

Death and Tito: Yugonostalgia and the Contemporary Art of the Former Yugoslavia: Marina Abramović and Natalija Vujošević

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Abstract

This paper handles how the contemporary art of the Balkans currently displays an interaction with the concept of Yugonostalgia, defined as a longing for the unity that came with the establishment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the wake of the dissolution of this union and the wars of succession that finally split the republic into multiple nations. Prior to considerations of the artist themselves, a brief history of the region and artistic movements is clarified to frame the material the artists respond to, beginning with the origins of Yugoslavia as a geopolitical idea. The primary artists explored are Marina Abramović and Natalija Vujošević and the philosophy that pervades their work. These artists respectively represent the standpoints of being pro-Yugonostalgia and being anti-Yugonostalgia. Details of their lives are discussed, such as Abramović's departure from the region in the mid 1970s and Vujošević's work within the region to the present day, that have a bearing on their interpretation of the contemporary condition of the former Yugoslavia. Through examination of the artists' lives and visual analysis of particular works from the artists, a rationale for their respective positions as well as how their position manifests itself in their art is explored. How their chosen mediums of expression shift the presented philosophy are also discussed, as Abramović chooses the active performance art while Vujošević chooses the more detached installation style of art. On these grounds, the conclusion is reached that Yugonostalgia is an area of philosophical contention in the art currently being produced in the former Yugoslavia.

1. Introduction

Throughout the twentieth century, several socialist projects came into existence. While the most well-known of these are in places such as the USSR and Cuba, there are others which have their own unique histories and influences on the contemporary directions of the regions they occupy or occupied. One such project is that of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1946-2003). Although the republic itself is no longer in existence, the mark it has left on the region is plainly and openly recognizable. The phenomenon of "Yugonostalgia" (a longing for the time when Yugoslavia was still unified) is present in many of the countries which composed Yugoslavia, such as Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro.¹ Yugonostalgia is a powerful force in many of the contemporary Balkan nations which has spread *en masse* into the art of the region, whether an artist stands in solidarity with Yugonostalgia, or in stark opposition to it.² The art of Marina Abramović and Natalija Vujošević provides insight into the history of Yugoslavia and the waves of Yugonostalgia that have since followed and how the art of pro-Yugonostalgia and anti-Yugonostalgia artists express their views through their art.

The history of the region formerly known as Yugoslavia creates a scene in which revolutionary tides can be seen as almost inevitable, while also having a darker history leading to more insidious ideologies. With Yugoslavia going through many political transformations, from kingdom to fascist dictatorship to socialist project to splintered region,

there are a plethora of reasons why people may want to return to a time that many perceive as better. There is, however, much contention about when that time was and whether or not recreating Yugoslavia truly would be the answer today. Naturally, a brief consideration of the history of the region is required before any major statements can be made with any form of accuracy concerning the culture, memory, and modern direction of the region that was once Yugoslavia.

2. Abridged History of the Region since 1929

In the wake of the First World War, Yugoslavia, was formed through the unification of certain already extant kingdoms such as Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Serbia and Montenegro (which also held some North Macedonian territory). In 1929, the region came to call itself the Kingdom of Yugoslavia or more formally the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Problems from the initial conception of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia continued throughout the region's history (such as Serbia's desire for a more centralized style of government). From 1941 to 1945, Yugoslavia had been divided with a great portion of its territory being ruled by a group of Croatian fascists, the Ustaša.³

After the Second World War, the Socialist Federal Republic (from this point shortened to SFR) of Yugoslavia was formed with the ascension of Josip Broz Tito and his partisans in 1946. The SFR Yugoslavia was organized in a federal system composed of six republics - Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia - and two relatively autonomous zones - Kosovo and Vojvodina. Even though the SFR Yugoslavia had a federal form, power primarily fell into the hands of Tito and his League of Communists. Over the course of the following three decades, power was distributed further down the line in society in a soviet-style organization. Since Tito left no clear plan for succession, after his death in 1980, power was consolidated in a representative presidency with each republic or region having one representative.⁴ It is at this point that problems with Yugoslav economic structuring became intertwined with older historical problems. In short, wealth and development disparities between the regions produced two philosophies of how to handle the refusal of the International Monetary Fund to issue loans without economic restructuring.⁵ The more economically developed republics believed that they were being taken advantage of by the not so wealthy republics and so the wealthier wanted the less affluent to shoulder all of the ensuing costs, despite being part of a larger federation.

The situation became a disaster shortly after Tito's death and especially in the 1990s.⁶ Elizabeth Pond, political scientist and correspondent, summarizes that Serbian nationalism had long been a contentious reality in the region, one which resurfaced with a vengeance upon the secession of Croatia and Slovenia from Yugoslavia.⁷ Furthermore, Pond indicates that other strains of nationalism at this time in the Yugoslav project cannot be ignored, such as the nationalism that prompted Croatia to praise the fascist Ustaša.⁸ Eventually, more and more republics would secede from Yugoslavia which would leave only Montenegro and Serbia in 1992. In the interim, various groups from the nations surrounding Bosnia and Herzegovina carried out the heinous Bosnian Genocide, which would be condemned by the International Court of Justice in 1996.⁹ Eventually even the union of Serbia and Montenegro was broken up in 2006 after Montenegro formally separated. Since 2006, the region has remained in its structure of multiple independent republics with some of them joining the European Union, such as Croatia and Slovenia.¹⁰

3. Yugoslavia and the Arts: Yugonostalgia

Despite the grim events common in its later years, Yugoslavia upheld an attitude of openness that was plainly interacting with the culture of even openly anti-communist nations in an attempt to create a perception of a socialist project that would not seal itself away, but instead participate in a cultural dialogue. Compared to other socialist projects, such as the Soviet Union, Tito's Yugoslavia was fairly open to artistic and cultural expression as a whole.¹¹ A variety of expressions took hold, ranging from the abstract expressionism of Edo Murtić to the performance art of Marina Abramović. The attachment these artists showed towards their traditional cultural practices and diversity, as seen with their participation in EXPO 1958, also gestured to an interest in maintaining a careful balance between the many cultural groups encompassed in their borders.¹² The art historian Bojana Videkanić considers this cultural perspective and wider goal concerning global perception a new form of modernism, a "non-aligned modernism," which reflected the growing gap between SFR Yugoslavia and the USSR in the shadow of the Cold War.¹³ It is precisely this openness to other cultural experiences that may contribute to the phenomenon of Yugonostalgia. Two artists who serve to show the developments and dispositions of Yugoslav art prior to the project's actualization and prior to the work of Abramović are respectively Krsto Hegedušić (1901-1975) and Edo Murtić (1921-2005).

