Utopia *of the* Uniform

Affective Afterlives *of the* Yugoslav People's Army

TANJA PETROVIĆ

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THEORY IN FORMS

Series Editors

Nancy Rose Hunt, Achille Mbembe, and Todd Meyers

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IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER

Contents

Acknowledgments

I took the first steps in the research that led to this book when my son was on his way into this world. In the year that this book is published, he will have reached the age when young Yugoslav men were once called up to serve in the Yugoslav People's Army. Life over these years has been deeply marked by the generosity and comradeship of so many people and the support of several institutions, but most profoundly by former soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army who shared selflessly with me their experiences, stories, memories, and feelings. I cannot thank them all enough for their trust, patience, and time. This book is theirs as much as it is mine, and my greatest reward will be if they see it as such. I am particularly indebted to those of my interlocutors who stuck with me all this time, were always ready for another conversation about their experience in the army, trusted me with their archives of photographs, artwork, and texts, and often invested a lot of effort to excavate bits of these archives for me: Franci Virant, Želimir Žilnik, Dušan Mandić, Jane Štravs, Milovan Milenković, Oto Luthar, Radosav Majdevac, Milorad Milenković, Elmaz Jonuzi, Jure Gombač, Svanibor Pettan, Nebojša Šerić, Hariz Halilovich, Božidar Lugarić, Vladimir Nešković, Dejan Dimitrijević, Mitja Velikonja, and Milan Todorović.

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Introduction

A Silent Force That Unsettles Ruins

Through the large windows of the café in a newly built shopping mall in Kosovo's capital Pristina, Elmaz and I could see the city and the valley stretching behind it. Elmaz pointed to an abandoned building of the factory where he used to work before the war. Then he showed me a hill with newly built houses where diplomats, representatives of international organizations, other foreigners, and wealthy locals live. "When we have electricity outage, the whole city is in the dark, only this hill shines," he said, laughing. Farther up the valley is Gračanica, a Serbian enclave, where life runs in parallel to but separately from the life of Kosovo's Albanian majority. In the youngest of the independent states that emerged from socialist Yugoslavia, people live in ethnically defined, segregated communities; and political and economic life is driven largely by the logic of this segregation and the colonial-like relations resulting from the presence of representatives of the "international community" to which Elmaz was pointing. Not much is different in the rest of the post-Yugoslav societies.

Elmaz Jonuzi, a kind, energetic family man in his late forties, now earns his living as a taxi driver. He met me at Pristina's airport in October 2017 when I came to town for a conference. It was my first time in the city and my first time in Kosovo after the wars that left Yugoslavia disintegrated. As he was skillfully maneuvering his car through busy streets, we chatted, looking for references to things that made up life in the country we used to share before the wars of the 1990s. I asked him whether the beer produced in Kosovo's town of Peć (Peja) still exists. It was my favorite during my student years in Belgrade. The last day of my stay in Pristina, before taking me to the airport, Elmaz made sure I would not leave without trying Peja beer again. While we were looking out over the cityscape from the café where he took me for a beer, I asked him about his service in the Yugoslav People's Army (Jugoslovenska narodna armija, JNA).[1]

For me, it was not an easy question to ask. As a woman, I did not serve in the army, so Elmaz and I did not share the experience common to all Yugoslav men of generations born before 1972 or 1973. As a Serb, I was asking an ethnic Albanian man about his experience in an army that was transformed into a military force dominated by Serbs in the 1990s and whose members, together with paramilitary units and Serbian police, committed numerous crimes against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Between Elmaz and me, sitting across the table in a fancy café in Pristina on that sunny autumn day, and between the two moments when I enjoyed a beer brewed in Peja—my student time in Belgrade in the 1990s and my visit to Kosovo in 2017—there was a whole nightmarish world of killing, suffering, and expulsions, of freezer trucks that transported bodies of killed Albanians and clandestine graves scattered across the Serbian territory where these bodies were buried.[2] I was, moreover, asking an Albanian man about experience that he most probably remembers in terms of hardships caused by Serbs. After September 1987, when an Albanian soldier, Aziz Kelmendi, killed four soldiers, wounded five, and then committed suicide in the garrison in the central Serbian town of Paraćin, Albanian soldiers serving in the JNA often faced oppression and open hatred. Elmaz was no exception. He spent his service at a military base in Kragujevac, Serbia, in 1988–89, at the height of ethnic tensions between Serbs and Albanians, when the wheels of Yugoslavia's disintegration had already been put in motion. A Serb officer from Kosovo gave him a hard time. Elmaz was often put in prison on the army base and given the most difficult and least desirable tasks. During his military service, massive riots by Albanians against Milošević's repression

in Kosovo and his stripping the province of autonomy led to the introduction of a state of emergency. Elmaz's service was prolonged, and he could not go home for another long, tense, and fearful 35 days.

For Elmaz, it might have not been an easy question to answer for other reasons. His days in the uniform of the Yugoslav army and that sunny October afternoon might have felt worlds apart, separated not only by the passage of time, but also by numerous discontinuities the last decades had brought to the lands that used to belong to socialist Yugoslavia and, above all, by the ethnic violence and disastrous wars in which it ended. The line that sharply defined Elmaz's life into "before" and "after" was drawn on April 27, 1999, during NATO intervention in Serbia and Kosovo, when he barely escaped being killed by a man from Serb paramilitary forces. His two friends and neighbors were not so lucky. I suspected that what he had experienced years earlier on a military base in Serbia, in the uniform of a now nonexistent army that largely aligned with the Serbian side in the violent conflicts of the 1990s, was likely irrelevant or traumatic to him, something buried deeply under the ruins of the vanished country, and certainly not a topic for a conversation over local beer with a Serb woman visiting Kosovo for the first time after the war.

But with slight hesitation and a tinge of uneasiness, Elmaz had a lot to say about his experience in the JNA and was willing to share it with me. He did speak of nasty officers, of army prison, drill, and some tensions with local Serbs in Kragujevac, but he spoke even more of nice people in the surrounding villages where he was on watch, of village parties where he was welcomed, of tasty Serbian *rakija* and good food. The most important of all the stories from the army was his friendship with other four JNA soldiers. With warmth and softness in his voice, he told me about Robert from Ljubljana, Robert from Slavonski Brod, Nermin from Novi Pazar, and Zoran from Vranje. He asked me to help him find his Slovenian friend Robert when I went back to Ljubljana, and I promised I would. I have never succeeded in fulfilling this promise. And I still owe him the bottle of Serbian plum brandy that my uncles make that I promised to bring when I return to Kosovo.

