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Counter-Archival Surplus: Remembering the Partisan Rupture in Post-Socialist Times

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Cover Page Footnote

Theoretical frame of this text relies on the research findings from my book *Partisan Counter-Archive* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 2020), especially part of the chapter 3. The paper itself was done in the frame of the research project Ré.Part. Résistance(s) Partisane(s): Culture visuelle, imaginaires collectifs et mémoire révolutionnaire/Partisan Resistance(s): Visual culture, collective imagination and revolutionary memory (IDEX de l'Université Grenoble Alpes, ANR-15-IDEX-02). I would like to thank participants of the Ré.Part workshop for the collective discussion and their feedbacks following the presentation and both anonymous reviewers, as well as Tobias Locker for their suggestions.

Counter-Archival Surplus: Remembering the Partisan Rupture in Post-Socialist Times

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Abstract

The article departs critically from the postsocialist condition in Yugoslavia marked by conservative revisionism that transformed the memorial landscape. The nation-building process took a clearly negative attitude towards the Yugoslav, socialist and partisan/antifascist past. The first part of the text will shortly present the notion of »counter-archive« and the central features of the method. The second part of the text will offer a short analysis of four case studies: A short partisan poem written by Iztok, a drawing by Dore Klemenčič, a partisan dance by Marta Paulin and a partisan film by Rudi Omota.

Résumé

L'article s'écarte de manière critique de la condition postsocialiste en Yougoslavie marquée par un révisionnisme conservateur qui a transformé le paysage mémoriel. Le processus de construction de nouvelles états-nations a adopté une attitude clairement négative envers le passé yougoslave, socialiste et partisan/antifasciste. La première partie du texte présentera brièvement la notion de "contre-archives" et les caractéristiques centrales de la méthode. La deuxième partie du texte proposera une brève analyse de quatre études de cas : Un court poème partisan écrit par Iztok, un dessin de Dore Klemenčič, une danse partisane de Marta Paulin et un film partisan de Rudi Omota.

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Introduction: Nationalist Repossession of Memory in Post-Yugoslav Context¹

One of the central features of the transitional process in the post-Yugoslav context of the 1990s, and in the former East more generally, can be seen as a peculiar marriage between ethno-nationalism and capitalism, which eventually often led to what we today call illiberal democracy and authoritarian neoliberalism. In the research fields of this article, memory culture and history that both relate to socialist history and World War II, a thorough transformation of the political apparatuses was at play throughout the 1990s, which implied diverse degrees of revisionism and reactionary nationalist ideology.² It is true that nationalism is not something completely new—there is a strong continuity from time of socialism—however, this text claims that the 1990s constitute a clear rupture for a large majority of the people in the former Yugoslav countries: the emergence of ethnic wars promoted ethnically cleansed nation-states as the only legitimate agents of history on the one hand, and, on the other, an intense process of economic dispossession that gradually robbed the working people of their welfare institutions as well as of their means of (re)production. Such grave social changes can be observed through the prism of Marx' thoughts on the “primitive accumulation of capital”.³ At the heart of this “accumulation” and in any transition to capitalism, a great degree of violence is unleashed: be it economic, military/colonial, political

or symbolic. For my research, I suggest introducing a slightly revised concept for the field of memory politics that I call “primitive accumulation of the memory” by the new state. Critical analyses of conservative revisionism performed a violent cleansing of the recent past and after the physical break-up of Yugoslavia, a symbolic destruction followed. Thus anything connected to Yugoslav socialist and even Partisan legacy was demonized, eradicated, and destroyed and with the demolition of thousands of Partisan monuments, the burning and recycling of books as well as the removal of the inscriptions and buildings' socialist past the post-socialist iconoclasm left its strong mark.⁴ Red stars were substituted by national flags and crosses and, apart from a revindication of a nationalist imaginary, even a more sinister rehabilitation of local fascism and collaboration took place.⁵ If socialism and World War II undoubtedly present the major sites of such disputed memory, one can observe a steady historical displacement and a reinvention of national tradition that taps deep into a romanticised past: they manifest in an increasing economic dispossession and speculation with future by capital as well as an increasing speculation with Kingdoms of the past. In this dominant constellation and reading of past and present, *nations and capital make history*.

To think about the present critically means to take a side and to participate in an ongoing intervention regarding recent historiographies and a new return to the partisan legacy⁶ and the non-aligned legacy⁷ by introducing a new methodology of reading and

¹ The theoretical framework of this text relies on the research from my book *Partisan Counter-Archive* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 2020) and more specifically on the findings of chapter 3. The paper itself was written in the frame of the research project *Ré.Part. Résistance(s) Partisane(s): Culture visuelle, imaginaires collectifs et mémoire révolutionnaire/Partisan Resistance(s): Visual culture, collective imagination and revolutionary memory* (I dex de l'Université Grenoble Alpes, ANR-15-IDEX-02). I would like to thank participants of the *Ré.Part* workshop for the collective discussion and their feedbacks following the presentation, both anonymous reviewers and also Tobias Locker for their suggestions.

² It can be argued that already from the mid-1980s onwards conservative historical revisionism that is associated with reactionary nationalist ideology proliferated across political and cultural apparatuses in Yugoslavia. For details on the reactionary turn of democratic civil society in Slovenia see Tomaž Mastnak, “Totalitarizem od spodaj,” *Družboslovne Razprave*, vol. 4, no. 5 (1987): 91–98; for a more general assessment in the post-Yugoslav context see the last chapter of Gal Kirn, *Partisan Ruptures: Self-Management, Market Reform and the Spectre of Socialist Yugoslavia* (London: Pluto Press, 2019); a lucid critical analysis of how historical revisionism worked in re-writing historiography in Bosnia and Herzegovina was written by Damir Arsenijević and Nebojša Jovanović, “Protiv konsocijacijskih teza Mirjane Kasapović,” *Agregat* 5, no. 11–12 (2007): 22–27; and for a more general frame of re-writing Soviet history through totalitarianism, see Alexei Yurchak *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

³ See last chapters of vol.1 Karl Marx, *Capital* (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

⁴ For the destruction of books see Ante Lešaja *Knjigocid: Uništavanje knjiga u Hrvatskoj 1990-ih* (Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2012); for a panoramic view of the destruction of partisan monuments in Croatia see the film of Bogdan Žižić *Damnatie memoriae* (2001); for a more general overview on the disputed memory and monuments see Vjeran Pavlaković, “Controversial Monuments.” *Spomenici i politike sjećanja u BiH i Republici Hrvatskoj, kontroverze – Monuments and the Politics of Memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, Controversies* (Sarajevo: UDIK, 2018).