The Croatian Krsto Hegedušić was an artist who saw the rise of the SFR Yugoslavia in the mid-twentieth century after being politically active as a socialist during the period in which Yugoslavia was still a kingdom. His art was heavily concerned with conditions under which the Yugoslavian peasants lived, depicting a harsh reality set against them, both by the socio-political situation supported by the kingship and the natural environment.¹⁴ This came as a natural result of his disposition towards socialism, which also encouraged him to become a founding member and central figure of the Zemlja group, an explicitly leftist group of artists.¹⁵ According to the art historian Petar Prelog, Hegedušić exhibited 160 works, making him an obviously prolific leftist painter. His corpus of work consists of a Naïve style that seeks more to illuminate the material conditions that people were faced with every day as opposed to ornamenting it. Not only was he himself producing great quantities of work, the artists whose training he was responsible for were also doing so (such as those from the Hlebine School, which Hegedušić founded in Podravina).¹⁶ It is important to keep in mind that his exhibition of 160 works was done over the course of only eight events prior to the banning of the Zemlja group by the police in the 1930s.¹⁷ The activities of Hegedušić laid some of the foundations for further productions of leftist works in the future and likely the development of revolutionary sentiments in the then monarchical Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The work of Edo Murtić, who was most active during the time of the SFR Yugoslavia, is a chief example of how Yugoslavia welcomed variety in its cultural development. By employing abstract expressionism, a rather individualistic approach to art, in a state which purported an ideology far more focused on a collective identification, Murtić voices the socialist concern with individual liberation as it expands onto a collective body, as opposed to being divorced from it.¹⁸ Murtić's work *Abstract Composition* from 1962 shows signs of inspiration from Robert Rauschenberg and Jackson Pollock, likely from Murtić's visit to the United States and his observations of the American Abstract Expressionists (Figure 1). His incorporation of abstract expressionist methods, such as metaphysically-oriented or "primal" painting techniques tied to the id, akin to those of the American Abstract Expressionists, into the artistic culture of a socialist project serves to illustrate concerns over avoiding a monotonal or monolithic style within the Yugoslav artistic community prior to Abramović and Vujošević and display Yugoslavia's willingness and perhaps even desire to incorporate multiple artistic styles into its cultural vocabulary.



Figure 1. Edo Murtić, *Abstract Composition*, Color Serigraph, 1962, Victoria and Albert Museum, London <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O698427/abstract-composition-print-murtic-edo/>.

The willingness of Yugoslavia to interact and enter into dialogue with even anti-communist cultures with legitimate interest and openness serves as a stark contrast to the popular productions of the 1990s and 2000s, in which nationalist music praising the actions of nationalist forces was common. In the post-war period of Yugoslavia, once freed from the rule of the Ustaša and able to articulate its own socialism, there seems to have been a great interest in exploring nuance and diversity within Yugoslav society or at the very least in the arts. It is precisely this contrast between the

post-war Yugoslavia and the collapsing Yugoslavia of the 1990s that creates the environment for Yugonostalgia to gain force in the cultural productions of the Former Yugoslavia.

4. Marina Abramović and the Power of Performance

Marina Abramović (1946-) has a unique position in Yugoslav art. Born in Yugoslavia in 1946, a significant part of her career was spent there making art, however, she left the country for the Netherlands in 1976 and eventually New York City, where she currently lives. At present, she more closely associates herself with a Serbian identity than a Yugoslav.¹⁹ This may even have been the case during the time of the SFR Yugoslavia, which would be an additional factor in considering her relationship to Yugonostalgia. Her art is heavily concerned with the limits of the body and mind and the various ramifications that such limitations have on the world around us.²⁰ This fascination likely influenced her choice of primary medium, performance art. Most if not all of her work has been performance art, allowing her to play with perceptions of action and passivity, as well as the temporality of a piece. Abramović's attachment to her preferred medium connects to her beliefs about nostalgia by how the uniqueness of her performances, being singular events, force an audience member to live in the present and directly touch the art she produces. As for her philosophy regarding action, by suspending her agency Abramović is able to call the audience into question and the space they occupy, both in relationship to an individual work and performance art as a medium. On the other hand, by claiming her agency, she is able to create a tragic display of how that very agency can be reduced to uselessness, as with *Balkan Baroque*.

4.1 Balkan Baroque and Bleak Realities

One of her most famous pieces, for which she won a Golden Lion in 1997 at the Venice Biennale, is *Balkan Baroque* (Figure 2).²¹ This work is arguably her most influential regarding Yugoslavia and the conditions of what was in the process of becoming the contemporary Balkans. *Balkan Baroque* is a recorded performance accompanied by video and a set which makes use of her own presence and memory to comment on the events in the Balkans from 1991 to the work's creation in 1997.



Figure 2. Marina Abramović, *Balkan Baroque*, cow bones, copper, sinks and tub filled with black water, bucket, soap, metal brush, dress stained with blood, 1997, MoMA, New York, New York
<https://www.moma.org/audio/playlist/243/3126>.

Abramović employs videos depicting her parents and herself. Her mother and father, who were both partisans in Tito's revolutionary forces and rose to positions in his government, are recounting their impressions of the situation while Abramović is telling a story about a third person she interviewed who caught rats.²² Additionally, she chooses to illustrate a visceral retelling of what the rat catcher states as his own interpretation of events, the story of the "wolf rat." Visceral is meant quite literally, as Abramović sits on top of a massive pile of bones still covered in flesh and blood which serves as an image for the many lives that had been stolen away in the wars of succession in Yugoslavia. This pile is the end of the rat catcher's story. During the performance, Abramović begins to tell the story of the "wolf rat," which is more or less an allegory for a way of looking at human nature by discussing how rats behave when they find themselves to be trapped. The story is basically that once you start to strip certain resources from the rats, such as food, they develop an us-versus-them mentality and they will do anything to survive, even cannibalize each other. This is what Abramović saw as happening in her homeland and the surrounding countries. People that once worked alongside each other were now pointing rifles at each other and slaughtering each other.