Elmaz is one of more than forty men who performed mandatory service in the Yugoslav military with whom I have spoken extensively since 2006, when I became interested in the meanings of the shared experience of military service in socialist Yugoslavia in the social space torn by wars and violence during the 1990s. From 1945 to 1991—the lifespan of the Yugoslav socialist state—military service was mandatory for all men after they turned eighteen

and/or graduated from high school.[3] Those who enrolled in colleges that would give them an education considered useful for the military, such as in medicine or engineering, could postpone their military service in the JNA until after graduation, but not after they turned twenty-seven. For conscripts, the duration of military service varied depending on the period, the education of the soldiers, and the branch of the army, but the majority of people who served in the 1970s and 1980s and on whose stories and memories this book is based served either for a year, fifteen months, or a year and a half.

The men I talked to, from various parts of the former Yugoslavia and with different ethnic, social, educational, and professional backgrounds, generationally range from those born during or immediately after World War II to those born in the mid-1970s. They served in the JNA between the late 1960s and the early 1990s, but the majority of my interviewees served in the 1970s and 1980s. In Yugoslavia, that was the time encompassing economic growth and decline, the massive emigration of workers to Western European states in need of labor, a time of relative stability, burgeoning popular culture and alternatives, rising living standards, but also rising social tensions and inequalities.[4] Nevertheless, these decades, preceded by post-revolutionary enthusiasm, construction, and rigor, and followed by the nightmarish destruction of the civil war that tore Yugoslavia apart, are remembered as "Yugoslavia's good (or golden) times," when the majority of citizens could live a decent life and the future seemed possible and bright.[5]

Most of the men I spoke with—irrespective of their personal and professional trajectories, of where they came from and where they currently live, and of their ethnicity and education—regard their experience with the Yugoslav military as important and meaningful. Friendships made in the army, like Elmaz's, are crucial for the importance and meaningfulness of that experience. These friendships, made among young men in the confined space of a military base, outside the ordinary and everyday flows of time, recall a world structured on premises different from those governing life in the post-Yugoslav present, a world in which uniformed men recognized and befriended each other because of their moral qualities and irrespective of which ethnic group they belonged to. They point to the possibility of an alternative future irrevocably lost during the Yugoslav catastrophe, in which men who once served in the JNA together ended up killing each other because they belonged to different ethnic groups.

The friendships made in the JNA constitute the driving force of the affective afterlives of Yugoslav military service that I explore in this book. They

discretely mark life paths of Yugoslav men and resiliently persist among the ruins of Yugoslavia, challenging and unsettling them. The ruins of the Yugoslav political project come in diverse shapes—as burnt houses, ethnically cleansed villages, devastated landscapes, clandestine graves, and ethnic enclaves, but also as newly built neighborhoods for the wealthy, private hospitals and medical facilities available to the few, modern shopping malls, and stratified cities in which the rich never suffer from electricity outages. They cannot be reduced to the physical remnants of the destroyed country, as these are ruins not only of what was, but also of what could have been. They are also reminders of alternative futures—those past and those lost.[6] In this book, I am interested in the capacity of the feelings that emerged from the experience of former Yugoslavs with mandatory service in the JNA to unsettle these ruins and question the givenness of the present. I ask about the forms of these feelings and about the modalities in which their agency unfolds. This agency does not come from continuity and presence, but rather from their opposites. Continuity does not go well with war, destruction, and uprooting. Elmaz lost track of most of his army friends and has sporadic contact only with Zoran, but the way he spoke about them made it clear to me that lack of contact or even knowing their destinies since they all left the army base in Kragujevac had no impact on how much these friendships still matter to him.

Nostalgia offers itself as a handy interpretive framework to explain the fragmentary but recurring presence of feelings, memories, and pieces of the JNA experience. It is intrinsic to afterness, "a particular figure of modernity, that of following, coming after, having survived, outlived, or succeeded something or someone."[7] I, however, rather opt for a different register, that of *afterlife*. Too often understood as a past-oriented, passive, paralyzing, and unproductive feeling, nostalgia tends to pacify one's relationship with the past, thus cementing the pastness of that past and how it is structured vis-à-vis the present and the future.[8] Afterlife, on the other hand, invites us to think about the temporality of "endings that are not over" and presupposes an agency capable of unsettling the stillness of the aftermath.[9] This agency resides in the archives of the past, both material and immaterial, revealing itself as an ability to transmit affects across time and space, and inviting us to recognize signs of alternatives and futures imagined outside the places where we usually expect them.[10]

Afterlife, a concept through which I explore the faculty of feelings related to military service in the JNA to unsettle, remind people of lost possibilities,

and silently recall utopia, brings together *time* and *form* as structuring forces for the narrative of this book. The capacity of the affective afterlives of the Yugoslav military to restructure social time, recalling lost futures, emerges from a mandatory, forced collective experience, performed far away from home and "normal" life, in the confined space of barracks, bases, proving grounds, and training areas. That experience was composed of repetitive disciplinary routines, ritualized practices, and performative language protocols, often void of deeper meaning. This relationship between the monotony, standardization, and voidness of form on the one hand, and the meaningfulness of the experience of Yugoslav military service and its capacity to unsettle fixed temporal frames on the other, is what this book explores. It asks about the ways in which feelings that inhabit these monotonous forms challenge the givenness of the relationship between the past, present, and future in the aftermath of Yugoslavia, working through silence, hesitation, suspension, and impossibility. Discussing these feelings rooted in the heart of socialist state institution and the political meanings of their afterlives, this book also asks about the intersections of the collective utopian imagination with personal affects and feelings; and it explores the forms through which the Yugoslav military institution engaged in the production of collective utopia and its affective foundations.