⁵ Radanović importantly notes that collaboration was and remains a crime (see Milan Radanović, “Kolaboracija je zločin”, online: [https:// lupiga.com/intervju/intervju-milan-radanovic-kolaboracija-je-zlocin](https://lupiga.com/intervju/intervju-milan-radanovic-kolaboracija-je-zlocin), 2015). Rehabilitation of local collaborationism has not gone unchallenged and also took different forms, from equating partisans and Chetniks as belonging to the same nation to making Home Guards the truer patriots (than partisans). Rehabilitation was often connected to, and the result of the political and ideological work of extreme right-wing groups, right-wing parties and Church organisations in the post-Yugoslav context, which gradually permeated official memory politics and ideological apparatuses.

⁶ See Rastko Močnik “Partizanska simbolička politika.” *Zarez*, vol. 7, no. 161/162 (2005): 12–14; see also the first longer study on partisan poetry by Miklavž Komelj, *Kako misliti partizansko umetnost?* (Ljubljana: založba cf./*, 2008).

⁷ The most recent study that touched nonaligned art was done by Bojana Videkanić, *Nonaligned modernism: socialist postcolonial aesthetics in Yugoslavia, 1945-1985* (Chicago/Montreal: McGill University, 2019).

retrieving emancipatory fragments. My methodological approach departs with the prefix *counter*, which should not just be understood as a combative stance towards the dominant conservative and nostalgic reading of the recent past, but also as a re-reading of the past that mobilises revolutionary resources in order to imagine a different (lost) future. The concept of the counter-archive is admittedly a heterogeneous one and there is no dominant, no general definition. However, let me start by citing a short paragraph from the important, ongoing research project *Activating Canada's Moving Image Heritage*:

Counter-archives are political, ingenious, resistant, and community-based. They are embodied differently and have explicit intention to historicize differently, to disrupt conventional national narratives, and to write difference into public accounts. They seek to counter the hegemony of traditional archival institutions that have normally neglected or marginalized women, Indigenous, Inuit and Métis Peoples, the LGBT2Q+ community, immigrant communities. . . .⁸

This definition points in the direction of a conflictual relationship, towards a set of dominant national institutions and towards the dominant production of memory/history, which assigns clear privilege to dominant groups and their historical events. It also insists that we need to proceed from a critique of an alternative production of counter-narratives that nurture intersectional histories. The counter-archive thus departs from challenging the “official view of history”, which will then include alternative counter-archives thus leading to a more democratic society. However, my small modification and the call for a construction of a partisan counter-archive consists in radically modifying the way we do history, that is think and write it, departing from the hegemonic, chronological episodic history and transform its dominant categories, such as nation-state, archive and linearity.⁹ The theoretical

frame of this larger project¹⁰ has been heavily influenced by the epistemological legacy of French (post-)structuralists, such as Jacques Rancière, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari,¹¹ who all have in their own way intervened in the fields of (dominant) history and archive. More recently, the call to counter-visibility from Nicholas Mirzoeff posited an alternative decolonial genealogy in order to dismantle racial hierarchies and visualisations.¹² In analogy, a partisan counter-archive is interested in defragmenting scattered and demonised partisan histories and artworks that can be of use for the art-critical and political practice today.¹³ The examples I selected here express a strong sense of self-reflectivity of the partisan rupture (during the times of the liberation struggle), practised formal experimentation and envisioned history of the oppressed that help us sustain the imaginary of radical discontinuity over space and time.

Theoretical Note on Method: On “Counter-Archival Surplus”

Only weeks after the fascist occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II, the antifascist and partisan resistance started, mostly relying on the communist forces that had been working underground for two decades. The people’s liberation struggle was not merely a military struggle, but it also entailed a strong social and cultural revolution that eventually led to a major social transformation, creating a new, federal and socialist Yugoslavia.¹⁴

¹⁰ For a more detailed theoretical reconstruction see chapter 2 in the book, Gal Kirn, *Partisan Counter-Archive*, 27-69.

¹¹ Jacques Rancière, *Politics of Aesthetics. The Distribution of the Sensible* (New York: Continuum, 2004); Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *What is Philosophy?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

¹² Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

¹³ My book *Partisan Counter-Archive* (2020) is part of a collective project that attempts to defragment emancipatory traces, which have been scattered across the post-Yugoslav context. It is a collective project, since you will find various intellectuals, artists and political activists that work in their own way to mobilise past resources in current struggles. Evidently, for a more organised and systematic effort, this counter-archival project would need to also develop its own counter-institutions, material and digital means that could help in mobilising partisan resources. This does not mean that the existing institutional infrastructure, as for example the Museum of Contemporary History or the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana, cannot contribute to such project, provide important institutional criticisms and creatively use their partisan archives; however, the work should unfold on both sides, institutional and counter-institutional. To this extent, the author’s books and interventions in terms of politics of critical reading and dissemination of the research results within a part of academic-artistic community can be understood as a modest and limited contribution.

¹⁴ Kirn, *Partisan Counter-Archive*.

⁸ For an expanded definition and goals see their online platform: <https://counterarchive.ca/about>.

⁹ See Gabriel Rockhill, *Counter-History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

Every revolutionary upheaval—and the Partisan movement was undoubtedly one—disturbs the coordinates of the possible, thus pointing to a specific “surplus” in that situation. This gesture to transform the world has to do with a certain impossibility and the excess to overcome the series of dominant prescriptions of the status quo: it went against the maxim there is no alternative to the existing occupation/world; it went also beyond ethnic identity as the only option for belonging in a fascist dominated war. Partisan struggle cannot be thought without a revolutionary process that I called “Partisan rupture”, which had strong effects that carried over radical excess into the realms of politics (federative, egalitarian model, non-aligned future), art (engaged partisan autonomy), memory (on future), and even economy (self-management).¹⁵ The task for such a current counter-archive then consists in tracing specific ways in which partisan rupture was performed, commemorated, formalised as well as imagined within partisan artworks created during World War II. I was mostly interested in those artworks that succeeded to formalise the rupture of the moment and that were conscious, formally and/or politically, that the struggle creates and witnesses radical novelty. Such partisan legacy has remained of utmost importance for subsequent periods, echoing and expressing visions of future in socialist and even post-socialist contexts. A counter-archive that comprises these notions of cultural and revolutionary creativity is interested in an emancipation process that helps to reorient the predominant model of memory studies that still retains the eternal ethical and ethnic lenses of perpetrators and victims.¹⁶ Hence, rather than remaining inscribed in the figure of victim, the partisan counter-archive has to contest such perspective, following therewith the thought of Walter Benjamin, who insisted that any critical and cultural history should reconstruct the “history of the oppressed”.¹⁷