The larger performance aspect of her work is that she is attempting to clean bones of all of their rotting meat while wearing a white dress. Naturally, the dress became more and more bloodied as the performance continued and Abramović cleaned more and more of the bones with her water bucket and metal brush. In addition to her washing the bones, attempting to clean them, she is singing various folk songs that she had heard in her childhood.²³ The songs themselves are not necessarily formally recorded anywhere, rather they were from her memories of peaceful times as a child with her grandmother. By singing these songs, Abramović is attempting to bring a portion of that peace into the present moment, a moment plagued by death.

There are at least two levels of commentary present in this action of washing the bones clean. One, that there are heinous actions that one cannot experience or come to know about without experiencing some of the shame that comes along with them. This is most evidently expressed by Abramović attempting to wash the bones. In doing so, she herself has been tainted by the gore and violence of the circumstances. In the case of the Bosnian genocide, this tainting absolutely holds true. There is then the second layer which implies the impossibility of ridding the shame from those who would intentionally or unintentionally attempt to sanitize or rationalize the events. There is no way to say that it was not monstrous and there is no way to avoid having the events stain you in some way, whether it is by making your perspective jaded or making you an accomplice of sorts. She states this herself in a TED talk that she gave in 2015 when discussing *Balkan Baroque*, "You can't wash the blood. You can never wash shame off the wars."²⁴ Abramović here gives a brief glimpse into her personal anthropology and her understandings of how humans operate. *Balkan Baroque* is not, however, the only work in which her beliefs can be pieced together.

4.2 Rhythm 0 and Abramović's Anthropology

Another work that may have shaped Abramović's perception of humanity is her performance of *Rhythm 0* in 1974. In this piece, there was a table with a selection of either seventy-two or seventy-six objects that people could use on her "as desired (Figure 3)."²⁵ These objects ranged from a glass of water to a rose to a knife to a gun with one bullet. In the same TED talk where she briefly discussed *Balkan Baroque*, she discussed how she recalled at one point having one participant cut her neck with a knife and taste her blood, another loaded the gun and pointed it at her temple.²⁶ Undoubtedly, this would shape her perception of humanity, given the rather rapid escalation of stakes and overall nature of some of the things which people did to her.



Figure 3. Marina Abramovic, *Rhythm 0: Det.: Crowd at Table*, Images, 1974.
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.13755739>.

Given that the whole piece, she states, is about fear and responsibility, there is quite a wide range of space for the audience, who is of course also a participant, to occupy. In a way, the morality of a group is being tested. In her TED talk, Abramović discusses how at first the performance was fairly easy going, a glass of water to drink, a rose to hold. Only after people started to see her as an object, as she indicated to her audience she was for that span of six hours, did the bolder, more morally weighted events begin to happen.²⁷ She then reflects on how the performance ended, when she would walk to the audience and she claims a wave of shame and fear had washed over them as the reality of the situation dawned on them. Abramović states that it was precisely that fear that she wished to capture and that many of her performances rely upon.²⁸

In a sense, the performance gives a way for Abramović to explore the theme of exploitation, even though she herself seems to want to maintain her distance from a leftist political leaning.²⁹ Her experience with this piece seems to allow the formation of a belief that humanity is not built for true cooperation, when left to its own devices. She only mentions one instance someone intervened to stop the action of another participant, and that was when the pistol was at her temple.³⁰ Somehow other violent actions had been permitted prior to this, such as the previous incident with having her neck cut and other actions which threatened violence. Moreover, she lets through one of her thoughts about humanity when she states that the only reason the men restrained themselves was because “it was a public place” and “they were with their wives.”³¹ Whether this was her thought at the time or a later reflection, it reveals more about her thoughts concerning how people organize themselves and their overall dispositions.

Her reaction may also have been in part as a result of her formative experiences in an Orthodox church with her grandmother.³² Given that Christianity as a system teaches that humanity is, at first breath, sinful and therefore with a predisposition toward evil, early exposure to such a belief system may very well have instilled in Abramović this belief. Perhaps she swings back and forth between into and out of this belief, given that in an interview with Chris Thompson, when discussing the philosophy of what makes a murderer, she states “[the murderer’s] human nature can be changed.”³³ This may point to a contest between the exposure to Christian beliefs of a sinful nature and a Marxist belief in an infinitely malleable human nature which affects how she perceives the world. There are two primary possibilities. Either it is evidence of an internal contradiction or it is evidence that English is not her first language and human nature was the closest concept she could find to what she was trying to describe. This would not be the first contradiction in her thought or the thought of anyone, as she herself identifies in an interview with Janet A. Kaplan that her life is full of contradictions.³⁴ In any case, the events of *Rhythm 0* and the way in which Abramović recounts

the events give us insight into how she processes her own relationship to the world as well as the moral systems which govern it or turn a blind eye.

4.3 Anti-Yugonostalgia Messages

Abramović is not particularly impressed with the phenomenon of Yugonostalgia, as she insists in an interview with *The Believer* in 2019, “Don’t have nostalgia. Don’t ever look to the past. We only have to live in present and for future.”³⁵ Abramović sees Yugonostalgia as a trapping, more than a lens through which to look at the present situation of her splintered homeland. She is of the opinion that if one is looking backwards, one cannot look forward. In a sense, this is an admirable belief. While she is right that the present and future are what we live for, it is a dangerous game to throw out past occurrences and happenings, especially in a discussion about wanting to close gaps and create unity.

Her disposition is not entirely unexpected, however. A cultural production widely critiqued roughly from the 1990s and 2000s from the Balkans, and most commonly from Serbia, is the phenomenon of Turbofolk music. This genre of music was, and frequently is, associated with intense nationalism, barbarity, baseness, and corruption, most especially by Western and English-speaking accounts.³⁶ This stance concerning Balkan cultural productions of the time is not entirely wrong either, as some of the songs in the genre contain rather nationalist and xenophobic lyrics.³⁷ It is likely that this development of Serbian and Balkan culture produced a disenchantment with any faith she may have had in the Yugoslav experiment resulting in a good outcome for the region and the republics involved. Not only did she experience Yugoslavia shortly before its collapse, since she left the country in 1976, but she also received the Western and anti-communist media coverage that came as a result of the eventual wars of succession in the 1990s. The news of this hyper-nationalism in addition to the perception of human nature she appears to have developed around her performance of *Rhythm 0* – the belief that humans will, when given the opportunity, choose to behave exceptionally cruelly and even animalistically – seem to frame Abramović’s thoughts about the region. These two aspects already serve as a steady foundation upon which a distaste for the Yugoslav experiment and socialist experiments in general could rest, yet there is another facet which may help explain her anti-Yugonostalgia position.