ARCHIVES AND FEELINGS

Over the last few decades, "we have seen a marked diminution in the production of new utopias" and have been living in a present in which the future is not easily imaginable and comes in dystopian registers, rather than the utopian ones.[11] As a consequence, the future as a heuristic term "saturates—or oversaturates—today's humanities."[12] The past increasingly becomes a place where the imaginations of the future are sought and "a densely animated object of enchantment."[13] An "archive fever" comes as a result of this quest.[14]

The failed socialist projects of the twentieth century and their legacies, archives, and material ruins have become an object of fascination for many and also a focus of scholars and activists. As Larisa Kurtović argues, archivist-activists turn to the legacies of Yugoslav socialism as "a potential mine of insights and practical knowledge that could be reactivated in the difficult and often exasperating postwar political present" in the societies still torn by nationalism and exhausted by neoliberal politics at the European periphery.[15]

Their archiving efforts focus on the legacy of the anti-fascist struggle during World War II, women's role in that struggle, socialist companies, and cultural production and social relations made possible by specific frameworks and infrastructures such as local cultural centers, workers' universities, voluntary labor, self-management, amateurism, and the Non-Aligned Movement. These archiving activities are paralleled by increased artistic and academic interest in diverse aspects of Yugoslav socialism and in its heritage that serve as an inspiration or as a source of knowledge for today's political imaginaries, as well as in these new archives and their political potential.[16]

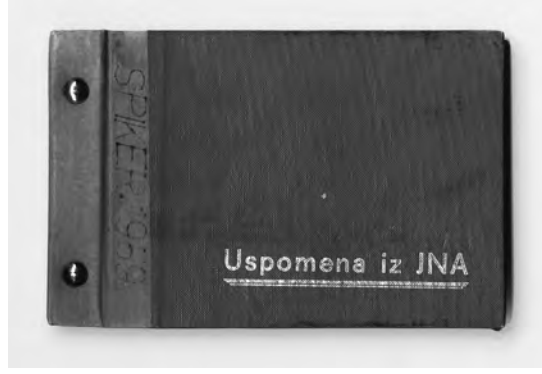
Recuperating an archive of Yugoslav military service would be an unlikely ambition of these contemporary archivists due to its involuntary and disciplinary character, but also because of the very forms through which the military institution has shaped the experience of serving in the Yugoslav army. However, as I argue in chapter 2, this institution's work went beyond militarizing and disciplining: the profoundly collective experience of military service was designed to bring into practice some of the central political ideas of Yugoslav socialism, such as collectivity, egalitarianism, education, and comradeship. The performative, repetitive, and ritualized practices military service consisted of built a framework for life and love in which class and ethnic and social backgrounds were not organizing principles. Military service was, therefore, an exercise in soldiering, but also an exercise in utopian living in which one's class, ethnicity, or place of origin mattered much less than one's moral virtues.

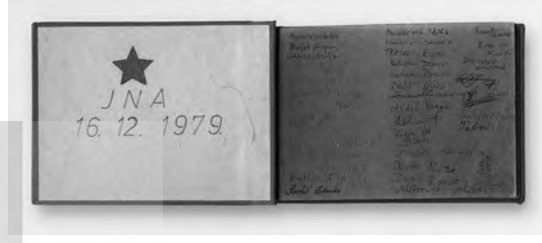
The JNA-related archives concern me importantly in this book. I find the concept of the archive helpful in grappling with the emotional, social, and political afterlife of structures, sensibilities, and things because the archive, inseparable from an afterlife, is a site of encounter and a mediation among experience, memory, and history.[17] Here, archives include my own archive of interviews, stories, newspaper articles, photographs, letters, postcards, and material objects that I have collected since 2006, as well as archival projects by former JNA soldiers created during their military service, such as Franci Virant's photographs or artworks by Dušan Mandić. They also extend to a myriad of photographs, letters, postcards, and objects former soldiers possessed and often kept once their military service was over. There is an intrinsic link between the experience of army service and its remembrance and thus—indirectly—both some sort of archiving and some futures imagined or anticipated. Many practices performed during military service were aimed at creating memories for a later time, such as taking photographs, writing

inscriptions or dedications on the backs of photographs, and making souvenirs during the long army days such as tattoos, models of the Eiffel Tower made of match sticks, notebooks filled with names and addresses of army buddies, or souvenir photo albums. These activities of memory-making, in all their diversity, not only resulted in a personal archive, but were also preconditioned with an afterlife of that archive. They confirm that "memory and afterness are constitutive of each other," and manifoldly so.[18] At the moment these memories were made, they "counted" on a future that was imaginable, based on continuity and smooth transitions and devoid of tragic ruptures. The future that came was not the one that was anticipated. Photos taken in the army often became the only visual reminders of men killed during the wars of Yugoslav disintegration. Notebooks filled with names and addresses suddenly became unreliable, as houses were burnt and people ended up displaced, missing, gone, dead.

In the aftermath of Yugoslavia's and its military's demise, many former JNA soldiers act as "rogue archivists" who digitize parts of their private JNA archives and make them available on the internet.[19] With such archiving endeavors, they grapple with catastrophe, loss, and rupture, and seek to regain continuity and temporal orders in which their own biographies can stand as "normal" and legitimate.

The concept of the archive seems suitable for thinking about the legacy of the shared, collective experience of military service in socialist Yugoslavia, also beyond remaking individual biographies. Despite the "democratization" of archiving practices in the digital era, the archive still echoes the authority of creating a publicly recognized voice about the past and possesses a legitimizing capacity.[20] The official archive of the Yugoslav military was significantly damaged and partially destroyed when army headquarters in Belgrade were bombed during the NATO intervention in 1999. Two decades later, the remnants of this archive are still mostly unavailable to historians and other researchers. The archives discussed in this book, and the book as a whole, are not meant to fill the void resulting from the absence of an institutional archive, but to point to the necessity of acknowledging the vicissitudes of the shared past as a knowledge relevant and useful in the present and for the future. This understanding of memories from the socialist period is largely missing in Eastern Europe.[21] Here, the collapse of socialism triggered a "testimonial drive" that shifted from early concerns "with political repression, justice, and retribution" to seemingly apolitical "revivals of the social, cultural, and everyday experiences of socialism," but with a pervasive "authority of personal





Figures I.1, I.2, and I.3
Memories from military service in the JNA. From the archive of Milorad Milenković.

experience."[22] The memories, objects, and sentiments relating to the JNA and the forms in which they persist in the aftermath of Yugoslavia, although very personal, evoke a specific collectivity due to their shared nature, and thus unfold as political and politically relevant.

