

INSTRUMENTALISATION OF HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES THROUGH MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE - CASE STUDY OF THE MEMORIAL PARK OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY IN ČAČAK

ABSTRACT

In the socialist context, memorial architecture represented a suitable training ground for the transposition of the new social reality through the historical discourse of the National Liberation Struggles and the revolution, as a framework for a new political mythologised narrative in which the bearers of Yugoslav political symbols, were carefully arranged. The Memorial Park of Struggle and Victory in Čačak is the focus of this research as an urban-architectural space of a natural, spontaneous, and symbolically reflective segment of the development of the monumental culture and identity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Through the implementation of poststructuralist interpretations, the invisible under the visible functions, unintentionally under the intended and dysfunctionally under the functional, were seen, which aimed to form a new ideological system. This case study shows that a world of semiotics can be woven within the autonomous system of architectural language to strengthen the idea of national and collective identity.

Ena Takač

Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade
takac.e@arh.bg.ac.rs

KEY WORDS

MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE
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MEMORIAL PARK OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY
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POLITICAL SYMBOLS
NATIONAL IDENTITY

The erection of monuments during socialist Yugoslavia, in which numerous artists, sculptors, and architects participated in their creations, was often aimed at affirming revolutionary values and historical events with a skillfully woven ideological and political dimension. The politics of constructing memories was an indispensable element in understanding the broader social context and aspirations of socialist Yugoslavia under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito. This period was characterised by political stability but also certain tensions between different national groups in the country. The pervasive spirit of anti-fascism and the memory of the Second World War, as well as the ideology of “Brotherhood and Unity”, were key elements that shaped the public consciousness of that time. Accordingly, the monuments were used to enthrone the past with the aim of controlling the future. However, although in most cases they were dedicated to fallen fighters, they were also a means of articulating the spirit of optimism and collective will directed toward a utopian classless society (Musabegović 2012: 20). In this regard, this research will point to memorials and memorial parks, through the case study of the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory in Čačak, as good polygons for the expression of dominant social narratives with the aim of influencing the culture of memory and the collective through the interpretation of the past through this media.

1. THE ROLE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN THE FORMATION OF MEMORIAL MARKINGS OF THE SPACE IN THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

The establishment and entronement of the public past in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia entailed the elaborate conceptualisation and construction of connected places of remembrance of the Second World War, which was achieved through the construction of memorial places dedicated to the National Liberation Struggle throughout its territory. The use of war conflicts and the People's Liberation Struggle as a narrative for erecting memorial sites is far from unusual, as stated by Wolfgang Hopken: "While collective memory in pre-modern societies was largely based on war experiences, the arrival of nationalism in the late eighteenth century increased its importance, political role and cultural significance of war memories in societies. Wars, whether won or lost, were used by state authorities not only to strengthen national identity, but also to convey officially desired social values and virtues" (Hopken 1999: 190). Narratives conceived in this way were, to a large extent, implemented in memorial places of large dimensions and more impressive solutions in the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, within which, according to the author Sanja Horvatinčić, we see two groups of monuments - places dedicated to civilian victims and places dedicated to heroism, heroism and the victory of Wars of national liberation, that is the victory of the partisan movement.

The first type of narrative commemorated the innocent victims of the occupation and fascist terror and aimed at awakening feelings of injustice and pain during commemorative acts. Examples of this kind of narrative can be found all over the world, and it is especially developed within the discourse of the Holocaust, which has the status of an almost separate genre in the domain of memorial and memorial plastic (Marcuse 2010). On the other hand, memorial sites that celebrated narratives of victory, fallen fighters, and heroism were erected to evoke respect and pride for the common struggle and freedom. Suppose we focus on the places of memory that celebrated the narratives of victory and pride in the common struggle and freedom. In that case, we can see that the narrative created in this way is directly connected to the heroism of the Turks and the people during the Second World War and is recognised as essential for the realisation of direct participation and feelings. Ownership of memory for the whole society. By its nature, the selected narrative provided a wider scope of interpretation and was therefore chosen as a means to implement the idea of "brotherhood and unity", without distortion and potential dichotomies in the understanding of individual histories, which

often link narratives of suffering and struggle for freedom. One of the specific places of remembrance that celebrated the narrative of struggle, fallen fighters and heroism is the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory in Čačak by architect Bogdan Bogdanović, which was built with the idea of evoking respect and pride for the common struggle and freedom “won by the Yugoslav people for the people of Yugoslavia.”(Jauković 2014: 89)

2. NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF YUGOSLAVIA IN ČAČAK

The National Liberation War, or the Liberation War of the People of Yugoslavia, was the armed struggle of the Yugoslav people, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, for liberation from fascist occupation during the Second World War. The war covers the period from 1941 to 1945, on the entire territory of Yugoslavia. In the historiography of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, this struggle was still called the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution. The national liberation struggle of Yugoslavia was a broad anti-fascist front of struggle against the occupier and his associates.