Her own early life experiences may have additionally contributed to her anti-Yugonostalgia position, as she herself has called her mother an ingenuine communist while she names her father a real communist who was disappointed with how the Yugoslav project unfolded.³⁸ Given that both of her parents held positions in the government, there may be a remnant of early life experience seeing the struggle of governance which has shaped her judgment of Yugoslavia. This would explain her stance against reflecting fondly on the past as a general theme and not one isolated to the phenomenon of Yugonostalgia. Abramović has even gone so far as to claim that she belongs to no country, since the country she was born in no longer exists and, in any case, the world is so small that countries are a waste of time to concern oneself with.³⁹ This remark is largely based on her concern with spirituality and the human experience, but it still exists as a ground for the rejection of being called a Yugoslav. An additional element that must be recalled is that Abramović left the region four years before the death of Tito and the accelerated (if not initiated) political collapse that followed. Many changes took place over the course of that short amount of time and the same can be said for the time since the ending of the wars of succession.

Additionally, Abramović appears to have a somewhat of a distaste for the culture of her homeland, or at least certain aspects of it. In her interview with *The Believer*, she repeatedly says “it’s so Slavic” or “this Slav thing” when discussing being nostalgic for a time which she evidently does not believe was better.⁴⁰ This use of “Slav” and “Slavic” is rather pejorative, it would seem and though discussed in the context of Yugonostalgia is strangely separated from direct ties to the topic in her phrasing. Overall, Abramović appears disenchanted with the ideas of socialism and communism as a whole. In a collection of interviews published in 2006, Abramović states that “all these concepts don’t work because the mentality and the consciousness of people are not raised to the level that could make it work.”⁴¹ Despite her distaste for Yugonostalgia, however, it still manages to find a way into her art as a foil to her own beliefs.

5. Natalija Vujošević and Sarcastic Spectacle

Natalija Vujošević (1976-) presents herself as a contemporary Yugoslavian. Born in Yugoslavian Montenegro in 1976, Vujošević saw the closing years of the Yugoslav project as well as the political and economic situation that has developed as a result of that dissolution, as she still lives in Montenegro presently.⁴² This situation is quite contrary to that of Abramović, since she left Yugoslavia the year that Vujošević was born. In Vujošević’s work as an artist and curator, as well as the founder of the nonprofit organization, the Institute of Contemporary Art Montenegro, Vujošević has worked to encourage artistic productions of Montenegrin culture, as well as interact with the historical legacy of

Montenegro as a part of Yugoslavia and the result that that history has had on the contemporary state, both economically and culturally.⁴³ This appears to have influenced her choice of preferred medium to work in. Vujošević shows a preference for installations and pieces which set the message to be dependent on observation more than participation. She appears to work to create a spectacle of sorts, a way of looking at the world which shows how aspects of the human experience are simultaneously glamorized and bastardized. Conversely, Vujošević interacts with archival material from Yugoslavia as a means of contrasting the present situation.⁴⁴ Undoubtedly, her personal experience has created in her a deep cynicism toward the new market in her home country of Montenegro, as well as in a broader sense in the capitalist world. Her work *Market will cure all our wounds*⁴⁵, which was exhibited in 2015, articulates this concern clearly (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Nataljia Vujošević, *Market will cure all our wounds*, pieces of wood, clothes, paper prints, herbs, Palazzo Trevisan degli Ulivi, Venice, <https://www.silverlining.li/market-will-cure-all-our-wounds/>.

5.1 Market Will Cure All Our Wounds

Market will cure all our wounds is composed of a wooden clothing rack with three vertically separated sections, each holding a different selection of objects with certain elements repeated in each portion; for example there are blue garments with what appears to be wheat in a pocket, herbs hung up on strings, and a broad leaf in each (Figure 5). In these sections, there are papers hung with either images or text on them. The pictures range from an image of a sunset or sunrise to a stylized picture of a small snowman with a blank expression standing on top of a three-tiered box, similar to the awards podium at a competition. She includes stand-ins of subjects not often recognized as “marketable” in the work, such as science.⁴⁶ Off of the rack on the floor and under an outer section of the work, there is also a pile of animal-print fabrics (Figure 6).



Figure 5. Natalija Vujošević, *Market will cure all our wounds*, detail of wheat, <https://www.silverlining.li/market-will-cure-all-our-wounds/>.



Figure 6. Natalija Vujošević, *Market will cure all our wounds*, detail of animal-print fabrics, <https://www.silverlining.li/market-will-cure-all-our-wounds/>.

Overall, as the likely satirical title would suggest, the work is meant to be a commentary on how the Former Yugoslavia has been swept by “the magic of the market.”⁴⁷ Even the use of non-standard capitalization gives the impression that Vujošević sees this trust as not only misplaced but foolish and not to be taken seriously. Vujošević’s concern with the commodification of all things as capitalism seeks to expand into more areas of human interaction is shown in full force with very little being left as unsellable on the rack. Even an image of an artist is included on one of the sheets of paper in the middle section as a self-acknowledgement that she is not immune to the market, no matter how much she attempts to divorce herself from a love of it.

The broader categories of knowledge, nature, innocence, and creation as marketable commodities are all manifested by the inclusion of various elements. Science and knowledge are expressed as sellable with the inclusion of an excerpt from a science textbook on photosynthesis which is suddenly followed by the text “overrun hedgehog, on the street in front of the pediatric clinic lying there for two thousand seven hundred years” and nothing more (Figure 7). By adding

this nonsensical phrase about a hedgehog, the message of the useful knowledge concerning photosynthesis is needlessly complicated and made unclear. In one way, namely through its inclusion on the rack, this edited page is meant to show the willingness of the market to take useful knowledge and restrict access behind a price tag. In another way, it shows how the commodification of knowledge allows for open bastardization of it, as with the inclusion of such a starkly different message after the “knowledge” has already been given, under the guise of market innovation.