As I bring together the archives, their forms, and feelings that persist through ruptures in time and space, my understanding of the archive comes close to what Ann Cvetkovich labels an "archive of feelings" in her study of multisided queer archives in the United States.[23] Cvetkovich strongly argues for the importance of what affective archives both store and evoke: the archive "must preserve not just knowledge, but feeling."[24] Broadly defined, in Cvetkovich's study, an archive is composed of both narratives (voice- and video-recorded testimonies, memoirs, letters, and/or diaries) and material objects (photographs and/or other objects that have emotional, even sentimental value). It is, moreover, composed of cultural texts "as repositories of feelings and emotions, which are encoded not only in the content of the texts themselves but in the practices that surround their production and reception."[25] While Cvetkovich approaches American "national trauma histories and their cultural memory from the unabashedly minoritarian perspective of lesbian cultures," my perspective is profoundly majoritarian.[26] I look at the archival material shaped by the experience shared by millions of former Yugoslavs. Just like the case of the gay and lesbian archives in the United States, however, the experiences, memories, and feelings of these men are contested and largely absent from the narrative regimes through which socialist Yugoslavia is remembered and historicized.

UNDERSTANDING SOCIALISM THROUGH FORMS

In spite of scholars' growing interest in the archives that emerged from the socialist experience and in the potential of these archives to contribute to shaping and reimagining future politics, not much has been written about the forms in which these archives have taken shape or about the forms through which feelings intrinsic to these archives live their afterlives, emerging in the present as a force that unsettles it and points to past futures. The forms that shaped these archives and feelings are inevitably associated with the predictability, routine, and consequent banality associated with this experience: with its standardized, performative, monotonous, and ritualized character.[27]

As such, they are not intuitively linked to any emancipatory potential of the socialist past, nor do they make a likely connection with deeply meaningful memories that keep coming back as a discreet but resilient force.

On the other hand, repetitive, performative, and ritualized forms have a very important place and interpretative value in scholars' attempts to understand socialism as a historical experience and its demise. They have also been recognized as an important means of extorting and maintaining power in colonial, late-capitalist, and totalitarian social contexts.[28] For the period usually described as late socialism, from the 1960s to the late 1980s, there is a seeming consensus that there was a "deep gap between ideology and reality, especially as that reality grew progressively consumerist and lifestyle-oriented."[29] This perception is familiar also in the post-Yugoslav context. There, the argument goes, a utopian imagination characteristic of an early period of socialist production became "ideologically ritualized, creatively stale."[30] Additionally, this ritualization and performativity eventually led to the exhaustion of the socialist project.[31] The ritualized forms lacked authenticity and made late socialism starkly contrast with "authentic" forms of resistance in World War II and the period immediately following the war.

The standardized, ritualized forms by which socialist ideology was maintained diverged from citizens' lives, so socialist subjects developed various strategies of making social meanings and positioning themselves through their use and appropriation. Concepts such as "imitative exaggeration," "subversive affirmation," "*stiob*," and Alf Lüdtke's concept of "Eigensinn" proliferated as a consequence of academic efforts to understand this self-positioning and meaning-making.[32] The influential work of Alexei Yurchak points to these forms' capacity to produce complex subjectivities, social relations, and meanings. According to Yurchak, "the performative reproduction of the form of rituals and speech acts actually *enabled* the emergence of diverse, multiple, and unpredictable meanings in everyday life, including those that did not correspond to the constative meanings of authoritative discourse."[33] Drawing on Sonja Luerhman, Anna Kruglova similarly argues, "The schism between ideology and life could have been accepted by people not as a reason to be 'cynical,' 'ironic,' or otherwise distanced, but instead as a challenge of creative interpretation and artistic execution."[34]

Thinking of ritualized, hyper-normalized forms and their relation to life, however, still remains within the framework of knowledge and interpretation, and their affective outcomes remain insufficiently addressed. The very concept

of ideology, as Kruglova importantly observes, "continues to provide cognitive and affective tools for the objectification of one's own and others' social and historical conditions, for thinking about social and cultural aspects of life *as if they were separate from life*."[35] This does not mean that socialist ideology and its forms were detached from life and incapable of producing affect. In his study of the late socialism in the USSR, Alexei Yurchak emphasizes that citizens reproduced these forms while untethering or ignoring their constative meanings, which "enabled creative production of new meanings and forms of life."[36] He points to parades organized for major socialist holidays in May and November as massive rituals that provided ideological frameworks for the production of socialities and a public "nonidentical with how the addressed public was articulated in authoritative discourse, such as the 'Soviet people' or the 'Soviet toilers.'"[37] "With their massive scale," writes Yurchak, "parades were a powerful machinery for the cultural production of the publics of *svoi*, creating temporary collectivities of friends and strangers who marched together through the streets, carried the same portraits and slogans, shouted 'hurray' in response to the same appeals blaring from loudspeakers, and publicly displayed the same celebratory mood."[38] In addition, "millions sent greeting cards with good wishes on the occasion of these national holidays. The pictures on the postcards contained Soviet symbols: stars, banners, hammers and sickles, slogans, and Lenin portraits. On the postcards people typically wished each other health, happiness, success in work, and so on. They also used the occasion to exchange news with friends, relatives, and colleagues."[39]

These collective Soviet rituals and their ritualized discourses indeed resulted in affective communities, whereby ritualized forms (formulae written on the postcards and the symbols they displayed) were used as tools for affective connecting and exchange. This production of affective ties, however, was not intended by the authoritative power, but was rather a side effect of the ritualized forms' work, the unexpected and unpredictable result of that work. "Participating in these events reproduced the collectivity of belonging that was enabled by these slogans and portraits," Yurchak writes, "but no longer bound to their literal sense."[40]

The authoritative power of the socialist state used these same forms for the intentional production of affective communities. In the Yugoslav case, this production was related to the key concepts of brotherhood and unity (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*) and comradeship (*drugarstvo*), essentially oriented toward building solidarities and ties across ethnic, class, and gender divisions. The Yugoslav

military was an institution explicitly engaged in this affective work. It brought together radically different people to serve together and made them the same (and equal) through the uniform they wore and exposure to standardized, repetitive, and ritualized procedures, discourses, and routines. Outside what normal and everyday life used to be and far away from it, young Yugoslav men spent a year or more on JNA bases, and their sharing a confined, isolated space resulted in friendships and meaningfulness that would hardly be possible outside it. As one of my interlocutors emphasized, one year of serving in the army is a substantial amount of time: it spans all four seasons and comprises one condensed life. Long-term exposure to ritualized, repetitive, predictable discourses and practices, very different from the temporariness of parades and other socialist rituals, made these discourses and practices, through which the authoritative institution exercises its power, forms of life. In the context in which the subject's position is not one of the distance and control necessary for interpretation and strategic use, but one of embracing a year or more of long, ritualized, performative experience of military service as life as such, these forms produced an emotional fabric, and this production of affect was not something the military institution did not intend, could not predict, or was not interested in, but was one of its most important aims.