Bearing all this in mind, it is no coincidence that in the city of Čačak in 1934, after realising that there was a threat of fascism, which spread in Europe, following the example of France, the People's Front of Freedom was formed, an organisation that gathered freedom-loving citizens. After the First Enemy Offensive and the fall of the free territory of the Republic of Užice, which included the region of Čačak, one of the most numerous partisan detachments in Yugoslavia with around 3,000 armed fighters retreated to form the Second Proletarian Brigade with only 198 fighters (the Čačak Battalion).



FIGURE 1: National Liberation Movement - on the slopes of Mount Jelica (left), on the main town square (right) (Source: https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Borbe_za_%C4%8Ca%C4%8Dak_1941.jpg, date: June 2019)

The fighters of the Čačak detachment of the People's Liberation Movement and all those who in any way participated in the uprising were exposed to the unprecedented terror of their compatriots from Ravna Gora. Simply put, that was the time when human life was the cheapest. At the end of 1942, an attempt was made to rebuild the Detachment, but due to the terror that reigned in these areas, the fear that existed among the population, and the winter that was just around the corner, that intention was abandoned. Already in February 1943, the Detachment was reformed, mainly from people who had been living illegally until then, and in an unequal battle on March 5, in Ostra, out of 25 fighters, as many as the Detachment counted, 14 were killed and two survivors were arrested and shot in camp at Banjica. A few days before this event, members of the District Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for the Čačak district were arrested in a bunker in Vapa. The detachment was reformed, but it was no longer a large military force, so at the end of 1943 it was attached to the First Šumadija Brigade and left the Čačak region. (Nedović, 2010) As can be seen, the resistance to fascism and its collaborators in the area of Čačak never stopped. Hence, an event woven from victories and defeats, sufferings and misery was an ideal basis for creating memory in Čačak during the period of socialism.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF BUILDING A MEMORIAL COMPLEX AND ITS POSITIONING ON THE TERRITORY OF THE CITY OF ČAČAK

The idea to build a memorial complex in Čačak that would simultaneously celebrate the memory of the National Liberation War and serve as the final resting place for the remains of partisans and civilians killed by the occupiers as a metaphor for national sacrifice was born at the very end of the Second World War. However, several decades passed until the idea took its final form. Already in 1946, the remains of slightly more than 3,000 partisan fighters were transferred to the newly built ossuary at the seat of the city, the former Great Market, and today's Uprising Square. After the thorough removal of the old city core in 1955, two statues of reclining male figures were placed next to the ossuary. However, such a central location, as well as the artistic solution of the memorial itself, were considered inappropriate for their commemorative purpose. Accordingly, within the extensive reconstruction of the city core, which began at the end of the 1950s, the city authorities concluded that the existence of a mass grave in the very centre of the city did not correspond to its purpose and that it devalued the commemorative value of the ossuary and

the value it was supposed to symbolise. Therefore, the People's Committee of the Municipality of Čačak, in cooperation with the expert commission of the veterans' organisation, decided to move the ossuary to a more suitable place. The ossuary was moved to a hill known as Lazović Hill, on an elevation on the outskirts of the city. (Baković, 2016) This procedure shows that the decision on the position of the memorial park represented a deliberate strategy of the ruling structures intending to adequately distribute the bearers of Yugoslav symbols within the city core of Čačak. Accordingly, it is observed that the area of Lazović Hill is located on the linear axis of the urban identity of the Street of Knez Miloš, along which various contents are concentrated, on which other open spaces rely, and which connects various significant points characteristic of the identity of certain parts of the city. (Mihaljević 2010, 8)



FIGURE 2: Moving the ossuary from Uprising Square to Lazović Hill (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

