektura. Skulptura. Spomin, Umetnost spomenikov Jugoslavije 1945-1991*. Ljubljana: Društvo arhitektov, 2020, 108–109.

59 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*. Zagreb: Savez antifašističnih boraca Hrvatske, 2002, 217.

60 Dostopno na: <https://www.spomenikdatabase.org/kamenska> (dostop: december 2020).

61 »Spomenik pobjedi naroda Slavonije.« https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spomenik_pobjedi_naroda_Slavonije (dostop: december 2020).

62 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 8.

63 »Odprli most v Mostarju.« <https://www.rtvlo.si/svet/odprli-most-v-mostarju/21337> (dostop: december 2020).

partizanskega pokopališča arhitekta Bogdana Bogdanovića, ki je doživelo več vandalskih uničevanj in je močno poškodovano. Pokopališče je oblikovano v terasah, vrezanih v pobočje hriba. Mesto mrtvih je zasnovano kot podvojitev mesta živih – z ulicami, trgi, mostovi, stolpi in mestnimi vrati. V masivne oporne stene, obložene s kamnom, so vgravirani ornamentalni simboli in imena približno 800 padlih partizanov. Še nekaj sto neidentificiranih trupel počiva v skupni grobnici (*SLIKA 38: Partizansko pokopališče v Mostarju, razglednica iz okoli leta 1980.*). Miha Dešman je zapisal, da ga je presunil kontrast med zanemarjenostjo, tiho lepoto spomenika in nebrzdano turistično okupacijo bližnjega mesta z mostom, kjer je njegova lepota ponižana v slikovito merkantilno kuliso.⁶⁴ Avtor spomenika Bogdan Bogdanovič pa:

To je spomenik jugoslovanski solidarnosti. Posvečen je mostarskemu bataljonu. Gnilo me je, da so bili borci praktično še otroci. Njihova imena: bosanska, srbska, hrvaška. Spominjala so me na otroško križarsko vojno. Večina jih je bila ubitih. Njim so posvečeni kenotafi, simbolični grobovi. Nekaj ostankov je tu pokopanih, ne prav veliko. Spomenik je močno poškodovan, a ne da se ga porušiti, saj je vrezan v hrib in tako neuničljiv.⁶⁵

Karlovec

V parku svobode v Karlovcu so leta 1955 odkrili spomenik padlim borcem in žrtvam fašizma, avtorja Vanje Radauša (*SLIKA 39: Spodnja fotografija prikazuje spomenik NOB v Karlovcu, razglednica iz okoli leta 1975.*). Spomenik je bil tako kot večina antifašističnih spomenikov v Karlovcu leta 1991 popolnoma uničen (*SLIKA 40: Popolnoma uničen spomenik NOB v Karlovcu. Karlovec, 4. marec 2016.*). Miniran je bil tudi kip Franje Pucaka. Združenje Hrvaški domobran (Udruga Hrvatski domobran) pa je na istem mestu postavilo spominsko obeležje ustašem in domobranom z napisom: »*Hrvaškim vojakom padlim za Hrvaško 1941 – 1945 in 1991 – 1995, Postavilo Združenje veteranov Hrvaški domobran*

64 Bugarič, Boštjan (et al.). *Arhitektura. Skulptura. Spomin, Umetnost spomenikov Jugoslavije 1945–1991*. Ljubljana: Društvo arhitektov, 2020, 114–115.

65 Bogdanović, Bogdan. *Bogdanović by Bogdanović, Yugoslav Memorials through the Eyes of Their Architect*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018, 28–35.

Karlovec – 1991 – 1995.»⁶⁶ (Hrvatskim vojnicima palim za Hrvatsku 1941 – 1945. Podiže Udruga veterana Hrvatski domobran Karlovac).