This production of affects of friendship and solidarity through ritualized forms is what the Yugoslav army wanted, as a Yugoslav institution par excellence; these affects are simultaneously the primary reason why very diverse men still consider their military service important and meaningful. This accord between the authoritative institution of the military and the young men subjected to it was by no means absolute, as the ritualized nature of practices constituting military service also enabled soldiers to produce diverse meanings, take different positions, and use their protective capacity against the hegemonic power of the military institution, all of which I discuss in chapter 5. It nevertheless offers a helpful perspective for attempts to understand how anticipated futures and utopian imaginations could be nested at the heart of the total, compulsory, all-male, oppressive, and strictly hierarchical institution of military service, as well as to better understand how not only violence, destruction, and betrayal, but also love, loyalty, and friendship shape the present in the aftermath of Yugoslavia's political catastrophe.

As Walter Benjamin insisted, the afterlife is central to the historical object of interpretation.[41] It goes together with history and tends to complicate it.[42] The afterlife of military service in the Yugoslav army prompts us to rethink

the forms in which the history of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav socialism is told. In the wake of the disastrous dissolution of Yugoslavia and its socialist project, the temporality of the aftermath keeps histories and memories caught in an event-aftermath straightjacket, bringing narratives that historicize Yugoslavia close to postcolonial histories: they are all reduced to single trajectories directed by violence and trauma.[43] This reduction not only shapes historiographic or artistic narratives, but also affects lives and bodies and flattens biographies, because a "trauma frame would congeal subjects into overwhelmed victims and survivors, effacing social action and practice."[44]

Sticking firmly to the event-aftermath pattern, the scholarship addressing the Yugoslav People's Army that has been published since the country fell apart has focused mainly on its role in Yugoslavia's dissolution.[45] Or, what is typical of scholarly production in the post-Yugoslav space, it describes the institutional history and technical characteristics of the Yugoslav military, offering a seemingly objective, disinterested narrative of the Yugoslav military's history, transforming it "into discrete units of time, and petrifying it within classificatory labels, all of which situate the past as an object of spectatorship."[46] This petrification works toward fixing the logic in which the ethnicity of individuals and groups is the only principle that governs political life and structures political time. It makes it possible for a revisionist historian with a key role in rehabilitating Nazi collaborators in Serbia in World War II to author a history of the socialist Yugoslav army, and to publish the book with a Croatian publisher, thanking in the introduction his Croatian colleague who is very active in rehabilitating Croatian fascists.[47] To work successfully, this logic needs to eliminate any reminder of a possibility of a different identification or of imagining a future based on different premises than the one that arrived after Yugoslavia fell apart. That is why it excludes from the institutional history of the Yugoslav military the generations of soldiers conscripted into the JNA, the multiple forms of their interactions with this institution, life within its institutional framework, and the modalities in which fragments of that life persist in the aftermath of the JNA and the country it was supposed to protect.

It is not the forms in which military service in the JNA was experienced per se that possess a capacity to unsettle fixity and the givenness of the temporality of the aftermath. For such a capacity, these forms had to be imbued with affect—they had to become a home of friendship, solidarity, and care. Only then could they have a capacity to silently, but persistently, recall alternatives to the reality of the aftermath of the Yugoslav catastrophe. Following the tra-

jectory of these forms and the feelings they produced—from their creation on military bases across Yugoslavia to their afterlife amid its ruins—this book seeks to move away from narratives of "larger entities" and seamless histories in which the lives of Yugoslavia and its military are marked by a clearly defined beginning and end and whose pastness is absolute and thus incapable of making any intervention in the present.[48]

Yugoslav army service was performed by men, and Yugoslavia was destroyed in the catastrophe by men who killed each other—the same men who once wore the JNA uniform, shared dormitories in the barracks, made friends, and counted days left until the end of their army service. From the temporality of the aftermath, shaped by violence and defined by the catastrophic end of the Yugoslav socialist project, these men are observed through the prism of seemingly solid and "large" categories of (militarized) masculinity, violence, aggression, or patriarchy.[49] Such a view of men imposes problems already noted by scholars focusing on masculinity in (post-)conflict contexts. Donna Pankhurst notices that "the term femininity is not deployed in the same generalizing and deterministic manner as has been the case for masculinity; feminist scholars of militarism and peace-building have been careful to differentiate the 'various and contrasting roles, identities, sources of and constraints on power and control, access to and use of their own labor' for women, but they have neglected this task for men."[50] The link between men, soldiering, and violence is additionally essentialized in the case of the former Yugoslavia, because of both the supposedly totalitarian character of its socialist past and its violent dissolution in the 1990s.[51] But framing military service solely as a site of or pretext for male-initiated violence allows no scope for sentimental memories, unusual friendships, and their afterlives. They have remained largely outside the histories of Yugoslavia's disintegration and are absent both from nationalist narratives that venerate heroic masculine figures and from mainstream liberal, normative views on reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia that focus on men with marginal positions opposed to soldiering, violence, and war crimes: draft dodgers, conscientious objectors, peace activists, LGBT activists, and male victims of sexual violence.[52] What lies between these opposite poles of representation of men—the memories of the men who served in the JNA, from all corners of the former Yugoslavia, who performed army service together and found themselves on opposite sides once the war began—has no place in the heretofore standard narratives about masculinity in Yugoslavia, the violent dissolution of the country, and its aftermath. These

accounts have no space for Elmaz's friendship with two Roberts, Zoran, and Nermin; for the pride with which my colleague, the sociology professor Mitja Velikonja, explains how, as an eighteen-year-old JNA soldier, he was able to cook for the whole of his unit of fellow conscripts in a remote post on the Austrian border; for Hariz's fond memories of Đurica, his army buddy from central Serbia who offered him shelter in his home once the war in Bosnia started; for the loss that Božidar is still struggling with, and which concerns Đura, his best friend from the army, with whom he maintained contact many years after his military service, but stopped talking to him once the conflict in the former Yugoslavia started. Nor do the standard framings provide space for the anxiety of the photographer Franci Virant, who displayed his photographs of army buddies at an exhibition in Ljubljana and asked me to locate the people in them. He himself did not dare do so, being too afraid of what he might learn about their fate in the time of violence and killing.