Up to this point, I attempted to scrutinise what I named the “counter-archival surplus”, which consists in the excess that, on the one hand, performed an articulate form, expression of the rupture and emancipatory future, and that manifests, on the other, a persistence of rupture that neither did nor does fit neatly in socialist or post-socialist (state) archives. I associate *surplus* with Marx’s concept of “surplus value” and Lacan’s concept of “surplus enjoyment” that have been antagonising and foundational concepts of Marxism and psychoanalysis. To simplify the long theoretical debate I here refer to the theoretical framework and findings of Samo Tomšič who showed well how these two concepts have played a prominent role within French structuralism and even for later discussions in the post-structuralist tradition.¹⁸ From the epistemological perspective developed by Louis Althusser, both, the ground-breaking discoveries of Marx and Freud, do not lie in producing a complete positivist empirical study of the human mind vis-à-vis the unconscious, respectively the statistical measurement of wealth and the degree of capitalist exploitation.¹⁹ Rather both, Marx as well as Freud, initiated a decisive theoretical rupture within then existing ideologies: for Marx, it was bourgeois political economy and its blind spot of the “surplus value,” while for Freud, it was the field of psychology and the alleged autonomous and conscious subject, substituted by the unconscious. Despite these scientific contributions to the humanities, Marxism as well as psychoanalysis remain peculiar sciences, since their objects of study and their major concepts—class struggle and sexual indifference—are traversed by antagonism and conflict. Antagonism in their epistemologies means that there is no reconciliation regarding the class split of society or of the split subject after analysis. In a similar way the field of memory cannot be easily reconciled when speaking of times of wars, struggles and ruptures. Memory itself is struggle, and within the perspective of these conceptual ruptures—the notion of

¹⁵ Kirn, *Partisan Ruptures*.

¹⁶ A valid criticism of this model was recently proposed by Michael Rothberg, *Implicated Subjects* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019).

¹⁷ Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History.” *Selected Writings, Vol. 4: 1938–1940*, edited by Michael W. Jennings and Howard Eiland (Cambridge/Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 2003: 389–400).

¹⁸ On the conceptual tackling of the surplus in Marx and Freud see Samo Tomšič, *The Capitalist Unconscious* (London: Verso, 2015): 64–79; this issue is further elaborated on in chapter 2 of my book Kirn, *Partisan Counter Archive*.

¹⁹ Louis Althusser, *Philosophy of the Encounter. Later Writings, 1978–1987* (London: Verso, 2006).

“surplus value” and, by homology, “surplus enjoyment” in psychoanalysis that structure capitalist exploitation and the unconscious—I argue that one can trace this excess within the field of memory politics and culture. This dimension of surplus structurally falls out of the neat equation of costs and investments, therapeutical (self-)help manuals and alleged strengthening of the ego, as well as of functioning of memory, be it subjective or collective. Counter-archival surplus represents the logic of antagonism that reminds us why taking sides, becoming partisan, carries consequences into our present.

Such a conceptual device first departs from the national archive that follows the birth of (a) nation and is neatly measured, canonised and structured according to the greatest aesthetic achievements of national culture within established institutions, financed and organised by a centralised authority. *Counter-archival surplus* then disrupts the neat balance of national-aesthetic substance and offers a counter-institutional and insurgent modality. The lesson to be learned from such a counter-archive is not just the perspective of struggle, but an intellectual empathy that forces us to take sides with the oppressed and excluded and that does not only commemorate the defeats, but also nurture victories. Furthermore, in line with Freud and psychoanalysis, the work of the counter-archive will make no claim or promise of any easy memory or reconciliation after the traumas of wars and revolutions. Rather, it will take seriously the lesson of splits, gaps and the selectiveness of such project. This is not to make a qualitative measurement that on the one hand, there is a majority of partisan artworks that are without the counter-archival quality, and on the other hand the politico-aesthetical gems/exceptional artworks of “surplus” that we need to re-enact and re-activate. My central focus is to grasp the modality of such artworks that directly addressed the question of rupture (social transformation) and (counter)memory on the rupture: why and in what way is the partisan rupture continued by other means? If the counter-archive is not organised around a sacred ‘origin’ that irreversibly changed the world, one is left with a series



Figure 1. Partisan woman in the printing house Donas, 1944, Davča, unknown author. Courtesy of Museum for Contemporary History of Slovenia (Ljubljana).

of heterogeneous material inscriptions of rupture. These inscriptions have, in their own way, continued the Partisan legacy in the socialist and post-socialist context. The counter-archival surplus is located at diverse sites of struggle, as temporal, spatial and aesthetic interruptions that target (then) existing forms of domination and exploitation, but also of visibility. Another vital feature of a surplus is that it cannot be easily co-opted by dominant institutions, and is opposed to only include a small layer of oppression(s) in the established historical canon in order to absolve colonial guilt or for merely representative ornamental purposes. The counter-archive has no reason to enter the established structures and leave domination untouched. In other words, the counter-archival surplus does not want to practice a quasi-democratic inclusion of difference, but to perform and make visible radical dissent with the established order/archive. It will commemorate the past-and-present voices as well as the sounds of oppression, occupation and exploitation, while at the same time, nurturing and organising those voices, gestures and images into an emancipated future that participates in new, counter-institutional apparatuses or take over the existing one by their inner transformation.

Selected Case Studies: A Partisan Poem, a Drawing, a Dance and a Film

Let us turn to the sheer magnitude of partisan art produced in Yugoslavia between 1941 and 1945, including forty thousand poems and songs, written mostly by anonymous partisans, thousands of graphic art objects, drawings and photographs, numerous theatre performances, films and even multiple partisan exhibitions that were organised in the liberated territories.²⁰ What perplexed me, since I first started working on this topic, is not necessarily the magnitude of that production, as any partisan and guerrilla struggle throughout the twentieth century evidences an immense productivity, but rather the strong awareness, which is immediately palpable and that expressed in a need to produce aesthetic work, very conscious about the Partisan rupture, respectively revolution. How come that there were, already back then, a number of artworks that called for a need to remember and even to formalise the rupture and novelty of the partisan struggle, that is transforming the existing world? The whole magnitude of partisan, and we could add anticolonial art, testifies to the creative powers of people and what Amílcar Cabral called “seed of resistance” that never goes to sleep.²¹ In this text I will focus on some partisan artworks that succeeded in intensifying the tense relationship between past, future as well as between the oppressed and their emancipation.