The decision to move the ossuary from the town square was followed by many years of discussions on how to transform the ossuary into a monumental memorial park, which would include not only the monument with the ossuary but also the natural environment of the immediate surroundings and form an organic whole with the nearby City Cemetery. For this purpose, a special Committee for the construction of a memorial park in Čačak was formed, which included representatives of the Municipality, veterans, and other socio-political organisations. To achieve the widest possible social consensus regarding the future appearance of the memorial complex, the Committee announced a general Yugoslav competition for the conceptual design of the monument and the urban design of the entire area in September 1965. Twenty projects were submitted to the competition, and even if they were all positively evaluated as sufficiently valuable, the project of architects Momčilo Krković and Aleksandar Đokić was taken into account. However, since the awarded authors submitted the same or

a similar project to several other public competitions, the original decision of the Committee for the Construction of the Memorial Park was annulled. After this failed competition, the Board decided to go for a direct agreement with the author instead of expensive and complicated public competitions. Therefore, in 1974, the Committee for the Construction of the Memorial Park entered into a direct contract with the architect Bogdan Bogdanović, so that Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory would officially open in 1980. (Baković, 2017) With the opening of Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory, the area of Lazović Hill very quickly became the main place for marking important dates from the history of the National Liberation War, and the entire complex gained additional importance.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL AND DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEMORIAL PARK OF THE STRUGGLE AND VICTORY

For the construction of this memorial complex, a large complex facing the city's northeast side on the slopes of the Jelica mountain was occupied. This green area represents a unique landscape unit, which was chosen for the location of this memorial complex due to its topographic features. (Baković, 2017)

The formation of the position of the memorial park within Lazović Hill is based on the position of the transferred ossuary of fallen fighters. Namely, the ossuary was taken for orientation as the centre or core of the commemoration, drawn in a circular area with an approximate diameter of 110m. Thus formed circular *temenos* (part of the land separated from daily use dedicated to the gods), approximately 3.5ha, is not physically fenced but only optically separated by a circular furrow, i.e. a channel that would turn the inner surface into a kind of symbolic citadel. The space behind this real, physical, or symbolic delimitation is densely forested, and the surface in the circle remains as a kind of a meadow.

It is possible to enter the memorial park from two main roads in the city, both marked with the symbol *U*. The first road, which starts at the end of the city street, is mainly intended for pedestrians. The second one, approximately at the point of the separation of today's car access, is intended for visitors who come by car and bus. The formed entrance gates also represent a demarcation of the psychological rather than the physical order, and it aims to let the visitor be aware of crossing the boundaries of the *temenos*, entering a consecrated space, and preparing to receive the special kind of information that a memorial composition offers. (Documentation of the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory; document No. 351-442/76)



FIGURE 3: Situational plan of the Memorial Park of Struggle and Victory in Čačak
(Source: M. Radišić, within the project documentation for the construction of Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory; document No. 351-442/76 - archive of the Intermunicipal Historical Archive in Čačak)

Before entering the memorial complex, the visitor passes by the place on the fence, at the location marked with Uv , from which it is possible to see the main motifs of the memorial. In the explanation of the area, this opening is marked as a visual gate and its function has a psychological application, formed by a green frame around the visible image, and it also represents a physical obstacle that would stop visitors from going that way immediately. Passing by the visual gate, one reaches the main entrance, at the location marked with U , to the park, which is marked with a stone block, behind which the path leads to the very centre of the memorial park, i.e. to the site of the ossuary formed by a solemn mound under which the remains of fallen fighters are located. When walking through the complex, the author created footpaths in Turkish cobblestones to emphasise the secular space. By materialising the footpaths in this way, the visitor's movement becomes difficult and slows down, and thus, the visitor is forced to move "step by step" or "one foot in front of another". Determining the movement of visitors in this manner is a very important and decisive element in guiding them to a specific model of behaviour, which the exceptionality of this place requires.



FIGURE 4: Pedestrian access to the memorial park - Entrance to the memorial park (left), Turkish cobbled footpath (right) (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

Burying with earth and making this mound represents a ritual act that provides eternal peace to the remains of the heroes, marked on the map with the letter g. A four-meter-high tumulus in the shape of an indented pyramid forms a tomb that symbolises this region's prehistoric tradition. Next to the tumulus, a plateau with an architrave gate was created at the place of the burner, intended for commemorative gatherings, i.e., honouring the fallen fighters.



FIGURE 5: View of the mound (tomb) and the plateau with the burner (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

However, to ensure a proper understanding of the basic significance of the symbol of struggle and victory, it was necessary to point out the huge and conscious human sacrifice; accordingly, only then, behind the architrave gate, is the mausoleum visible at the location marked with km, which dominates the entire landscape of the memorial field. With its physicality, reflected in the use of Jablanica gabbro, it personifies the victory of the revolution and the opening of perspectives for the future. The composition in this manner indicates this conceptual order: after the sacrifice of victory, to the victory and the conquest of freedom and the future.