This book is about men in an all-male military institution and its homogenizing effects, but it strives to de-homogenize discourses on the history of Yugoslavia and socialism in general, attending to memories, friendships, and feelings generated during military service, their forms, and the modalities through which they manifest themselves in the present. This attention reveals men not as a homogeneous, solid collective, but as troubled and fragmented selves, whose social existence has been marked by contradictions and is irreducible to firmly defined categories. These forms and modalities, memories and emotions are recognizable and shared by very many, but they simultaneously decisively shape individual biographies in unique ways. In an attempt to acknowledge this simultaneous sharedness and uniqueness, I call the interviewees who feature prominently in this book by their actual names.

This book's narrative is also shaped by the complex ways I positioned myself vis-à-vis my interviewees and their stories and feelings. Just as life on JNA bases could not be separated from the ritualized forms in which it was lived, my research on experiences of military service among former JNA recruits cannot be separated from entangled lives of us all in the aftermath of the Yugoslav catastrophe. The encounters during which I collected the material for this book were more than typical ethnographic situations. While some of the men I talked with were entirely unknown to me, I came to a majority of them through people I knew: they were fathers or other relatives of my friends; some of them were also my own friends and relatives. My father served in the Yugoslav army, and many people who mean a lot to me were also JNA soldiers.

Some of them were my colleagues and friends—some scattered across the former Yugoslavia and some now living far away from it. Whether I already knew the men I interviewed or not, sharing memories made during military service—and their later struggle to incorporate this experience into the trajectories of their own lives and of broader histories characterized by rupture and loss—was an important aspect of our relationship. Through this ethnographic situation, I learned something new and different about my male relatives, friends, and acquaintances, something intimate and unrelatable to the selves they revealed in ordinary interactions. Many stories—about places in Serbia or Slovenia where men spent time as JNA soldiers or about friends from the army—were triggered by who I am, where I come from, where I live now, or what language I speak. For the men I did not know before, sharing army stories with me was often preceded by a subtle searching for common ground and mutual recognition and trust, and resulted in long-lasting friendships.

Many could not tell me stories about their time in the army without also telling me about the subsequent events that decisively marked their lives and their view of the past. For Elmaz, it was an event in April 1999, and for Hariz it was his confinement in the Trnopolje concentration camp and the massacre in Srebrenica, in which he lost most of the male members of his family at the hands of members of the Bosnian Serb Army units. For these two men and many others I talked to, offering army stories to a Serb woman was much more than sharing anecdotal memories about military service, all similar, funny, often banal, and sometimes bizarre. Nor was this just ethnographic work for me. The interviews were post-Yugoslav encounters, and often took place far from where my home and that of the man I was interviewing had been before Yugoslavia was torn apart by ethnic wars and violence. And there is the passage of time, a temporal dimension that importantly shaped my relationship both to these men and to this book: during the many years it took for this book to take shape, I carried their stories around with me—intimate, painful, unresolvable, unique.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

After providing the sociopolitical context of the Yugoslav People's Army and the system of mandatory military service, which existed for four and half decades, in the first chapter I describe the main narrative threads about Yugoslav military service and the modalities in which they emerge and circulate

in the aftermath of Yugoslavia. I focus on the tension between the ubiquity of army-related stories in the post-Yugoslav space and the difficulties of incorporating them into the biographies of actual men, a tension resulting in silence, hesitation and suspension, forms through which the feelings related to military service work as a force recalling a lost future in the aftermath of political catastrophe.

Chapter 2 explores the characteristics of the Yugoslav military institution that made it possible for the utopian imagination to be seeded in the total, oppressive, and ritualized experience of Yugoslav military service: its syncretic character, its link to Yugoslav supranational citizenship and the ideology of brotherhood and unity, and a combination of the sameness (and equality) of men and their radical diversity that marked this experience.

Chapter 3 offers a glimpse of the everyday reality of military service and the routines that structured it, everyday routines and protocols that filled almost every moment of a day in the JNA and had to be learned through repetition. Two parts of military service were structured through different perceptions of time. In the first part, soldiers were exposed to intense training, education, and drill, aimed at disciplining them, but also at enabling them to function as a collective in a synchronized and effective way. In the second part, time slowed down, but the experience remained structured by daily routines. This chapter discusses the working of these routines and highlights their role in providing a common ground for very different men gathered in JNA units. They not only made it possible for these men to act efficiently and harmoniously, but also gave them a common language, however stiff, monotonous, and performative, and enabled modalities of life that resulted in emotions, friendships, and meaningful experiences.

The following two chapters dwell on the dynamics between sameness and radical difference among the young men serving in the JNA, discussing the ways in which the forms that constituted the day-to-day reality of military service affected soldiers' subjectivities and (self-)perceptions, and how these forms were productive of affective and meaningful relationships. Chapter 4 discusses the uniform, its difference-erasing capacity, and the ways it structured life in the barracks and outside them. It looks at the concrete effects of the military uniform and its implications for relations among young Yugoslav men gathered on JNA bases, as well as for relations between men's uniformed and "ordinary" selves.

Chapter 5 focuses on the ritualization and standardization of life in the JNA and shows how they enabled the military institution to function and strengthen its power over soldiers, but also protected soldiers from that very same power. Ritualization's protective capacity stretched beyond life on the base, working against the ethnicizing forces that shape reality in the aftermath of Yugoslavia and its military. The uniform had the capacity to make everyone the same and equal, and ritualization's protective work moved the ethnic and class identities of these men into the background and their uniform to the fore. This worked together in pointing to a utopian possibility for these men to be recognized in universal and moral terms, as *humans* and *good men*, and to matter as such—a possibility largely lost in the disastrous events of the 1990s. The routine, the ritualized, the uniformed, in all their limitations and constraints, thus unfold as forms inhabited by lost (political) alternatives and emotions that still linger among the ruins of the socialist state and its military, based on the ideology of brotherhood and unity.

Chapter 6 retains the focus on form and observes the early signs of the process of Yugoslavia's tragic destruction through the loosening and dissolving of fixed ritualized and standardized forms of being and living in the JNA: the protective capacity of the ritualized forms subsided, ethnic belonging became decisive for soldiers' treatment and destiny, and prevailed over the uniform's difference-erasing capacity. With the end of Yugoslavia approaching, peaceful experience of military service began to fade away, and the Yugoslav military became associated with the usual notions attached to military institutions: violence, fear, humiliation, war, and killing.

An interlude between chapters 6 and 7 offers a glimpse into the terminal stage of the dissolution of forms through which the Yugoslav military created a framework for a specific sociality, ethicality, and futurity, all lost in the process of dissolution. I invite the reader to walk with me through a chronology of events in the time of the catastrophe that marked the lives of JNA soldiers whose memories feature in this book and of all of us in lands devastated by violence and destruction. This chronology of events is inevitably selective and incomplete, but even in this condensed form it offers a sense of the tragic intertwinement of people, places, events, and destructive forces that govern them, of landscapes, lives, and selves altered forever by the catastrophe.