Opuzen

V Opuzenu so oktobra 1978 odkrili, julija 1991 pa z miniranjem porušili monumentalni spomenik Stjepanu Filipoviću, narodnemu heroju, rojenemu leta 1919 v Opuzenu, ki je pod nacistično-četniškimi vislicami (v Valjevu, 22. maja 1942) pogumno in z vzdignjenimi rokami klical k svobodi in pozival ljudi v boj proti okupatorju in njegovim služabnikom⁶⁷ (*SLIKA 41: Obešanje partizana Stjepanja Filipovića 22. maja 1942 v Valjevu.*⁶⁸). Delo kiparja Mira Vuca in Stjepana Gračana je porušila skupina pod vodstvom ustaškega emigranta Daidā, kasneje generala hrvaške vojske.⁶⁹

Do porušnja je bil spomenik Stjepanu Filipoviću skupaj z istoimenskim spomenikom v Valjevu v Srbiji, kiparja Vojina Bakića, ena od dveh monumentalnih parafraz znamenite fotografije Filipovića pod vislicami leta 1942 (*SLIKI 42: Spomenik partizanu Stjepanu Filipoviću v Opuzenu.*⁷⁰ in *43: Z miniranjem popolnoma uničen spomenik Stjepanu Filipoviću.*⁷¹). Zgražanje in protesti antifašistov iz Opuzena in Dalmacije vse do najvišje oblasti v Republiki Hrvaški so ostali brez odziva.⁷²

Gregor Jazbec navaja, da se je v gestapovskih arhivih ohranila slika s spremnim dopisom, v katerem je med drugim zabeleženo, da je Filipović pogumno in vojaško korakal poleg straže, tako da je bil korak

66 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 69.

67 Zgodbo o spomeniku Stjepanu Filipoviću je avtorica Irena Škorić podrobno predstavila v dokumentarnem filmu "Neželeni dediščina", posvečenemu porušeni antifašistični spomeniku na Hrvaškem. Dostopno na: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=byKpQ4QcAwo&t=1s>

68 Vir: https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stjepan_Filipovi%C4%87#/media/Slika:Stjepan_Stevo_Filipovi%C4%87.jpg (dostop: december 2020).

69 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 51, 69.

70 Vir: *Putovima revolucije*, ur. Zdravko Krnić. Zagreb: Turitkomerc in Republički odbor Saveza udruženja boraca NOR SR Hrvatske, 1979.

71 Vir: »Spomenik slavnog partizana miniran, na njegovom mjestu industrijska zona.« <https://radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/regija/spomenik-slavnog-partizana-miniran-na-njegovom-mjestu-industrijska-zona/366878> (dostop: december 2020).

72 Juraj Hrženjak. *Rušenje antifašističnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj 1990 – 2000*, 51.

njegovih spremljevalcev videti smešen. Ko so ga postavili pod vislice, je obsojeni še vedno kričal, žalil okupatorja in celo samega vodjo velikega nemškega rajha z besedami: »Živel! komunisti, živel delavski boj, dol s Hitlerjem.« Njegove zadnje besede so bile: »Kaj čakate, kaj trpite?! Vzemite puške in izženite to golazen iz države! Živela komunistična partija Jugoslavije! Živela Rdeča armada!« Ko so mu srbski rablji dali zanko okoli vratu, je Filipovič, sicer po rodu Hrvat, izjavil: »Ne obesite me vi, bratje Srbi, naj me Nemci.«⁷³

Drugi prisotni očividec, SS vodnik Maletan, je zapisal, da je bil zaradi »hujskanja, ki bi pri delu okuženega srbskega prebivalstva lahko izzval incidente,« obešen že pred načrtovano enajsto uro. V resnici bi moral biti že dva meseca prej, pa zaradi mučenja ni mogel stati na nogah. Z usmrтитvijo so počakali do okrevanja.⁷⁴

Fotografija obešanja Stjepana Filipoviča visi na sedežu Združenih narodov v New Yorku kot simbol upora proti tiranijam.⁷⁵