FIGURE 6: The layout of the mausoleum (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

The conceptual solution in the memorial park also foresees the construction of an amphitheatre in the location marked with t. Its position is predicted to be behind the mausoleum, where, passing through the forest, one reaches a place of joy and celebration. This object was not realised due to socio-political problems that shook Yugoslavia at the time.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE SYMBOLIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STRUGGLE AND VICTORY MEMORIAL PARK

Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory was created on a semiotic series of gates that were erected to shape the memory of the historical event. The semiotic series is based on three semiotic gates that include: the first gate, which represents the visual contact between the memorial park and the urban centre, creates a narrative representation of the sanctuary; the second gate represents the core of the park itself, i.e. the place of eternal rest for the fallen fighters and the third gate represents the form of the mausoleum itself that creates a narrative representation of the temple and alludes to the transcendent role of ornaments that form a political symbol and cult of death.

Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory is set in a natural landscape on the slopes of Mountain Jelica, close to the urban centre. The positioning of the memorial complex in such an environment represents a very important strategic position, which is based on the ideological construct of a worldview that first appeared in ancient Greece (Acropolis). The spatial composition formed in a circular *temenos* is marked at the entrance with a stone block on which the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory is carved, which is placed in such a way as to suggest the direction of movement of visitors and the border with secular space. By going around the stone, one steps onto the plateau that at the other end narrows to one side of the staircase, which then leads to a narrow path through a lush forest. Following this path of stone cubes, one will reach a green expanse from which three elements emerge. The first represents the tumulus under which the fighters were buried, the second represents the gate in the centre of the commemoration site, and the third a mausoleum. This semiotic gate is rounded off with a stone block on which the words of Josip Broz Tito are carved, alluding to the return to the public space. The symbiosis of nature (forests and mountains) and the culture of the spatial composition created in this way suggests the exemplary past and national antiquity of the people, which during the period of Tito's Yugoslavia helped to evoke Yugoslav traditions and memories.

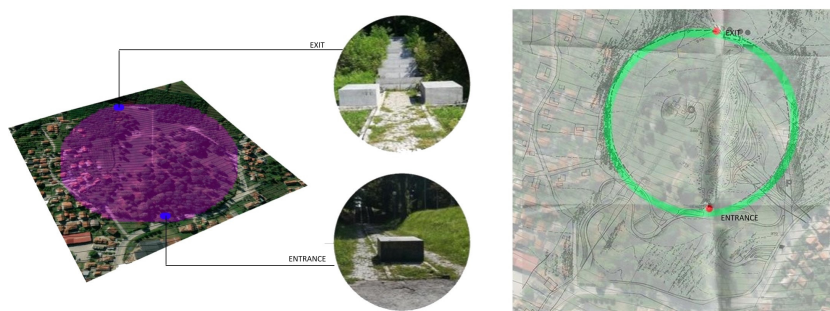


FIGURE 7: Presentation of the first semiotic gate - Sanctuary (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

The second semiotic gate is the place of eternal rest for the fallen fighters for the liberation of Čačak, formed in simple architectural elements that highlight the inseparable connection with tradition and the past. Using the architrave structure as a burner and the tumulus as a burial place, the author of this building points to the antiquity of the event that marked this space. Positioning these elements in the very centre of the memorial park emphasises the importance of the commemorative ritual in the consciousness of the Serbian people. The architrave gate, which is formed from large pieces of Jablanica gabbro, frames the mound on one side and the mausoleum on the other, the third semiotic gate.

In other words, it creates a specific image for the visitor of being the thin line between death and immortality. The formation of this feeling is influenced by the assembly of stone blocks that have a gap of 1 cm between them, which allows the rays of the sun to shine on the visitor looking at the mausoleum, that is, freedom in the figurative sense.