Partisan poems

Deleuze and Guattari’s “monument to revolution” entails an open and tense relationship between revolution and its poetic-visual echoes and refractions for future struggles.²² But what if such a tense relationship, a proper monument to revolution,

already begins within the revolution itself? As a matter of fact, within Yugoslav Partisan resistance literature and poetry one can trace a widespread preoccupation with the notion of (precarious) time and memory in the *Jetztzeit*, in the time of the struggle and rupture. There is a whole section of poetic production that could be called the poetic memory genre.²³ Predominantly these poems are written in the first person singular, with which the author addresses his or her beloved and/or fallen friends: comrades, wives, children, brothers and sisters, fathers and especially mothers.²⁴ Many of these poems evoke or follow a classical dramatic structure: there is war and the necessity of individual sacrifice, and a premonition or the imminence of a Partisan’s death. Such death is, however, not in vain, since mourning over death is necessarily linked to the horizon of freedom. There are numerous poems that can be read as testaments and goodbye letters, typically referring to the time of winter and waiting for the ever-delayed spring. Furthermore, some of these poems are oriented towards the past, where the dwelling space of a “warm home” and a beloved family are the object of yearning. One can trace another recurring tension between the desire for an encounter (be it familial, sexual or more existential—with freedom and peace) and an awareness of its necessary delay due to war and an indeterminate future. There are also some poems written by or to the “unknown” Partisan who is buried in an “unknown grave.”²⁵ Such poems form a dominant Partisan archive that commemorates the past from the perspective of present suffering, and calls for victims and/or fighters not to be forgotten. In such poetry, relatives and the beloved especially play the essential role of addressee. This is also a frequent form of poetry

²³ Most of these poems can be found in the collected volume Paternu et al. (1995, 1998).

²⁴ Just to name a few examples of such a tendency: Viktor’s poem “Memories from Youth Years” (in Paternu, Boris et al., *Slovensko pesništvo upora 1941–1945. Druga knjiga. Partizanske* (Novo mesto: Dolenjska založba, Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske Fakultete, 1998: 155), Slavec’s poem “For Freedom” (in Paternu et al., *Slovensko pesništvo*, 183), Fani Okič’s “Freedom” (in Paternu et al., *Slovensko pesništvo*, 350).

²⁵ Boris Beretič’s “To the Fallen Partisan” (in Paternu et al., *Slovensko pesništvo*, 370) and “To the dead Partisan” by Nada Čilenšek (in Paternu et al., *Slovensko pesništvo*, 492), Kosta Racin’s “Balade to an Unknown Soldier” (accessible online: <https://slikepartizana.wordpress.com/2017/04/20/balada-o-nepoznatom-vojniku-kosta-racin/>). This dimension also strengthens the thesis on Partisan anonymity as one of the central aspects of the expanding mass cultural activity.

²⁰ Vladimir, Dedijer, *Novi prilozci za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita* (Zagreb: Mladost Zagreb, 1980: 929). The most extensive project, gathering the majority of Partisan poems in Slovenia, was collected and edited in four volumes and published by Paternu in collaboration with Irena Novak-Popov, Marija Stanonik and numerous lecturers and students from the Slavic Department of the University of Ljubljana. According to this research there are roughly 12,000 poems and songs from World War II that were gathered in Slovenia alone. See Paternu et al., *Slovensko pesništvo upora 1941–1945. Prva knjiga*. (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga and Partizanska knjiga, 1987).

²¹ Amílcar Cabral, “National Liberation and Culture” *Transition*, no. 45 (1974): 12–17.

²² Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy*, 176–177.

found among those interned or imprisoned.²⁶ The structure of time here works on the level of content: the future stands for the (realised) promise of freedom, the end of war and peace, whereas the past is seen as a romanticised and idealised time of peace.

Juxtaposed to this more frequented Partisan memory genre, I would like to present one of the poems that practised a high degree of self-reflection, subtly articulated the relations between past, present and future and enhanced revolutionary temporality. *Someday in a million years' time* is a poem written by a Partisan named Iztok, who was a fighter in Prešeren's brigade. This poem appeared in the first issue of the Partisan newsletter *Triglavski Odmevi* (1943). The main addressee is humanity and, more notably, those that care to research the long distant past—*geologists*—and uncover the fossils of the Partisan struggle. What will s/he see and how will this Partisan past be understood and reconstructed under so many layers of barbarity?

Someday in a million years' time . . .

One day, in millions of years, maybe geologists will write of how people lived these days.

Their lips will curve into a bitter smile: *Oh, yes, at that time, a human being was only an animal, which is why his acts should not be taken as sins.*

But if they could only know how our hearts were beating warmly all that time, that comradeship was more to us than we to ourselves, maybe then they would think differently about us, and then also understand our great pains.²⁷

This poem posits at its core the contradictory relationship between the (distant) future (the geologist's present) and the complexity of the struggle of that time (the Partisan poet's past). The poet starts a dialogue with the future and asks the geologist if s/he will be able to understand this intensity, the Partisan rupture, without being blinded by the barbarism of war? Will there be some fragment in the fossil of the bleached bones that will testify to

the dignity of the liberation struggle of that time? Also, why should one entrust this task to geology, rather than, for example, history or the emancipatory struggle of the future—will a geologist not also be embedded in the dominant ideology of his/her time? This poem demonstrates a specific aleatory encounter between geology and poetry and can tell us something about the changing protagonists of this encounter.²⁸ There are at least three protagonists with their lines of interpretations that emerge within the geologico-poetic encounter: geologist-as-historian; geologist-as-poet-God; geologist-as-counter-archivist.

Firstly, a geologist can be defined as someone coming from the future, a representative of objective knowledge that follows specific scientific protocols and who can determine and reconstruct with a high degree of precision what this past was about. The geologist here would then become a historian or archaeologist with a critical distance from the matter and contributing to the dominant archive of his/her time.

Secondly, a geologist becomes a poet, who can either complement the past with the future, the poetic with objective discourse, or in a radicalised manner, a geologist can even substitute a poet by commanding strength in facts and speculations. This figure is very much in line with Balzac's quote²⁹ that geologists can resurrect the dead and reconstruct not only the peculiar trait or form, but the whole history. As such, a geologist-poet comes close to the figure of a Creator, an objective time-machine. In the avant-gardist dictum, geology here sublates both science and art, since it commands the old (dead) and the new (living).

And thirdly, one can also make a case for the figure of a geologist-counter-archivist that reactivates the emancipatory fragments without any formal guarantee that people might read the rupture "correctly."

²⁶ See Paternu, Boris et al., *Partizanske* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga and Partizanske knjiga, 1995).