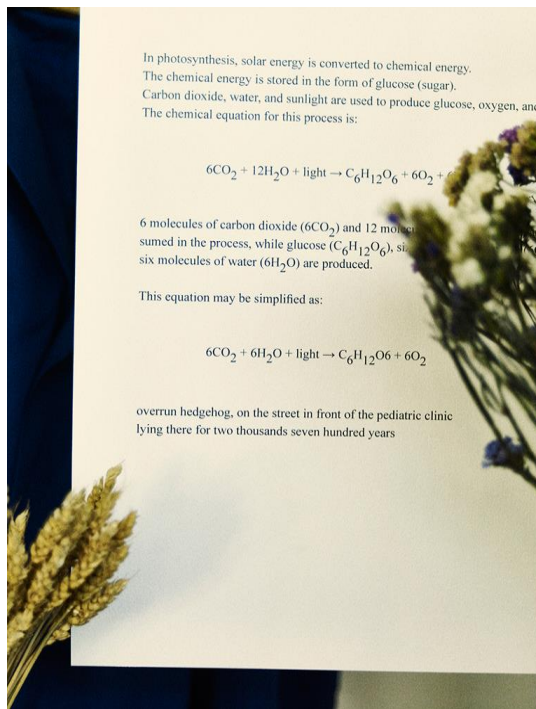


Figure 7. Natalija Vujošević, *Market will cure all our wounds*, detail of science textbook page, <https://www.silverlining.li/market-will-cure-all-our-wounds/>.

Nature is brought into account by the inclusion of the broad leaves and herbs, which may point to a sort of first commodity by the advent of mass agriculture.⁴⁸ Innocence may then be exemplified through an image of bodiless and faceless school children standing in a group with a desk placed on top of their heads and over their bodies. Finally, the total act of creation is pointed out as a commodity by the manufactured garments and the labor it represents by virtue of “blue collar” and the wheat in the pocket. This pairing of a worker’s garment and the grain appears to function analogous to the hammer and sickle as a chief symbol of communist ideology. Both of these commodities come about as the result of creation, since both industrial labor and farming are professions which seek to create.

Beyond the garments and sheaf of wheat, there is a secondary level on which the commodification of creation is pointed out, namely through the fact that Vujošević would have to create this exhibition and in doing so engage in the commodification of her creative labor and her art in itself. Vujošević has commodified and therefore satirized herself in order to reveal just how the market system works.

5.2 Rome

Another work by Vujošević that openly points to her concern with the current situation of Montenegro is *Rome* (Figure 8) from 2019. This work depicts a variety of scenes, though the one most cohesively presenting her considerations appears to be her installation of a six-armed business shirt and disembodied sleeves suspended from chains. The shirt has an almost mantric repetition of a statement from a CEO working in Montenegro that “Rome wasn’t built in a day and the same can be said for this wonderful project” on the outer fabric of the shirt and the upward facing portions of the sleeves as well as statements such as “You know what’s coming...” and “you can hear the murmuring in the distance” referring to the construction of luxurious vacation spaces in Montenegro.⁴⁹ The construction comes with the general consequences of increased prices of even basic commodities such as food, which naturally makes the lives of

local Montenegrins more difficult. This increased difficulty and cost of living makes the matter a natural subject for Vujošević to critique.



Figure 8. Natalija Vujošević, *Rome*, 2019, clothes, chains, mirrors, Black Cube Headquarters, Engelwood, <https://blackcube.art/exhibition/the-fulfillment-center>.

The name of the work functions in two ways. Firstly, it critiques the statement of the developer choosing to talk about how Rome wasn't built in a day and comparing their own work to the project of a whole republican and imperial legacy. The sarcasm she uses to critique capitalist ventures is again evident in her titling. There is a second portion to her critique, however. Not only is she treating the developer as if their statement were absurd, she is also pointing to the absurdity of wanting to compare one's own project to Rome. The Roman Empire eventually collapsed under its own weight of expansion and internal issues and splintered into various regions and nations across Europe, Northern Africa, and the Near East. In a sense, comparing one's own project to this one is similar to saying that the project will also crash under its own weight. This connotation that the project is doomed to fail is one of Vujošević's intended ironies.⁵⁰ The irony continues with a more Marxist inclination, as this same inevitable crash and destruction is also attributed to the capitalist system as a whole.⁵¹ Once again capitalism and its willing participants come into the scope of Vujošević's art, especially as it continues to shape the region and her home country.

The design of the shirt works to articulate her characterization of the venture capitalist as a sort of monstrous human being with six arms. Even beyond being a monster, the appearance is closer to being a parasite, something capable of leeching onto a host with its several limbs. The juxtaposition of the monstrous/parasitic nature and the clean-cut image that often accompanies a dress shirt works to produce an overall message of the people or businesses enthusiastically using the environment of late-stage capitalism in the manner of wolves in sheep's clothing. While they may be upstanding and honest in appearance, their own profits are their only true interest. The venture capitalists are people who will promote messages of prosperity and benefit, "this wonderful project," while simultaneously working to worsen the lives of those who are closest to their projects.

With the chains, there is an element of restricted ferocity brought into consideration. Not only is the message that the venture capitalism being undertaken in Montenegro is parasitic in nature, but also that it is not yet at its full potential. In a sense, the chains are holding the creature back, preventing its free movement and the full articulation of its will, one which desires further subjugation for its projects. This realization is meant to be a terrifying reality, given that the endeavor in question has already done considerable damage to those living or who once lived in its surroundings. By placing the work bound in chains, Vujošević is pointing out that positive change can be made, change which limits the capacity of single individuals to damage the lives of several others. Conversely, she is reminding the

audience that they can fully remove the chains and allow this creature to claim more and more as its own. Very easily might one's memory drift to asking just why someone should be allowed to wield such power over others and whether there was a time where this was not so.