Zdaj že pokojni islandski skladatelj filmske glasbe Jóhann Jóhannsson je zasnoval režijski prvenec (premierno prikazan na Berlinskem filmskem festivalu, 2020) minimalistično znanstvenofantastično abstrakcijo *Poslednji in prvi možje* (*Last And First Men*), ki s črno-belo fotografijo izjemno estetsko prikazuje najbolj prepoznavne in kvalitetne jugoslovanske spomenike NOB (Tjentište, Petrova gora, Jasenovac, Kadinjača ...) brez kakršnekoli navedbe avtorjev in lokacij spomenikov.⁷⁶ Skozi meglice prikazuje detajle in celoto navedenih spomenikov, medtem ko glas Tilde Swinton pripoveduje zgodbo o apokaliptično uničenem svetu, v katerem so po propadu nekoč napredne civilizacije ostali le spomeniki z značilnim brutalističnim značajem betonske zgradbe. Tudi brez poznavanja konteksta NOB ti spomeniki s svojo kvalitetno likovno

73 Jazbec, Gregor. *Bitka na Sutjeski*. Gornja Radgona: Gregor Jazbec s. p., 2020, 242–243.

74 Prav tam, 243.

75 Prav tam.

76 »Last and First Men.« <https://youtu.be/nqDBiKlbDA> (dostop: december 2020); Kohn, Eric. »'Last and First Men' Review: Jóhann Jóhannsson's Posthumous Film Is a Dazzling Vision of the Apocalypse.« <https://www.indiewire.com/2020/02/last-and-first-men-review-johann-johannsson-berlin-1202213596/> (dostop: december 2020).

govorico predstavljajo prepričljiv dokument o življenju določenega časa. Umetniki so v ta dela vnesli duha časa, ki ga simbolizira upor proti zlu in prizadevanje za boljšo prihodnost. Ti spomeniki opozarjajo, vabijo in spodbujajo k razmisleku o človekovih preteklih in bodočih ravnanjih. Hkrati sporočajo, da je človeštvo sposobno dobrih, istočasno pa tudi najbolj zavržnih dejanj. Brez ohranjanja kolektivnega zgodovinskega spomina (tudi s spomeniki) se nam zavržna dejanja lahko zelo hitro ponovijo.

SLIKOVNO GRADIVO

Lastnik razglednic in avtor fotografij je Božidar Flajšman, razen tistih, kjer je avtorstvo ali vir posebej naveden.

LITERATURA

Glej angleški del prispevka.

POVZETEK

Da bi razumeli, zakaj se je odnos do partizanstva po vsej Jugoslaviji tako spremenil, da je postal podlaga za uničevanje spomenikov, je treba poseči v osemdeseta leta. Obravnava druge svetovne se je v kmalu po Titovi smrti v osemdesetih letih preselila skorajda v čisto politiko. Politične elite v posameznih republikah so skozi vrednotenje druge svetovne vojne (in sicer zgodovine) skušale utrditi svojo pozicijo in vizijo preureditve jugoslovanske družbe. Vse, kar je bilo povezano z vrednotenjem preteklosti: umetniška dela, spomini, feljtonistika ali »prava« zgodovinska dela, je postalo predmet polemik, zaradi česar se je meja med strokovnim zgodovinskim in bolj poljudnimi žanri zabrisala, zgodovinska stroka pa vedno bolj politizirala in zapirala v republiške meje. Po prvih večstrankarskih volitvah po posameznih republikah (1990) je zgodovina svojo politično funkcijo, kar zadeva Jugoslavijo, izgubila, še vedno pa je ostala pomemben, ponekod tudi osrednji dejavnik v političnih bojih znotraj novonastalih držav. Na tej podlagi so se nove državne, še večkrat pa lokalne oblasti tudi odločale za rušenje spomenikov, preimenovanje ulic in šol ter drugo retuširanje zgodovine na novi podlagi. Antifašistične spomenike se je začelo interpretirati kot simbole komunističnega režima in socialistične preteklosti, s katero je treba dokončno obračunati. Zgodovinska dejstva, kakovost, umetniška vrednost in avtorstvo najboljših umetnikov seveda niso bili faktorji, ki bi odločali o njihovi ohranitvi.