²⁷ My translation. The original is taken from Paternu (1998, 209).

²⁸ The encounter between geology and poetry is not arbitrary, but has a whole underground current from Chinese art to Balzac's famous turn to geologist discovery of Cuiver, "our immortal natural historian has reconstructed worlds from bleached bones [...] He treats figures like a poet [...] He searches a lump of gypsum, finds an impression in it, says to you, 'Behold!' All at once marble takes an animal shape, the dead come to life, the history of the world is laid open before you".

²⁹ See footnote 28.

This path is forked and traversed by two central aspects to my interest: there is an already well-known and theorised figure of “impossible” testimony, or of the extremely painful witnessing of horrific events, such as genocide and the Shoah; while the next figure reactivates the impossibility of the Partisan struggle to defeat fascism against all odds. In other words, the most tragic defeat of the oppressed alongside the most insane and improbable victory of the oppressed. When thinking about such past, reactivation of memory is a serious activity that one has to undertake with the utmost political, theoretical and artistic creativity, care and responsibility. To take this geological-commemorative activity on a purely hermeneutical-textual level, the truth and lessons of the horrific past and victories of the oppressed can easily be endangered, reversed and forgotten. In our age, antisemitism (and Islamophobia) has been reaching new heights through the relativisation of the Shoah (Holocaust) and through launching attacks on minorities. The quest for multiple interpretations and understandings can even lead to a denial of the horrific past. The counter-archivist figure is thus not embedded in a quest for interpretation, but testifies, reflects and acts on certain horrific and victorious fragments so as to never repeat genocide (the defeat of the oppressed) or to continue repeating and expanding the rupture (the victory of the oppressed).

To return to Iztok’s poem, how concretely does it read the radical novelty of the Partisan struggle? The poem finds the Partisan struggle located between two extremes: on the one hand, it evokes the brutal transformation of man into “only an animal,” that is, into someone that kills as a moral regression from humanity to animality; on the other hand, it also evokes the transformative dimension of a person and even “human nature,” which is highlighted by the emergence of the politico-ethical principle of “comradeship.” The latter was not only bigger than the Partisan as an individual, but also something in light of which the barbarity of war fades away. Comradeship and the Partisan’s dedication to a universal cause will not be some royal path trodden by flowers but a path that brings “great pains.” In her recent work, Jodi Dean has incisively tackled the

complex entity of “comrade” and I believe that it is between what Dean defines as the third and fourth characteristics—“courage” and “enthusiasm”—that Iztok’s testimony should be read from:

Enthusiasm, energy is expected of comrades because it is that extra, that surplus benefit of collectivity, which enables them to do more, even to win. What distinguishes comrades from politically minded and hardworking individuals is the energy that accrues to collective work. Because they combine forces, they generate more than each could by working alone. Enthusiasm is the surplus that collective discipline generates.³⁰

Comradeship as something that emerges from the community-in-struggle, from the very resistance, from resisting bodies and minds, articulates and embodies the specific surplus around which the counter-archive and Iztok’s poem continues to revolve. This is why Iztok cannot speak of the moral geology of a future that would entail “working through” (*aufarbeiten*); what matters is to be able to “work upon” the struggle (*verarbeiten*) and upon the past and future relationality of Partisan comradeship.³¹ Iztok’s geologist carries the inherent tension of the Partisan, which thus cannot be resolved by moral categories of individual choice or the mere pragmatism of survival (argumentation why to embrace collaboration), but should be addressed in the light of the Partisan task: the liberation of the occupied country and the transformation of society. If one ought to measure the events in terms of a dominant humanist-Christian morality, the Partisan struggle and war would be defined as a series of “sins” (geology-as-morality). This would bring a reconciliatory conclusion, namely that all sides committed crimes and sins, and are thus guilty, of being perpetrators and victims. Every war is thus the same. One would then conclude that all the victims are the same and thus need to be commemorated in stone and images, or in poem and text.

In juxtaposition to moral relativisation, Iztok’s poem speaks of a “comradeship” that made the

³⁰ Jodi Dean, *Comrade* (London: Verso, 2019, 88–89).

³¹ For a detailed critique on the dominant ways of memorialising, see Theodor Adorno, “The Meaning of Working through the Past.” *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2005, 89–103).

individual strive beyond selfish self-interest and a survival strategy. Is the counter-archivist and a future reader therefore invited to participate in a self-reflective and utopian practice that (re)constructs comradeship, imaginaries and fights for the possibility of a new world? This “thought-image” might already trigger the transition so well encapsulated by Hal Foster, when he speaks of the strategic transformation of “excavation sites’ into ‘construction sites,” which “suggests a shift away from a melancholic culture that views the historical as little more than the traumatic.”³² The shift also points towards moving away from defeats and victims towards a history of the oppressed and various small or big victories that were achieved in the long twentieth century. Against a sort of moral relativism that all wars are the same, the geologist of the counter-archive stages a site for reconstruction and revives utopia for today and for a realised emancipatory politics of yesterday, while at the same time s/he cannot cover up the initial antagonisms that lead to brutal wars, or even less so, the antagonisms that relativise and rehabilitate fascism.

A Partisan Drawing: A Figure of Collective-in-Resistance

Any research that works on partisan past/imagery and commemoration should pose a departing question: how do we, and how did Partisans conceive of the collective figure/image of Partisan struggle? Did they succeed in untying it from the individual hero or heroine, in case of Yugoslavia from Marshal Tito or even from the long-established symbol of the star? How can the imagery of Partisan struggle also be untied from the imagery of masculine virility and militarism that ornament the retrospective romanticist gaze of heroic times? Which form of collectivity would best portray the Partisan hunger for freedom? One of the most famous and recognized partisan/liberation gestures is a raised fist and it has been seen, as Georges Didi-Huberman pointed out, as an important legacy of liberation.³³ It is on



Figure 2. Stjepan Filipović before his execution in Valjevo, 1942, by Slobodanka Vasić: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stjepan_Filipovi%C4%87#/media/File:Stjepan_Stevo_Filipovi%C4%87.jpg

this space that an individual carries the name of the struggle, extends the fist and stands in for a universalist idea, of raising up against all forms of oppressions. There is one famous image that could be aligned with this idea of Didi-Huberman: a photo of the partisan Stjepan Filipović (Fig. 2), who was caught and tortured by the Nazis and who shouted “death to fascism, freedom to people”³⁴ just moments before his public execution. His gesture—and a slogan that became central to the Yugoslav partisan struggle—made him immortal, his figure transcending death.