5.3 Yugonostalgic Messages

Vujošević's Yugonostalgia manifests mostly in her cynical considerations of the present condition of the Former Yugoslavia. Her Yugonostalgia serves as a means of pointing out the continued commodification of human experience and the devaluing of endeavors and experiences that are not inherently profitable in a strictly monetary sense. Her decision to portray those engaging in higher stages of capitalism by choice and not by necessity as monstrous, as seen in *Rome*, gives a clear picture of what she sees to be a primary issue in the contemporary condition of the Balkans. The sarcasm that appears in *Market will cure all our wounds*, apparent even through the title alone, displays her desire to provoke a viewer into further consideration about what has actually been gained since balkanization and whether or not a neoliberal philosophy will truly bring about necessary change.⁵²

Vujošević appears to consistently use clothing in her works which deal with capitalism and her view of its nature, as can be seen with both *Rome* and *Market will cure all our wounds*, as well as other exhibitions. The purpose of its use appears to vary based on the relationship that the clothing has to a mode of production or other social perception. In *Market will cure all our wounds*, the articles of clothing which are hung on the rack and appear to belong to a group of workers serve as a deprecative dehumanization that occurs by being the object of exploitation in a system. Despite the generally low social perception associated with them and the professions they represent, Vujošević chooses to maintain a human representation with these clothing items as a way of indicating a belief in the dignity of the people who participate in professions of industry or agriculture. Their places on the rack are seemingly not meant to convert them into items for sale in a morally justifiable way, but rather in a morally reprehensible way with their deserved humanity being tossed to the side by someone who stands to profit from such dehumanization. This message is then in stark contrast to the inhuman association drawn with an otherwise prim and proper profession, that of the white-collar professional. With *Rome*, the symbolic language shifts to describe someone who has voluntarily given up a piece of or all of their humanity in exchange for monstrously looming over those desperately clinging to their livelihoods. In the case of *Rome*, the now absent humanity is not stripped away from someone unwillingly, but it is purposely and knowingly shed.

The absence of humanity indicated by the clothing without bodies can be extended both inward and outward. The inward has already been explored, namely in that the center of focus is an individual and not a class of individuals. The outward focus provides slightly different connotations. By "extended outward," what is meant is that there is a larger narrative about the perceptions associated with the clothing items being left as the only perceivable remnant of a person. This remnant appears to be Vujošević's commentary on how people are frequently reduced to a role and stripped of other defining features. This absence would then serve as a commentary on the reductionist nature of later stages of capitalism, reducing societal experience to a transactional one, an interaction between a harvester and an executive, between roles but not between people.

This stance against the reductionist nature of late-stage capitalism is further confirmed with statements that Vujošević has made in interviews. For example, in an interview with Yale University Radio in October of 2020, Vujošević states very clearly that she sees neoliberal ideology as "our common enemy."⁵³ Throughout the interview she says that she is wanting to see more attempts at bolstering solidarity between people and nations and explains some of her longing for socialism to return to the region with statements that she is "trying [to make] this collective consciousness and collective body of socialism alive again." With Vujošević having seen the devastation of civil wars, the neoliberalization and economic division of her homeland and now home region, and having heard that there was a point in the not-so-distant past when the people of all the neighboring countries were working collaboratively, naturally a disposition in favor of Yugonostalgia follows and solidifies a leftist leaning in her art, and even more so an outright leftist position in her politics.

6. Difference of Approach and Their Consequences: Mediums and Messages

The different choices made by Vujošević and Abramović concerning their apparent preferred mediums enlightens some of the strategies the artists have for conveying their messages, both for and against Yugonostalgia. These choices affect how an audience member interacts with and understands a piece. The question of archiving performance work

can also create new interpretations, since the piece necessarily becomes a simulacrum with at least portions of the experience stripped away or altered.

In the case of Vujošević, her decision to focus on using installation pieces most frequently suits the message of Yugonostalgia that appears to be well integrated into several of her pieces. To introduce an even clearer example, Vujošević also works with archival material from Yugoslavia, as can be seen with her piece *The study of Nature* (Figure 9).⁵⁴ In the previously mentioned interview with Brainard Carey, Vujošević discusses how this work of hers was installed in a presently abandoned storefront, meant to contrast the present inoccupancy with a previously vivacious scene.⁵⁵ This reasoning is a throughline for the remainder of her corpus of work. With *Market will cure all our wounds*, she brings people into a consideration of how life and living is commodified at present not through words or a guided performance, but rather through strict observation. Here, the details are meant to be explored, felt, and understood and then juxtaposed against a desire that an onlooker likely has to resist commodifying themselves. The same goes for *Rome*, wherein Vujošević wants people to observe what it is they are giving themselves over to when cheering on the projects of the venture capitalists in the Balkans. The length of the shirt makes it tower over an observer and if one imagines the creature that would wear such a garment, the image is truly monstrous. This is the path that she takes. She chooses to show and not tell. The conclusion is meant to be reached by the onlooker after consideration of intricacies, rather than through a knee-jerk process of observation and concluding. The contemplation that comes with these pieces that can be observed for hours and hours naturally predispose themselves to comparison to past events and past realities. In some cases, as appears to be Vujošević's goal, this results in a feeling of nostalgia, specifically a Yugonostalgia.



Figure 9. Natalija Vujošević, *The study of Nature*, 2020, mirror, textile, curtains, South south lets go south Biennale Serbia, <https://museumofnonvisibleart.com/interviews/natalija-vujosevic/>.

In a different way, Abramović seeks to guide the eyes of her audience and observers. By selecting performance art as a primary medium, she gives herself the full capacity to control how her audience perceives the event. This is especially true for works such as *Balkan Baroque* in which she seems to have orchestrated every aspect of the performance in such a way that her conclusion regarding the situation of the Balkans in 1997 is effectively impossible to avoid. Additionally, her considerations of Yugoslavia before its collapse are just as difficult to contradict. With the information as she presents it, especially with the story of the “wolf rat” being presented as a long-standing metaphor, Abramović is freed to create her personal perception of Yugoslavia as a universal. This universalizing is not an uncommon feature in her art, something quite noticeable in her creations which directly pertain to contemporary events. As Louisa Avgita indicates, this inclination towards universalization is symptomatic of a desire to “depoliticize” the events and further uphold a global capitalist ideology as the dominant force.⁵⁶ However, Abramović seeks to depoliticize these happenings in a very particular way, one which specifically strips away all of the underlying circumstance and causation only leaving the rubble and bones as a spectacle.⁵⁷ Abramović herself stated that the particularity of the situation was of no concern or consequence to her, rather that she wanted to create a piece that

could be situated “wherever the war is.”⁵⁸ This attempt at creating a universally legible and malleable message about war and its human cost is not an entirely questionable one to make. However, by the same principle of universality, universality cannot take hold in *Balkan Baroque*.

The particulars bind the piece to a particular time, place, ideology, et cetera. They cannot be divorced from context while remaining legible. Incorporating her parents’ experience is nonsensical, if it does not point to Yugoslavia specifically. Her reciting songs from her childhood is just as much so, if it is not tied to the language of that land and the sense of peace meant to be invoked in the moments these songs are sung by those who understand them. It is precisely because of this attempt to distance herself from Yugonostalgia that *Balkan Baroque* is forced to interact with Yugonostalgia.