FIGURE 8: Presentation of the second semiotic gate - Place of commemoration (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

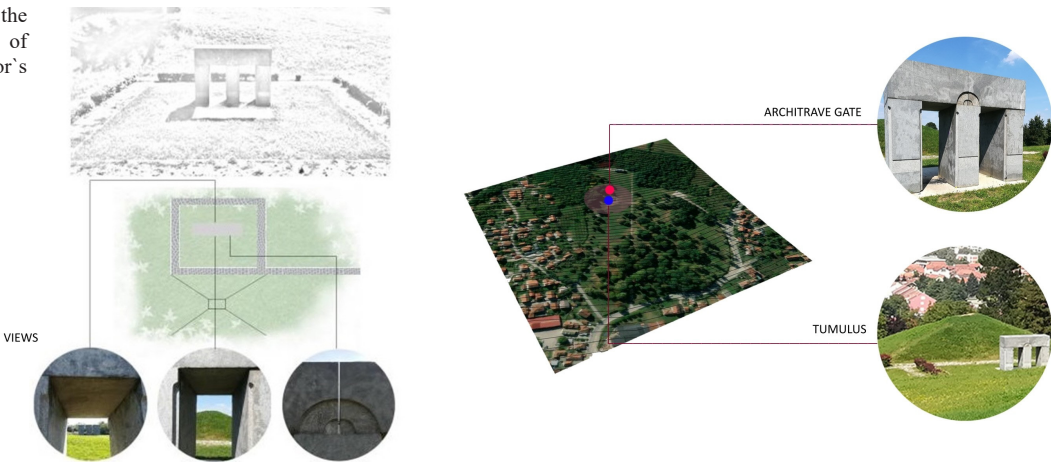
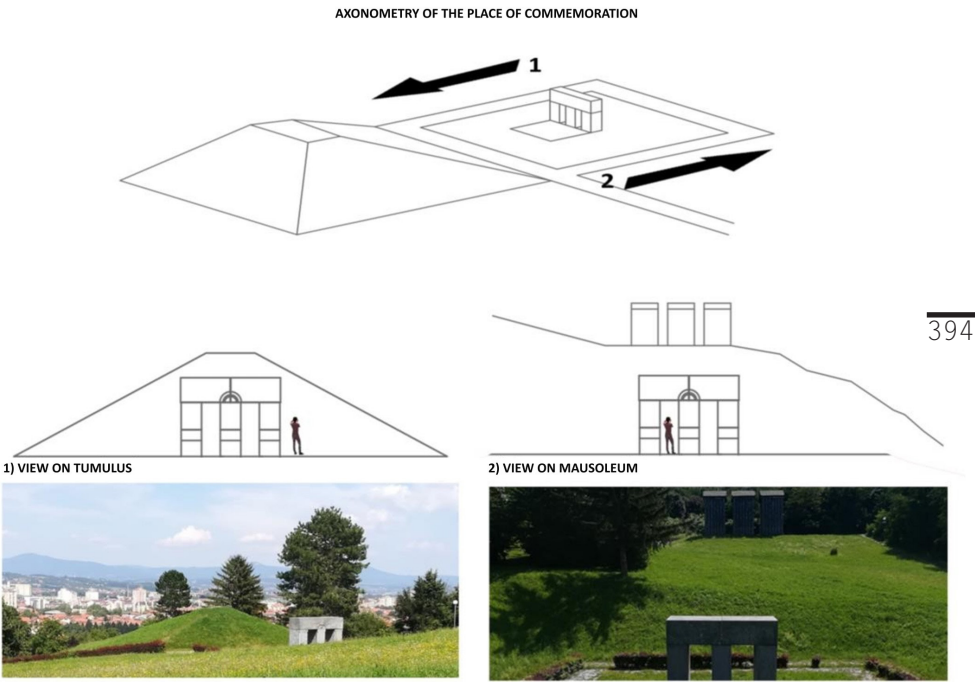


FIGURE 9: Display of the view through the architrave gate (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)



The structure of the mausoleum itself represents the third semiotic gate and the ideological center of this memorial park. The mausoleum is placed on a pedestrian path that has a passage in the form of Cyclopean stairs on both sides. The staircase created in this way with its non-standard dimensions evokes “superhuman” efforts when going through the horrors of war, at the end of which there is light, hope, and ascension to heaven. In other words, their position and proportion leave the impression of the end and the beginning of the sacred path. Based on this, it can be seen that this commemorative monument is being developed on the model of the Greek megaron to express the sublime antiquity of the national identity. The mausoleum is presented in the form of a megaron with three portals and two gaps that enable an alternating experience of darkness and light, which is obtained by the unconventional formation of a triangular gap. By creating this spatial composition, one gets the impression of passing through the horrors of war, a house occupied by demons of evil, at the end of which there is light, a path that rises to the sky, i.e. freedom (attachment 10, view 2). Jablanica gabbro, a blackish granite that simultaneously expresses absolute darkness and light depending on the sun’s rays, also contributes to this spatial experience. As mentioned above, the use of Jablanica gabbro played a special role in the construction of Yugoslavian national identity; this was not the first monument built from this material. The monument first to be built in this material to commemorate the victims of the First World War is the Monument to the Unknown Hero, located on Avala and erected by Ivan Meštrović in 1938. The construction of monuments in this material represented a kind of *petra genetrix* (birth from the womb of the earth) of Yugoslavia, which was supposed to simultaneously maintain the absolute reality, vitality, and light of the Yugoslav idea - just as it was implied by numerous archaic myths based on the belief in a deity born from the very bowels of the earth. The primordial belief in the ultimate determination of national identity by soil and climate rested on such a belief. (Ignjatović, 2006)