However, while such male heroic figures are already long part of a dominant canon of resistance,

³² Hal Foster, “Archival Impulse,” *OCTOBER 110* (2004): 3–22.

³³ Georges Huberman-Didi, ed., *Soulèvements* (Paris, Gallimard, 2016).

³⁴ This slogan established itself as official slogan of the entire people’s liberation struggle.

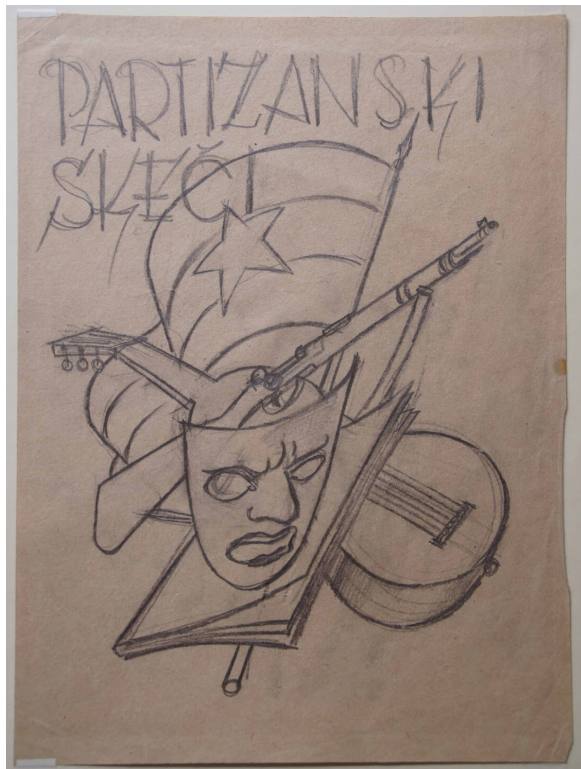


Figure 3. Partisan Sketches, a drawing (1943) made by Dore Klemenčič-Maj. Courtesy of Janin Klemenčič's personal archive.

I here prefer to address slightly less known and more abstract figure of struggle itself. In the personal archive of Janin Klemenčič I found a drawing of his father, Dore Klemenčič. He was an academic painter and a leader of propaganda section, where he was assigned the role of producing illustrations and posters for Partisan newspapers and propaganda leaflets intended especially to be distributed in the region of Primorska.³⁵ Among a sea of drawings I found one peculiar image that condenses the whole complexity of the struggle. This drawing is entitled *Partizanski skeči* (Partisan Sketches, see Fig. 3) and was done in mid-1943.

The drawing stands out from Klemenčič's opus as it shows in a poignant and abstract manner the diverse collective facets of the Partisan struggle. It is neither a sketch of an individual figure, nor a caricature, but rather a work, which displaces the individual Partisan into an abstract realm of various

³⁵ For the memoirs and a detailed diary see Dore Klemenčič-Maj, *Iz gubljeni zapiski*. (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1972).

Partisan activities. Actually, Klemenčič's drawing succeeds in sketching, thinking and commemorating the entire modality of the struggle. One could even argue that such a work is a crystallised memory-image that persists even after the partisan films and popular culture in socialist Yugoslavia would have mythologised the heroic image of mostly male partisan fighters. The drawing complicates the more generally expected and accepted canon of the Partisan figure: one of a male or female fighter adorned with guns, smiling and at times carrying the star on the hat. Klemenčič's fully armed and empowered Partisan *struggle* redefines the very notion of weapons used in a war. It exemplifies that the armed struggle also needs an armed collective memory of resistance: from the obvious rifle to a guitar, a theatre mask and a book assembled under the new flag of the new Yugoslavia, which carries a star. The drawing thus expresses the equivalence of the different arms used in struggle and puts on display a deeper solidarity between political, cultural and military work that aims for liberation and arms for universal emancipation. This lucid transfiguration therefore displaces the individual Partisan figure as the holder and bearer of plural Partisan activities, while the main protagonist becomes the struggle itself.

Finally, an important echo of such emblem can be traced in further images across the Yugoslav liberation struggle. The recent book of Davor Konjikušić on partisan photography assembled an impressive counter-archive and found an almost identical emblem used to propagate cultural-educational work of Dalmatian national liberation.³⁶ There, at the centre stage of the huge poster consisting of different photographs, a drawing of plural cultural activities can be found.

A Partisan Dance: I dance because I am a part of partisan revolution

Marta Paulin-Brina was a modernist dancer already before World War II and entered the cultural group

³⁶ Davor Konjikušić, *Red Light - Yugoslav Partisan Photography and Social Movement 1941-1945* (Belgrade: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2019).



Figure 4. Wallpaper *Kulturno-prosvjetni rad kroz n.o. borbu* (Cultural-educational work through people's liberation struggle. Photography from Photosection of the regional committee of council of liberation of Dalmatia. Courtesy of Croatian Museum of History, Zagreb (HPM/MRNH-F-11962)

of partisans early in the war.³⁷ I will present one of her famous dances that she performed on a very symbolic occasion. She struggled with the question how to dance among partisans; especially during the inauguration of the Rab partisan brigade that was formed by the liberated survivors of the Italian occupied island of Rab (after the capitulation of Italy)—among them hundreds of Jews.³⁸ The event was fuelled by the symbolism of homecoming and the struggle for freedom after the horrific experiences the survivors had endured in the island's concentration camp. Marta Paulin-Brina's self-reflection of partisan cultural technique explains her dance performance at best:

³⁷ She attended the school of modern dance in Ljubljana, run by Meta Vidmar, who got a licence for her school from the internationally known Mary Wigman' school in Dresden.

³⁸ The Rab brigade was formed after the capitulation of Italy, when the internees of the major Rab concentration camp, among them many Jews, were released and a large majority of them formed the new brigade(s).