7. Conclusion

Both of the artists explored interact with the culture of Yugonostalgia with their own political ideas and motivations. Vujošević takes her contemporary experience and uses it to ask questions about what went wrong, why, and to say that a more socialist political system is the solution. On the other hand, Abramović attempts to distance herself from such a solution, looking toward the future in an attempt to combat Yugonostalgia. While Yugonostalgia is not a focus of the overall corpus of work for Abramović, there are instances where she departs from her usual subject matter to interact with the Balkans. In these instances, her anti-Yugonostalgia position is plainly visible and fully operating in contrast to those who hold a positive view of the Yugoslav project.

The socio-political reasonings for their stances regarding the issue of Yugonostalgia are varied. Some of the most important aspects are that Abramović left the region before the death of Tito (and the subsequent major collapse) while Vujošević has firsthand seen the devastation of her homeland. There is also the relative stability that Yugoslavia saw under the direction of Tito and his partisans. Yugoslavia was able to maintain a socialist identity separated from the Soviet socialist style while also enjoying the benefits of positive economic relations with Western nations, such as the United States. Despite the stability, Abramović saw the hardships of government through the experience of her parents while experiencing a relatively comfortable life in the socialist state. Vujošević, contrarily, has seen her homeland slowly become more and more subject to the whims of foreign capital investment and tourism, as opposed to directing its own path through history.

In summary, Yugonostalgia occupies an influential position in the contemporary art of the Former Yugoslavia, as evidenced by the political messages in the art of Marina Abramović and Natalija Vujošević. Their art poses questions about the political situation of the Balkans and Vujošević, who still lives within the region, especially interacts with the question of how Yugoslavia is remembered and how the contemporary republics are shaped by that history. Abramović has commented on Yugonostalgia as a concept and has used the art she has produced surrounding the events of the 1990s and early 2000s to directly counteract a desire for nostalgia. This theme of Yugonostalgia then carries through to the politics of the region as the various nations which once composed the SFR Yugoslavia seek to define themselves ideologically and geopolitically.

8. Endnotes

1. Aleksandar Bošković, "Yugonostalgia and Yugoslav Cultural Memory: Lexicon of Yu Mythology," *Slavic Review* 72, no. 1 (2013): 54-78, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5612/slavicreview.72.1.0054>.

2. This term can also be spelled as Jugonostalgia in order to cater more toward the languages of the region. This phenomenon can also be referred to as “Titonostalgia,” given that the years in which Josip Broz Tito was the head of state is the time which people specifically look on with nostalgia. I have opted not to use this term for the sake of not focusing excessively on Tito, but rather what people term as a sort of “real” Yugoslavia.

3. Lexicon of Yu Mythology Bošković, 57

4. This organization of governance became particularly problematic due to Serbia’s eventual control of four seats in this system. Elizabeth Pond, *Endgame in the Balkans: Regime Change, European Style* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctt6wpfzg>, 9.

5. Previous economic decisions and problems within the SFR Yugoslavia created a need to consistently request financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund. Whether these came as a consequence of poor planning,

lack of federal oversight, or a socialist system working within a capitalist system, the IMF saw this as an opportunity to lay terms for loans on the basis of more capitalist style economic policymaking.

6. The complexity of the conflicts that were the Yugoslav Wars (1991-2001) is beyond the scope of this paper. The primary elements of the conflicts to reflect on are that they left areas of the region quite devastated and served to stoke division between the previously united republics of the SFR Yugoslavia.

7. Pond, *Endgame in the Balkans: Regime Change, European Style*, 9-13.

8. Ibid, 13.

9. “Latest Developments: Application for Revision of the Judgment of 11 July 1996 in the Case Concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Yugoslavia), Preliminary Objections (Yugoslavia v. Bosnia and Herzegovina): International Court of Justice,” | International Court of Justice (International Court of Justice), accessed February 13, 2022, <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/122>.

10. Other nations of the Balkans have also since joined the EU. “Country Profiles,” European Union (European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication), accessed February 20, 2022, https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/country-profiles_en.

11. Bojana Videkanić, *Nonaligned Modernism: Socialist Postcolonial Aesthetics in Yugoslavia, 1945-1985* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvxxw3pdd>, 63-64.

12. Vladimir Kulić, “An Avant-Garde Architecture for and Avant-Garde Socialism: Yugoslavia at EXPO ‘58,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 47 no. 1 (2012), 161.

13. Videkanić, *Nonaligned Modernism: Socialist Postcolonial Aesthetics in Yugoslavia, 1945-1985*, 6.

14. Ruža Bajurin and Ivan Meštrović, “Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting,” In *Croatia: Land, People, Culture Volume I*, ed. Francis H. Eterovich and Christopher Spalatin, 317–52, (University of Toronto Press, 1964), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt1vgw6kw.21>, 343.

15. Petar Prelog, “Udruženje Umjetnika Zemlja (1929–1935) i Umjetničko Umrežavanje,” *Život Umjetnosti : Journal for Modern and Contemporary Art and Architecture* 99, no. 2 (2016): pp. 28-39, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/en/180254?lang=en#>, 29, 36.

16. Ibid, 32.

17. Ibid, 33, 37.

18. Some socialist and/or leftist thought expands ideas of freedom from an individual scale onto the societal scale in an attempt to maintain a focus on liberation as a core concept, such as with the work of David Graeber. Frequently socialism is accused of being anti-freedom in American political discussion.

19. Aurora Prelević, “Marina Abramovic on Yugonostalgia,” *Marina Abramovic on Yugonostalgia* (The Believer, September 25, 2019), <https://believermag.com/marina-abramovic-on-yugonostalgia/>.

20. Marina Abramović and Chrissie Iles, “Marina Abramović Untitled,” *Grand Street* no. 63 (1988), 186-94, 193.

21. “History of Biennale Arte,” *La Biennale di Venezia* (La Biennale di Venezia, April 26, 2019), <https://www.labiennale.org/en/history-biennale-arte>.

22. “Marina Abramović. Balkan Baroque. 1997: Moma,” The Museum of Modern Art (The Museum of Modern Art), accessed October 3, 2021, <https://www.moma.org/audio/playlist/243/3126>.

23. In an interview with the magazine *The Believer* in 2019, Abramović says that she cannot recall the names of the songs she was singing, only their words and that they were from her childhood, songs that her grandmother would sing to her. Aurora Prelević, “Marina Abramović on Yugonostalgia” (interview), *The Believer*, September 25, 2019, <https://believermag.com/marina-abramovic-on-yugonostalgia/>.