After the catastrophe came the aftermath, motionless and with foreclosed horizons of the future. It brought new borders and normalized the ethnicized

logic of life that dictates the flattening and remaking of biographies, squeezing people into narrow boxes of ethnic identity, dismantling known worlds and eradicating once imaginable futures. The JNA archives have also had to accommodate to this new logic, revealing the past as "a stable referent in the service of the present."[53] This accommodation is my main concern in chapter 7, which discusses how it affected bodies, biographies, post-Yugoslav cinematic narratives about the JNA, and the politics of remembering and forgetting in the aftermath of the Yugoslav wars.

Bits of the JNA archives and memories, however, are capable of questioning the current ethnonational logic and of pointing to alternatives to it. To understand this capability, in chapter 8 I explore the relationship between ritualized and monotonous forms of military service and affect, and focus on modalities through which these forms did not work as performative means, but became life, and temporalities that condition these forms to be loci of the utopian imagination and lost possible futures. My focus is particularly on male friendship and economies of solidarity and care as an extremely profound emotional fabric that has resulted from monotonous, ritualized, and performative patterns of life on JNA bases.

Chapter 9 sheds light on the capacity of memories from the JNA to work against the stillness of the aftermath and to question and destabilize it. The afterlife of military service in the JNA manifests in forms defined by a negative value—in silence, hesitation, suspension, and impossibility—but these are the forms through which that afterlife unsettles the past, questions fixed temporal frames, and discreetly but persistently points to alternatives to the present in the aftermath of the Yugoslav catastrophe.

In the epilogue I look back to the collective experience of serving in socialist Yugoslavia's military from the global moment shaped by the COVID-19 pandemic, war in Ukraine, burgeoning right-wing populism, and failing late capitalism. I ask about the political meanings of this experience and its afterlife for the citizens of former Yugoslav lands on the European periphery, but I also consider broader efforts to imagine the future and to practice collectivity and solidarity in the global political present.

Focusing on the form and its capacities throughout this book, I suggest a trajectory of the evolution of ritualized and standardized forms: they were solidified together with Yugoslav socialism and its army, had an important role in the army's work, but also enabled emotional ties and hosted the utopian imagination. As the end of socialism and of Yugoslavia neared, and the violent

conflicts during which it disappeared approached, these fixed forms became looser and incapable of producing meaningful connections and affects, while their protective power subsided. As simplistic as it may be, this evolutionary arc provides a corrective perspective to dominant views on European socialisms, which see the solidifying of ritualized forms as an indication of the ideology's exhaustion and its emptying of content and meaning, and the ultimate dissolution of socialism. Such a trajectory of forms that made up the experience of socialism, as well as the fact that socialist institutions used these forms to enable the production of affective fabrics that still render that experience meaningful, important, and valuable, suggest a different reading of the relationship between monotonous, standardized, "ideological" forms and the failure of socialism. They invite us to consider the possibility that socialism has not failed because citizens could no longer relate to authoritative discourses and practices because their forms became too remote from their meanings, but because the infrastructure in which these discourses and practices made sense was weakened and ultimately destroyed, rendering Yugoslav socialism incapable of maintaining its own ideological values and future-oriented imaginaries of brotherhood and unity, solidarity, comradeship, self-management, and nonalignment. In such a reading, citizens did not reject socialism because its forms became too empty and too distanced from what made sense in life, but because the social and institutional infrastructures were altered in such a way that they could no longer meaningfully accommodate the forms productive of collective meanings, affects, and future-oriented imaginaries.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1 The *JNA* abbreviation I use in this book was used in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian (standing for *Jugoslovenska/Jugoslavenska narodna armija*), while in Slovenian *JLA* stood for *Jugoslovanska narodna armada*. The Yugoslav military force was called *Armata Popullore e Jugosllavisë* in Albanian and *Jugoszláv Néphadsereg* in Hungarian.

2 Four locations of clandestine mass graves of Albanians from Kosovo killed in the 1990s by Serbian police, special units, and paramilitary forces have so far been discovered in Serbia—Batajnica, Petrovo Selo, Perućac, and Rudnica—and 941 bodies have been exhumed. In addition, bodies were burned in places like Mačkatica (an aluminum complex near Surdulica), the Feronikl factory in Glogovac, and the Bor mine and smelting basin. See "Secret Mass Graves in Serbia," https://warinserbia.rs/secret-mass-graves-in-serbia/.

3 Milićević, "Joining the War," 266.

4 See, e.g., Archer, Duda, and Stubbs, *Social Inequalities and Discontents*.

5 Patterson, *Bought and Sold*, 38; Taylor and Grandits, "Tourism," 17. Olga Shevchenko argues in her study of post-socialist Moscow that the notion of a "golden age" is not in opposition to crisis and hardship, nor are the boundaries between them clear and fixed (Shevchenko, *Crisis and the Everyday*, 70–71). The same is also true for the Yugoslav "golden years."

6 Koselleck, *Futures Past*; Scott, *Omens of Adversity*.

7 Richter, *Afterness*, 2.

8 Lasch, *True and Only Heaven*; Lowenthal, *Past Is a Foreign Country*; Sontag, *On Photography*. For discussions of the meanings and potentials of nostalgia in the

aftermath of socialism and Yugoslavia, see Velikonja, *Titostalgia*; Petrović, "Nostalgia for the JNA"; Petrović, "When We Were Europe"; Petrović, "Mourning the Lost Modernity"; Petrović, "Toward an Affective History"; Slavković and Đorgović, *Nostalgia on the Move*.

9 Quotation from Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 139.

10 Schwenkel, *Building Socialism*, 8.

11 Quotation from Jameson, "American Utopia," 1. See also Scott, *Omens of Adversity*.

12 Hunt, "Afterlives."

13 Scott, *Omens of Adversity*, 13.

14 Derrida, "Archive Fever."

15 Kurtović, "Archive." See also Petrović, *Yuropa*; Dzenovska, "Emptiness."

16 See, e.g., Galjer and Lončar, "Socially Engaged Architecture"; Hofman, "Disobedient"; Kirn, *Partisan Counter-Archive*; Stubbs, "Emancipatory Afterlives"; Štiks, "Activist Aesthetics."