I became a dancer, where nature became my stage. Instead of a wooden stage with boards I dance now everywhere. The feeling of balance becomes again a "problem"; the musculature works differently, because once the leg was searching for support in stones, another time on soft ground. This was the first thing that I observed. But then came more. This immense natural space gives you opportunity and demands the expansion of movement. From a small move and gesture in the closed theatre one then creates a whole march in the open plane on a natural stage. This is also how dance-moves could become big, clear and broad, that is, if I wanted to somehow command this huge space and establish myself in it. I also danced alone. Maybe my co-dancer in the hour of creation was from all artists most left on his own, because he had to realise my thought without any external help. Alone with his own mind, and from his own body "this something" had to be created. Conventional and unpersuasive



Figure 5. Marta Paulin-Brina dances on the event of the oath and the foundation of the Rab brigade, 23 September 1943, Mašun. Foto: Jože Petek, permission Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije.

ballet “grace” would immediately wither away in nature, it would even become comical. In our case there was no so-called ballet in the broad sense of the word, but we could speak of dance expression that was rooted in the liberated floors, with human participation in its historical creation of a nation or people. It was about participation in the liberation struggle of a people that knew no despair and that was aware of its strength and historical mission. Dance calls for struggle, and in this struggle, it is winning; it unties in joy; because of struggling and of constant efforts, because of power, because of the very historical act.³⁹

The strength of Marta and her performance was according to the first line of her testimony drawn

³⁹ Marta Paulin-Brina, “Plesna umetnost v partizanih” *Partizanska umetnost*, edited by Filip Kalan et al. Ljubljana: Zveza kulturno-prosvetnih organizacij Slovenije and Delavska enotnost, 1975, 25 (the translation is mine).

from the liberation struggle itself, its historical mission of liberation and determination of partisans to conduct it. But how can one dance if one is besieged, occupied and stripped from all basic infrastructure? Again, Marta Paulin-Brina gives a lucid answer:

In this dance circle we could all give each other hands. Ours was a closed circle: in efforts and in suffering, in the midst of sighs and smiles, laughing – we were closely bound together. When I became a dancer, I found myself standing alone in front of the mass of fighters. I had this awareness of what I could do with my gift for dancing and my weak body, but how I could express that something, that what assembled us / brought us together, how would I be able to command this expanded natural space. Suddenly, I felt an immense power in my legs, when I stood and pushed down hard on the ground of the earth. The hands felt horizons



Figure 6. Marta Paulin-Brina dances on the event of the oath and the foundation of the Rab brigade, 23 September 1943, Mašun. Foto: Jože Petek, permission Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije (Ljubljana).

of forests and were walking climbing over the top of its trees. In my dance there was no imitation that could be related to formalistic moves. I rejected almost everything that in the years of dance school-training I had learned. I searched for dance expression, original and fresh, which emerged from the human need to move. I found it in the game of balance, in balance with dynamic, rhythmic and voluminous dimensions, in tension and relaxation. Dance expression was a consequence of internal engagement. That I found this correct language of movement was only possible because of *people* and the *partisan poem*, which was understood by everyone.⁴⁰

Marta Paulin-Brina's self-reflection expresses one of the most profound wisdoms of Partisan dance and art that I would sum up in the following way: despite being highly skilful in modern dance techniques, she had to first 'unlearn' these techniques and relearn to dance under the changed conditions in front of a new audience. Thus, she had to meet and experience all the unexpected varieties of landscape and at the same time carry a deep awareness of the mission; for the people and because of the people, bearing in mind and body the task of liberation, while also trying to invent new artistic forms and practices. The performance was a 'surplus'

⁴⁰ Paulin-Brina, "Plesna umetnost", 25–26 (Emphasis and translation are mine). Marta was deeply inspired by partisan poetry, most closely by the outstanding young poet Karel Destovnik-Kajuh (1922–1944), who was her close friend/partner in XIV. division. She danced half a year among partisans only to lose her toes due to the harsh winter during the partisan march in 1944, in which also Kajuh died.

from her past engagement as a dancer and a radical consequence of her 'internal' engagement. Perhaps Paulin-Brina's performance could be best read as a lived anthem to Partisan dance, *Aufhebung* of poetry by dance, which in her very tense and constant movement and the ones of other liberated/liberating bodies of the struggle announces the liberation.⁴¹

Partisan film

Partisan film remains an under-researched field for different reasons. Firstly, Partisan troops mostly did not have access to the necessary material means—including cameras and any kind of film studio or laboratory. This was the result of the specific wartime context, and it was only after the liberation of Belgrade in October 1944 that this situation gradually improved. Yet to say that the Partisans did not have any material means would be incorrect: there were a few cameras circulating, which had been smuggled into the liberated zones from the pre-war period and further cameras as well as other materials had been confiscated from the occupying forces. Still, it was exceptional for a typical Partisan unit to have a camera at their disposal. This activity was reserved for a very small number of individuals who were working for cultural units or propaganda sections as part of the liberation struggle. Secondly, up until 1943, the use of cameras was politically restricted. The reasoning behind this restriction was designed to protect people: photographs or films could betray locations and serve to identify Partisans. This material could, and did, become a dangerous weapon in the hands of the occupiers and collaborationists. It served as

⁴¹ Marta Paulin-Brina was not the only dancer among Partisans. There were some ballet dancers in the *Theatre of People's Liberation* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while in the occupied zone in Ljubljana another woman from the school of modern dance, Živa Kraigher, practised and set a fixed choreography. She was active on the front, while also secretly working on her dance in the studio during the war. In her memoirs she writes that both, the intensity of Partisan experience and the reading of Matej Bor's poetry collection *Previharimo Viharje* from 1942 brought her to imagining and practice for her own performance. Kraigher also admits that she did not want to perform her dance piece for a long time, as she felt it needs more maturing. Thus, it was first presented only in 1953 and entitled "Resistance" ("Upor"). To think about conceiving one short performance of 5 minutes in the working process that lasted 10 years in both contexts, during and after the liberation, would be something practically impossible in current post-Fordist precarious and instantaneous conditions of artistic labour.

a means of prosecuting Partisans' family members, taking them as hostages and/or deporting them to the concentration camps. Nevertheless, despite the evident danger, the General Command of the Partisan struggle still saw the need to document the conflict. The first decree for the Partisan archive was signed by the famous Jewish communist and Partisan Moša Pijade, who on 20 October 1942 wrote that each Partisan unit should collect:

- a) one copy of each publication (a newspaper, booklet, leaflet, or any other cultural or other material) and also all future publications [. . .] b) one copy – of all photographs of our struggles and from behind the front, also the confiscated enemy's photographs [. . .] each photo needs to state who or what it represents, when and where it was taken, and from who this photo was taken [. . .] d) texts of Partisan poems and folk songs from the uprising.⁴²

Pijade's text is a first direct reference to an 'archive of the uprising,' which seeks to document not only the fight against fascism but the uprising itself (see point (d)). In reality, one can speak of more consistent photographic documenting of the struggle from 1943 onwards (within the propaganda units), while Partisan film activity came to be consistently used only during the time after the liberation of Belgrade.⁴³ Dejan Kosanović points out that the first decree for the creation of a film division was passed on 5 December 1944, the same period when the production and editing of the first Partisan newsreels appeared.⁴⁴ There were other Partisan film documents that emerged before that, but many of those were lost and destroyed. Finally, other researchers working on partisan film have argued that although having no aesthetical value, they would constitute a rather small but nevertheless important part of visual "partisan documents".⁴⁵

⁴² Quoted in Miloš Miletić and Mirjana Radovanović, *Lekcije o odbrani: prilozi za analizu kulturne delatnosti NOP-a* (Belgrade: RLF, 2016), 106.