The narrative aspects of the mausoleum are complemented by the abstract use of ornaments embedded in the walls of the mausoleum itself, which give the impression of pilasters when viewed from the first gate. The symbols that make up the ornaments represent mythical creatures, more precisely griffins, which were used to create a dignified image of the sacred form in the human subconscious. Using the griffin in his architectural language, the author of this building evokes the dual divine attribute of strength and wisdom, which is included in the overall symbolism of the power of salvation. (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1994) This reduction of myth to sign systems allowed this memorial to be used in the formation of the cult of death, which in this context was presented as a model of the primordial cult of freedom and thus strengthened the concept of national identity.

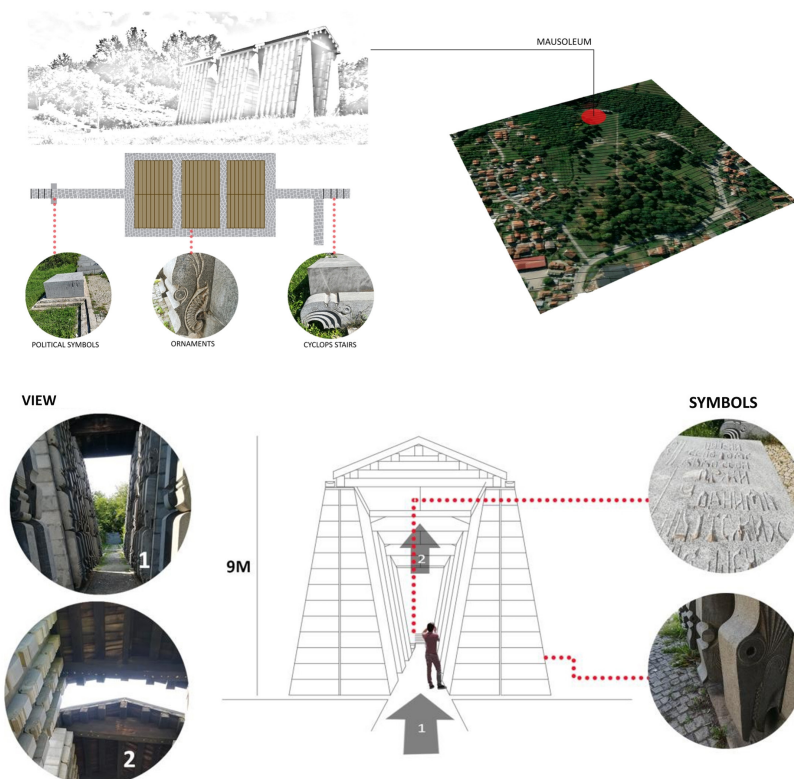


FIGURE 10: Presentation of the third semiotic gate - Mausoleum (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

In the newly built space of the memorial park, a whole corpus of bearers of new political symbols was arranged, the meaning of which was confirmed by their thoughtful and clean use within the cumbersome and comprehensive system of rituals of socialist Yugoslavia. In addition to the recapitulation of the primordial event and the homogenisation of the Yugoslav social community, based on the presented narrative of the memorial complex, the bearers of Yugoslav political symbols are singled out as an independent entity, representing typical examples of the visualisation of an authoritarian leader - the life-long president of socialist Yugoslavia. Considering this, one can see the classification of political systems with the characteristic power of the leader. This classification is also discussed by Max Weber, who states that the authority of a charismatic leader is based on his unique personal characteristics, and the people, those who believe and follow his charisma, identify and are motivated to a large extent by the leader's goals and visions. Accordingly, we conclude that political power develops primarily through an emotional and