17 Stoler, "Introduction," 9.

18 Richter, *Afterness*, 187.

19 On "rogue archivists," see De Kosnik, *Rogue Archives*.

20 Mbembe, "Power of the Archive," 20.

21 Scarboro, "Living after the Fall," 281.

22 The quoted passages are taken, respectively, from Georgiescu, "Between Trauma and Nostalgia," 285, and Scarboro, "Living after the Fall," 281. The Archives of the Peace Movement, stored in and managed by the Peace Institute in Ljubljana, contain testimonies from men who evaded the draft for the JNA, as well as from conscientious objectors who refused to use weapons during their military service.

23 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*.

24 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*, 241.

25 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*, 7.

26 Quotation from Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*, 9.

27 See Mbembe, "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony," 3.

28 Boyer and Yurchak, "American Stiob"; Mbembe, "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony"; Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination*.

29 Kruglova, "Social Theory and Everyday Marxists," 761.

30 Dimitrijević, "In-Between Utopia and Nostalgia," 31.

31 See *Jugoslavija: kako je ideologija pokretala naše kolektivno telo/Yugoslavia: How Ideology Moved our Collective Body*, dir. Marta Popivoda (Serbia/France/Germany, 2013).

32 On subversive affirmation, see Arns and Sasse, "Subversive Affirmation." On *stiob*, see Boyer and Yurchak, "American Stiob," and Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*. The word *stiob* is the slang term used by Yurchak to refer to "the ironic aesthetic"

and "a peculiar form of irony that differed from sarcasm, cynicism, derision, or any of the more familiar genres of absurd humor. It required such a degree of overidentification with the object, person, or idea at which this stiob was directed that it was often impossible to tell whether it was a form of sincere support, subtle ridicule, or a peculiar mixture of the two. The practitioners of stiob themselves refused to draw a line between these sentiments, producing an incredible combination of seriousness and irony, with no suggestive signs of whether it should be interpreted as the former or the latter, refusing the very dichotomy between the two." (Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 249–50). On Eigensinn, see Lindenberger, "Eigen-Sinn."

33 Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 25, emphasis in original.

34 Kruglova, "Social Theory and Everyday Marxists," 762; Luerhman, *Secularism Soviet Style*.

35 Kruglova, "Social Theory and Everyday Marxists," 766, emphasis added.

36 Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 115.

37 Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 117.

38 Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 121. "The term *svoi*," writes Yurchak, "can mean 'us,' 'ours,' or 'those who belong to our circle.'" It designates a particular form of sociality among young Soviet people "that differed from those represented in authoritative discourse as the 'Soviet people,' 'Soviet toilers,' and so forth" (Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 103).

39 Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 121.

40 Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 121.

41 Benjamin, *Arcades Project*.

42 Hunt, "Afterlives."

43 On the event-aftermath straightjacket in the context of post-colonial Congo, see Hunt, *Nervous State*, 5.

44 Hunt, "Afterlives."

45 Bebler, "Political Pluralism"; Bieber, "Role of the Yugoslav People's Army"; Hadžić, *Sudbina partijske vojske*; Hadžić, "Army's Use of Trauma"; Niebuhr, "Death of the Yugoslav People's Army."

46 Feldman, "Memory Theaters," 165. On the institutional history and technical characteristics of the Yugoslav military, see Marković, *Jugoslovanska narodna armada*; Dimitrijević, *Jugoslavenska narodna armija*; Mikulan and Smutni, *Partizanska vojska*.

47 This is part and parcel of a broader process whose workings are well illustrated by the European Union–funded project significantly named COURAGE (Cultural Opposition—Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries). Aimed at connecting collections, this project seemingly unproblematically brings together and into coexistence very different, ideologically sharply opposed people and cultural practices during the socialist period. For example, we

find next to each other Želimir Žilnik (discussed later in this book as a JNA soldier), a prominent filmmaker and part of New Yugoslav Cinema, who was born in a Nazi concentration camp in Niš where his mother was murdered soon after giving birth and his father was killed by Serbian Nazi collaborators; and Zagreb's archbishop Alojzije Stepinac, who supported the Croatian fascist puppet regime during World War II. Dubravka Ugrešić has written poignantly about these revisionist practices; see Ugrešić, "Archaeology of Resistance" (a title she borrowed from the Zagreb exhibition organized in the framework of the COURAGE project).

48 Feldman, "Memory Theaters," 165; see also Petrović, "Mourning the Lost Modernity." On narratives of "larger entities," see Ginzburg, "Microhistory," 31. On naturalization of ruins of modernist utopia as an unexceptional consequence of the end of history, see Blackmar, "Modernist Ruins."

49 Milojević, "Transforming Violent Masculinities." For a broader post-socialist context, see Eichler, *Militarizing Men*; Hallama, "Men and Masculinities."

50 Pankhurst, "Post-War Backlash Violence," 313. See also Fraser, *Military Masculinity*; Cahn and Ni Aolain, "Gender, Masculinities, and Transition"; Hamber, "Masculinity and Transitional Justice"; Moran, "Gender, Militarism, and Peace-Building"; Theidon, "Reconstructing Masculinities."

51 The prevalent normative view of socialism in Europe is strongly informed by the narrative of Europe's two totalitarianisms; see Ghodsee, "'Tale of 'Two Totalitarianisms.'" This paradigm significantly influences memory politics in the former Yugoslav societies as well. For an insightful discussion of the consequences of applying the signifier "totalitarian" in the field of Yugoslav art, see Komelj, "Function of the Signifier 'Totalitarianism.'"

52 Cf. Bilić, *LGBT Activism*; Milojević, "Transforming Violent Masculinities"; Niarchos, "Women, War, and Rape"; Schroer-Hippel, *Gewaltfreie Männlichkeitsideale*; Sivakumaran, "Sexual Violence against Men"; Wilmer, *Social Construction*; Žarkov, *Body of War*.

53 Baer, *Spectral Evidence*, 107.

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1 Rusinow, "Yugoslav Idea."

2 Rusinow, "Yugoslav Idea," 26.

3 Bertsch, "Ethnicity and Politics," 89. On the abandonment of Yugoslav identity as an alternative to ethnic identities in the 1960s, see Grandits, "Dynamics of Socialist Nation-Building."

4 See Spaskovska, "'Heteroglossia' of Loss," 35.

5 Kirn, *Partisan Ruptures*, 15.

6 Kirn, *Partisan Ruptures*, 15.

7 Bieber, "Role of the Yugoslav People's Army," 302.