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REMEMBER THE BOMBS:
MEMORY OF THE BELGRADE BOMBINGS
FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR
FROM 1995 UNTIL 2003

Master's Thesis

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I hereby declare that I researched and wrote this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, May 2015

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Abstract

This study explores the usage of the memory of the bombings of Belgrade from WWII in the time period of Yugoslavia from 1995 until 2003. Considering that Belgrade was bombed by two opposing forces during WWII, once by Nazis in 1941, and the second time by the Allies in 1944, and due to the fact that the exploitation of memory of the two bombings was rather unequal during the Socialist Yugoslavia with the latter bombings being a taboo theme, I was interested in answering following questions: how the two memories were used in the times before, during and after the NATO Air Strikes of Yugoslavia, if the memory of the Allied bombings emerged in the public sphere and how it coexists with the one of the Nazi bombings. My primary sources are articles from “Politika” newspaper issues from commemoration dates during the research time frame from 1995 until 2003. The final conclusion shows the dominant usage of the memory of the Nazi bombings throughout the whole time frame even though we could witness the emergence of the memory of the Allied bombings.

Abstrakt

Práce zkoumá, jak byla v letech 1995–2003 v Jugoslávii využívána paměť na bombardování Bělehradu během druhé světové války. Bělehrad byl bombardován oběma nepřátelými stranami, totiž nejprve nacisty v roce 1941 a poté i spojenci v roce 1944. V období socialistické Jugoslávie byl německý nálet připomínán výrazně více než spojenecký. Předmětem mého zájmu byly následující otázky: jak bylo využíváno vzpomínání na německý i spojenecký nálet v období před, během a následně po leteckých útocích NATO na Jugoslávii v roce 1999, zda se tehdy ve veřejném prostoru objevila i paměť na spojenecké bombardování z roku 1944, a pokud ano, v jakém vztahu vůči paměti na nacistický nálet z roku 1941. Jako pramen byly využity články z předního bělehradského deníku Politika, uveřejňované v letech 1995 až 2003 ve výroční dny náletů. Závěr poukazuje na dominantní využívání paměti na nacistické bombardování během celé sledované doby, i když se objevilo i připomínání spojeneckého bombardování.

Résumé

Cette étude compte traiter de l'utilisation de la mémoire des bombardements que Belgrade subit au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale, en Yougoslavie entre 1995 et 2003. Durant la guerre mondiale, Belgrade fut bombardée deux fois, une première fois par les nazis en 1941, puis une seconde par les alliés en 1944. D'emblée, il convient de préciser que l'exploitation de ces mémoires fut instrumentalisée durant la Yougoslavie socialiste, en effet, les bombardements de 1944 constituaient un tabou. Ces divers éléments mis en avant, nous souhaiterions répondre aux questions suivantes : Comment les deux mémoires furent utilisées durant la campagne aérienne de l'OTAN sur la Yougoslavie (avant, pendant et après) ? La mémoire des bombardements alliés est-elle ressortie dans la sphère publique à cette « occasion » ? Comment coexista-t-elle avec la mémoire du bombardement nazi ? Mes sources principales sont des articles du quotidien « Politika », publiés durant les jours de commémoration survenus durant la fourchette temporelle de recherches, soit de 1995 à 2003. La conclusion finale nous montre l'utilisation dominante de la mémoire des bombardements nazis au cours de cette période, tout en constatant l'émergence de la mémoire des bombardements alliés.

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Introduction

In one short sentence, this research explores the memory of the bombings of Belgrade. However, one sentence is far from enough to present my thesis. Therefore, more specifically, I can start the introduction by letting the reader know that he or she is about to read a study that looks into the exploitation of the historical memory of the bombings that occurred in Belgrade during the Second World War in the times of the final dissolution of Yugoslavia.

The subject of the Belgrade bombings from WWII is important as a case study in many different ways. I find it most fascinating because Belgrade's peculiar position of having been bombed by two different forces during the Second World War. The first series of bombing marked the beginning of WWII in Yugoslavia and was conducted by the Nazis as a response to the coup d'état that occurred after the Yugoslavian government signing the Tripartite Pact. The second series of bombing occurred in 1944, the year the Second World War in Yugoslavia was about to end. Therefore, Belgrade was bombed again but this time by the Allied forces.¹ This particular phenomenon of one city to be bombed by two different forces was fairly uncommon, however memory of both of the bombings was never equally exploited given that the event of Allied bombings remained a taboo theme ever since Tito's victory and the creation of Socialist Yugoslavia, whereas the memory of the Nazi bombings was largely exploited and commemorated throughout the time, particularly because it was symbolically the beginning of the war in Yugoslavian territory and especially due to the memory of the bombed National Library. The fact that the memory of the two bombings was so unequal in its presentations even though their casualties and damages were comparably devastating makes this theme interesting for analysis, especially when Belgrade found itself in a similar situation at the end of the 20th century with the NATO Air Strikes.