less functional relationship between the leader and the follower. (Ivanji, 2017) Therefore, in the one-party system of socialist Yugoslavia, which had its own ideology, historical thought, and a leader with enormous authority, persistent efforts were made to build a cult figure of the president of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. A cult figure was created and maintained by eulogising the beloved leader, by his omnipresence in the media and branding of objects. Following the above-mentioned, the cult figure of Josip Broz Tito was built as the bearer of the political symbol. This political symbol is the point where the ruling ideology and the individual meet, as presented by the narratives in which the overemphasised idealisation of the leader and the dominance of his authority are observed. Hence, as a symbol of the national spirit, it represents the main constructive element of state arrangements and society. The symbol of Josip Broz Tito as a political symbol in the memorial park can be seen in the words carved into the stone block on the Cyclopean staircase that leads to the exit of the complex. The words are engraved on the granite monolith: *The greatness of a nation is judged by how it holds up in the days of the most difficult trials - Tito.*



FIGURE 11: Josip Broz Tito's quote carved in a granite monolith (Source: Author's photographs, date: June 2019)

According to the meaningful characteristics of the bearers of Yugoslav political symbols, one can see the propagation of the ideology of unity. In other words, the memorial park represents a solid integral factor for marketing and promoting his ideological premises. (Obšust, 2018) According to the aforementioned, it can be observed that the memorial park was created as a frame of a new politically mythicised narrative which, by transposing the symbol onto the mythical plane of the primordial event - the National Liberation Struggle and Revolution, achieves the transition of the symbol from the domain of religion to the domain of politics and thus becomes a tool in the hands of new secular ideologies. (Đorđević, 1986,13)

By building such a narrative, it was enabled the memorial park to become a large part of the symbolic public space of the city of Čačak, which reminded us of the victims whose struggle was an example of martyrdom and courage, in other words, a hallmark of great partisan epics. Viewed in a mythical framework, the goal was to position Yugoslavia as a country large and strong enough to be homogenous in all respects. (Bogdanović, 2019) Taking into account only the catchphrase of Brotherhood and Unity, the state formed a strategy with which it led a diplomatic struggle in an area with distinct multi-ethnicity. However, with the collapse of Yugoslavia and the return of the socialist historical narrative, the memorial complex was neglected in the communal, urban, and mythical sense.

6. PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE MAUSOLEUM

The presented narratives also show different perceptions of the way political power is distributed in the observed context by those who have it and those to whom it is intended, that is, the third dimension of power that exists when people are the subject of domination. (Lukes 2006, 96)

The solution of the entire complex implies the memorial park's very complex, pre-programmed psychological experiences. Not only is one counting on the given landscape values, and not only is one trying to develop and strengthen them, but also every form that is brought into this separated and protected landscape circle must contribute to a deep experience of the humanistic values of people's revolution. Therefore, in order to ennoble the visitor, this landscape must itself be ennobled by the organisation and arrangement of its elements. As displayed in the analysis of the urban planning solution, even entering the complex represents a threshold of experience and enables the visitor to psychologically prepare for everything that is to be seen within the circle. The flow of paths is solved freely on the field itself and the paths repeatedly meet and separate, as it happens with the units of an army in war. There is not just one single path, but many variants of movement that bring everyone to the same place, in front of the final motif, i.e. the mausoleum. Based on the analysis of the formal-structural and symbolic characteristics of the memorial complex, it can be distinguished that the mausoleum was formed in such a way as to allow passage in three directions: one longitudinal and two transverse. Two southern transverse views towards the forest, two northern transverse views towards the city, and two longitudinal ones, of which the eastern one is particularly emphasised and, considering the configuration of the terrain, opens up exceptional opportunities for further spatial-directing procedures. There is also a seventh, the most impressive free dimension of space, the one that opens

towards the sky. In other words, the visitor experiences the opening of the space above him, a specific one, as Elie Faure said about the most beautiful Greek temples, a “revolution of space”. (Vuković, 2012) Accordingly, the goal of the psychological construction of this memorial is to create completely unexpected feelings of an intimate and spiritual experience of the revolution. Put differently, the entire complex represents a complex mechanism, that is, a space with an ideally symbolically - organised reality.