⁴³ See France Brenk, "Prispevek k zgodovini slovenskega in jugoslovanskega filma do 9. maja 1945." *Dokumenti Slovenskega Gledališkega Muzeja*, vol. 6–7, no. 2 (1966): 43–61. For a recent publication on Partisan photography and archives see also the new and impressive book by Davor Konjikušič, *Red Light - Yugoslav Partisan Photography*.

⁴⁴ Dejan Kosanović, *Kinematografija u Bosni i Hercegovini 1897–1945* (Sarajevo: Kino Savez Bosne i Hercegovine, 2003).

⁴⁵ France Brenk, "Slovenski NOB film." *Dokumenti Slovenskega Gledališkega Muzeja*, vol. 25, no. 11 (1975): 48–69.

First Partisan Film "by Other Means": Song of Resistance

The very first Partisan film to use "other means" dates from 12 December 1941. It was during the evening of that day that the very last cultural performance of the Academic Choir France Marolt took place at the Union Hall in the Italian-occupied Ljubljana. The choir succeeded in masking the anti-occupation event under the guise of cherishing Italian culture. The Italian commissar was present at the event and did not at all like what was happening. The very last song on the programme list was *Lipa zelenela je* (The linden tree is becoming green), which represented an important step in the Slovenian national awakening, as the last verses conclude with: "Sleep, sleep, oh linden tree, but you will not sleep forever, as green spring will bring new blossom blossoms. Again the birds, the happy birds will sing us our songs, whistle our songs." One of the members of the choir, the Partisan poet and lawyer Dr. Lev Svetek recollects:

After we performed each song, there was major applause, but after the very last poem *Lipa* there was an enthusiastic hurricane of loud screams and applause [. . .] this was not a mere cultural event but a direct expression of political resistance [. . .] and at that moment I saw the Italian commissar accompanied by a civilian leaving the hall [. . .] The next day the Academic Choir was dissolved by the High Commissioner Grazioli.⁴⁶

After this event, cultural workers and groups were forbidden, while those sympathetic to or active in the Partisan resistance took an oath of silence, that is, they no longer cooperated in any cultural activities organised by the fascist authorities.⁴⁷ This song did not only echo down through testimonies but became part of the real Partisan counter-archive due to the formidable skill and courage of the film

⁴⁶ For a lengthier testimony of this event and a detailed overview of the cultural activities of the choir see <http://www.apz-tt.si/en/o-zboru/zgodovina/1926-1941/>.

⁴⁷ The call for cultural silence in January 1942 by the Liberation Front meant that there should be no collaboration in cultural affairs. Ljubljana was one of the biggest resistance cities in occupied Europe, where a large majority of the population cooperated with the Liberation Front and had infiltrated the occupied apparatus. In February 1942, Italian forces erected barbed wire with checkpoints and bunkers around the entire city, which remained until the end of the war (1171 days).

technician Rudi Omota.⁴⁸ He was a member of the (Partisan) Liberation Front and had been a technician in the company Emona Film with access to certain scarce film material. As the concert was to last only twenty minutes, he had calculated that he would need three hundred metres of material for the recording. In order to get enough tape, he created a cutting machine that spliced the original 35mm film in two. Subsequently, he managed to secretly plant the microphone inside the chandelier in the Union Hall a day before the event took place. Once the concert started, Omota locked himself in a room, from where he recorded the sounds of the resistance on a film reel—an ingenious invention born out of shortage of material (i.e. inscription on magnetophon tape). Hence, the concert was recorded on a split 17.5 mm film tape, a major step for the technical discovery of recording sound directly on film and a discovery that would have its global breakthrough after WWII. Thus, one can consider the first Partisan moving images in Yugoslavia an equivalent to moving sound, respectively a film recording of sound. Hence, instead of the moving images (visual signifiers) Omota recorded and produced moving words (poetic signifiers). All in all, this qualifies what Levi, in assessing avant-garde film legacy, calls film/cinema by other means; this means that in order to produce filmic/cinematic effects, the film had to pass through other medias and innovate/experiment before becoming film itself.⁴⁹

Short Conclusion

This text elaborated on and synthesised some of the research findings of my recent book *Partisan Counter-Archive* that worked on the triangulation between politics, memory and art within Yugoslav People's Liberation Struggle. In the text I focused on the major theoretical contributions of a proposed method and paradoxical entity called the counter-archive. I claimed that in order to challenge post-Yugoslav official historiography and

memory politics that are nationalist and revisionist, critical scholarship needs to go beyond criticism and propose an affirmative account of the partisan ruptures. Perhaps it takes a paradoxical move to be able, on the one hand, to cultivate dispersed, emancipatory fragments, while on the other to already argue for their defragmentation and their connection to other similar struggles of the twentieth century. I offered a definition of the counter-archive that centres around the relation between the rupture and memory on rupture. If rupture is here not conceived as a simple discontinuity and an overthrow of power, but rather the revolutionary process that yields strong consequences for future, then memory on such rupture, on specific excess over normal situation, can also not be taken as something fixed, self-celebrating or at a standstill, frozen in time. The intense temporality of partisan rupture and its continuation—by memorial/monumental/aesthetic means—encompasses different social fields and might trigger new discontinuities in the future to come. Thus, the relation between rupture and memory is neither linear nor mutually conditioning, but one of intense encounters, arrested developments, regressions, fast forwards and also contradictions between these two processes. This article ended with a presentation of a few case studies, namely a partisan poem, a dance, a drawing and a film; all examples express(ed) a strong sense of self-reflectivity of the rupture (during the times of the liberation struggle), practiced formal experimentation and envisioned history of the oppressed that help us sustain the imaginary of radical discontinuity over space and time. The Partisan counter-archive points out the extremely creative combination of intermedial art forms and comradely cooperation between artists, cultural workers and amateurs who contributed to Partisan production and dissemination. The selected records are not a closed selection, but a departing point for future research that holds a space that keeps (re)constructing solidarity between the oppressed, even if distant in time and space.

⁴⁸ The song is now stored in digital form at the Archive of Radio Slovenia and is accessible online: <https://ru-clip.net/video/JY-2Th14ex1/apz-1941-lipa-zelenela-je.html>.

⁴⁹ Pavle Levi, *Cinema By Other Means* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).