24. TED is a non-profit organization that publishes short, roughly fifteen minutes or less, videos from various figures in the fields of technology, entertainment, and design, from which the name comes from. Other topics may also be handled, though this was the focus upon its founding in 1984. “Our Organization,” TED (TED), accessed March 20, 2022, <https://www.ted.com/about/our-organization> and *An Art Made of Trust, Vulnerability and Connection | Marina Abramović | TED Talks, YouTube* (YouTube, 2015), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M4so_Z9a_u0&t=6s, 6:58.

25. The notes of the collection of interviews list the number of objects as seventy-two, but the TED talk that Abramović gives lists gives the number seventy-six for the amount of items. Marina Abramović, Chris Thompson, and Katarina Weslien, “Pure Raw: Performance, Pedagogy, and (Re)Presentation,” *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 28, no.1 (2006), 29-50, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4139995>, 47 and *An Art Made of Trust, Vulnerability and Connection | Marina Abramović | TED Talks*, 0:53.

26. *An Art Made of Trust, Vulnerability and Connection | Marina Abramović | TED Talks*, 1:58, 2:22.

27. Ibid, 1:47.

28. Ibid, 2:36, 4:36.

29. Abramović explores exploitation on the part of the artist most readily. This type of exploitation is similar to but independent from leftist exploration of the exploitation as a socio-economic concept.
30. Ibid, 2:25.
31. Ibid, 2:11.
32. Aurora Prelević, “Marina Abramović on Yugonostalgia.”
33. Marina Abramović, Chris Thompson, and Katarina Weslien, “Pure Raw: Performance, Pedagogy, and (Re)Presentation,” *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 28, no. 1 (2006): 29-50, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4139995>, 41.
34. Janet A. Kaplan, “Deeper and Deeper: Interview with Marina Abramović,” *Art Journal* 58 no.2 (1999), 6-21, <https://doi.org/10.2307/777944>, 7.
35. Aurora Prelević, “Marina Abramović on Yugonostalgia”.
36. Rory Archer, “Accessing Turbofolk Controversies: Popular Music between the Nation and the Balkans,” *Southeastern Europe* no. 36 (2012), 178-207, 184-185.
37. Some examples of this are in a song from a group, Kondor (Конидор) which contains lyrics such as “Ijut si na nas strašno što ne možeš Srbina prodati za brašno” (You’re quite mad at us because a Serb will not sell himself for flour) and “Oj Alija! Alija, muslimaski izrode” (Hey Alija! Alija, [you] degenerate muslim).
38. Aurora Prelević, “Marina Abramović on Yugonostalgia”.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Abramović, Thompson, and Weslien, “Pure Raw: Performance, Pedagogy, and (Re)Presentation,” 30.
42. Natalija Vujošević, “Data,” Natalija Vujošević, 2014, <http://www.natalijavujosevic.com>.
43. “Natalija Vujošević,” Missing Stories (Goethe Institut in Serbia), accessed January 26, 2022, <https://missingstories.net/curator/natalija-vujosevic/>.
44. Brainard Carey, Interview with Natalija Vujošević, *Natalija Vujošević*, Yale University Radio, WYBCX, October 21, 2020, <https://museumofnonvisibleart.com/interviews/natalija-vujosevic/>.
45. The title of the work is written with such capitalization, despite the conventional methods of capitalization for works of art. This choice of capitalization may be intended to push the title into the realm of being a statement or a mantra to be reflected on more than an identifier for the work. The choice to focus on the idea of the market, which likely points to a capitalist market system, serves as a satirical basis from which to critique capitalism as it unfolds in Montenegro and the Former Yugoslavia.
46. These stand-ins are markers of larger themes, such as an excerpt from a science textbook. By placing educational material, particularly material for a discipline often considered quite concrete, Vujošević commentates on the wide reach of market commodification and the corruption that can come with it.
47. The “magic of the market” essentially is a phrase used by those with more right-leaning and liberal economic philosophies which espouse that the market is capable of complete self-regulation.
48. More specifically this encompasses the understanding that with the development of agriculture came more complex systems of organization surrounding the creation and trading of commodities including markets and hierarchical modes of production. In short, the first commodity to control is food. The leaves function to show what is stripped away in the process, namely that land must be cleared out and the herbs are a direct component of foods.
49. A post from the Black Cube Nomadic Museum account on Instagram from November 2, 2019 briefly discusses the conditions under which Vujošević produced this work. The post also appears on Vujošević’s own account. https://www.instagram.com/p/B4Xh0iff7uf/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link and https://www.instagram.com/p/CRjGyOPlsDm/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link.
50. Branislav Dimitrijević, “Natalija Vujošević Rim,” MGML (Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana Institute, 2019), <https://mgml.si/sl/center-tobacna/razstave/409/natalija-vujosevic/>.
51. The general line of logic that the Marxist argument follows is that capitalism as a system expects and strives for infinite growth with a limited pool of resources, effectively making the economic equation impossible to balance and thus doomed to fail. This line of reasoning is claimed more broadly in leftist literature by thinkers such as David Graeber.
52. What is meant by the term “neoliberal” is a political philosophy centered around trust in capitalist market systems with almost universal distaste for regulatory bodies and unionization. It is an ideology frequently associated with figures such as the economist Milton Friedman and to the United States’ Reagan administration and the United Kingdom’s Thatcher administration, as well as several subsequent administrations in their relative countries.
53. Carey, Interview with Natalija Vujošević, *Natalija Vujošević*.
54. Vujošević’s non-conventional style of capitalization comes into play again with the title of this piece.
55. Carey, Interview with Natalija Vujošević, *Natalija Vujošević*.

56. Lousia Avgita, "Marina Abramović's Universe: Universalising the Particular in Balkan Epic," *Cultural Policy, Criticism and Management Research* (City University London, October 10, 2012), <https://culturalpolicyjournal.wordpress.com/past-issues/issue-no-6/balkan-epic/>, 8-9.

57. Specifically what is meant by "depoliticize" is to remove the object of discussion from a politically nuanced point of discussion to one of a universality that has no need for such particularities. This allows vast assumptions to be made, which effectively bar political dissection from occurring.

58. Aurora Prelević, "Marina Abramović on Yugonostalgia".