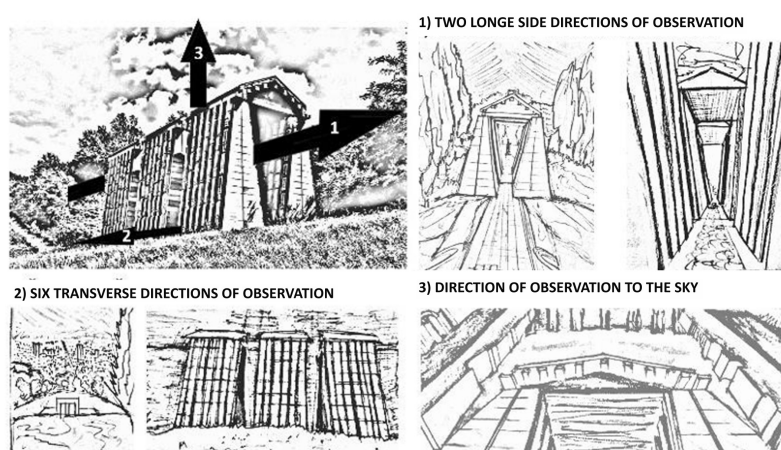


FIGURE 12: Presentation of the psychological construction of space (Source: Author's drawing, date: June 2019)

7. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE STRUGGLE AND VICTORY MEMORIAL PARK IN THE 21ST CENTURY

With the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the return of the socialist narrative, the monument complex was neglected in the urban and communal sense, which led to the deterioration of the appearance and organisation of the entire area. Nevertheless, representatives of the still active martial organisations continued to lay wreaths in front of the ossuary, for example during the celebration of the Liberation Day of Čačak on December 3. However, since 2012, a parallel commemoration has been held at the same place, organised by the Ravna gora movement, complete with a church Orthodox service, as part of a wider revisionist wave and the process of equalising the role of the Yugoslav army in the homeland and the partisan resistance movement during World War II. Since then, the system of parallel commemorations held every year has been an occasion for public accusations between ideological currents. Thus, the Memorial Park in Čačak became a paradigm of mnemonic conflicts and the unconquered past in post-socialist Serbia.

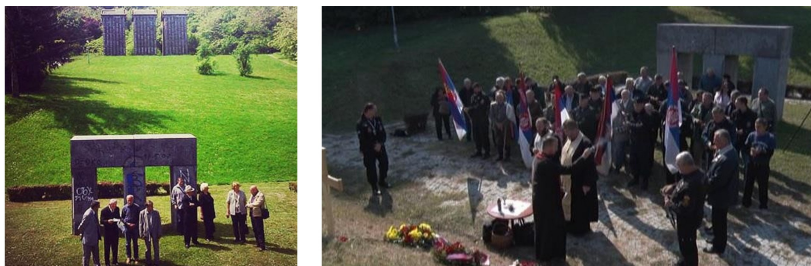


FIGURE 13: Celebration of the Liberation Day of Čačak (Source https://www.ozonpress.net%2Fdrustvo%2Fi-u-cackuobeizen-dan-pobede%2F&psig=AOvVaw3lu_8kPc9-iOY1VjLE-iUd&ust=1569617763322150 , date: June 2019)

8. CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

The monuments of the National Liberation War were places of special importance in Yugoslavia, formed as a ritual framework for manifesting the identity features of socialist Yugoslavia. Depending on the size of the battle and the number of dead fighters or residents, monumental monuments were very carefully planned and edited to become places of gathering, education, and memories, as well as rest and recreation for broad sections of society. A critical review of this period reveals a complex dynamic that included political, social, and cultural factors. During the period of relative stability in Yugoslavia under the dominant political scene, these monuments were used to maintain socialist unity. The ideology of Brotherhood and Unity was key in this era, where monuments represented the physical manifestations of this ideal. According to the above-mentioned, the analysis of the semiotic sequence showed that the Memorial Park of the Struggle and Victory in Čačak built its narrative on the foundations of re-traumatisation of historical events, which could be perceived in the very name of the monument, which is not dedicated to the victims of the war but to the struggle. By choosing the name, the author's need to send a universal and timeless message about war can be discerned, which, by connecting with the cultural, traditional, and natural context, forms the authentic identity of a society. In addition to the above-mentioned feature of the National Liberation War, it shows the specifics of internal political communication to actualise and homogenise the Yugoslav social community by strengthening the cult figure, subtly woven through the quotes carved at the entrance and exit of the memorial complex. In other words, the issues of national identity are no longer based on an empiricist but on an ideological image in the epistemological view. Consequently, this example of memorial architecture can be understood not only as an integral part of ideological structures and a content of national identity but as a mode of relation to the past and a form of self-awareness that, in a certain period, was built by society.

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