I was curious to see how the memory of the both bombings, Nazi and Allied, was exploited at the time of much social agitation and traumatic occurrences. During the times of social agitation that was marked by NATO Air Strikes, the Milošević regime, and finally the complete dissolution of what remained of Yugoslavia after the Civil Wars from the first half of the 90's. It was the time when Serbian national agitation emerged in the public sphere in an attempt to overshadow the long lasting Yugoslavian ideology, thereby making it possible to finally tackle the theme of the Allied bombings and to introduce it to the public sphere.

¹ American and British troops

Given the ambience and the state of affairs of Yugoslavia in the end of the twentieth century, and particularity of the past bombings of its capital, I decided to examine how the memory of the WWII bombings was used in the public sphere from 1995 until 2003 - the time period that covers the last years of Milošević presidency, the Kosovo crisis, the NATO Air Strikes, the fall of Milošević, and the accompanying switch in government structure, and the final and total dissolution of Yugoslavia and its memory that paved the way for the rebirth of the Serbian state under a democratic government. Once I see how the memory was used, I wish to compare the memory of the Nazi and Allied bombings and to see how dominant the one is from another (if at all).

In order for me to answer my main research question, I used articles from the newspaper “Politika” as my main primary source. I gather these by conducting a search for the articles in the editions published on and around the commemoration dates of both of the WWII bombings, each having occurred in the month of April. Once I gather these articles, I conduct quantitative research that shows the first results in regards to the frequency of the articles over the course of years, where we can compare the frequency between the two different bombings. Afterwards, I dedicate myself to in-depth content analysis of each article that I collected and in this manner I reach further concluding remarks on the way the memory of the WWII bombings was used. Finally, I divide the research into main topics that I managed to identify, and I provide final conclusions.

First chapter is dedicated to the historical background of WWII in Yugoslavia so that the reader may better grasp the knowledge of Second World War in Yugoslavia, and particularly the bombings of Belgrade. With the historical framework, I explain the main problems and present to the reader the research questions and hypotheses. Subsequently, I present the historiography of what was published on the Nazi and Allied bombings from WWII; I finish the chapter 1 by presenting my primary sources and methodology. In chapter 2, I present my theoretical framework, hence the concepts of the collective memory and commemoration. Along with it, I also write about the process of Othering during the time of the traumatic events of 1990s, and the making the image of an enemy out of the NATO forces in 1999.

The empirical part of my work starts in chapter 3 with the quantitative research of the gathered primary sources and its results. Chapter 4 is therefore accordingly dedicated to the content analysis of the articles in which I conduct the presentation and qualitative research of each gathered article divided by year from 1995 until 2003. I dedicate one subchapter to each of the years, with a small conclusion below each. When a reader goes through the Chapter 4, he or she will be able to encounter aspects of the conclusions already integrated in the text. However, before presenting the

main conclusion, I dedicate an additional chapter to the main themes and motifs encountered during the content analysis of the primary sources. Therefore, the Chapter 5 is dedicated to the motifs of commemorative traditions of the Nazi and Allied bombings over time, to the NATO Air strikes, enmification, and to myth making; one small sub-chapter is dedicated to the importance of the individual remembrance in the creation of the collective memory in one country. Finally, I present the main conclusions to the reader, which I find partially surprising and therefore worthy of potential and further analysis.

In the following chapter, I present a more detailed historical framework of the events that are relevant for the following case study. Historical framework will explain the problematic aspects; once these are clarified, the reader should be even more aware of the reasons why I conducted the following research, and why I give importance to the image and usage of memories from the Second World War in the public discourse of Yugoslavia at the turbulent turn of the century.

Chapter 1: Background, Problematic and Methodology

1.1. WWII in Yugoslavia and the Belgrade Bombings

At the beginning of World War II, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia remained neutral in the conflict. It was not until the year 1941, when the Third Reich started concentrating on developing the attack on the USSR. Therefore, in order to ensure the success in his endeavor, Hitler sought the support from South-Eastern Europe, and given the pressure that Kingdom of Yugoslavia found itself under, Yugoslavia's officials signed the Tripartite Pact with the Axis Forces on 25th of March in 1941.

Nevertheless, signing a pact of alliance with the Axis powers was not a token of fully pledged support to the Reich given the fact that there were certain reservations and limitations in the role of Yugoslavia in the conflict. Firstly, the parties stated that Yugoslavia's territorial integrity must be respected. Secondly, Yugoslavia was not obliged to provide military assistance to the Axis forces; Yugoslavia was not supposed to be asked for permission to move Axis military forces across Yugoslavian territory during the war. Finally, Yugoslavia was promised the annexation of Salonika after the war.²

However, only two days after signing the pact, on March 27, massive protests broke out on the streets of Belgrade showing discontent about Yugoslavia's new allies with the famous paroles, still famous nowadays "Better grave than to be a slave, better war than the pact".³ The masses were influenced by the memory of the allies from the Great War and regarded the signing of the pact as a betrayal of those countries considered to be friends, particularly of France. The mass protest was organized mainly by people of Communist orientation and it enjoyed great diplomatic support from Britain.

The British secret service also played a role in the coup d'état that occurred the very same day when Yugoslavian generals Dušan Simović and Bora Mirković overthrew the government of Cvetković-Maček, declared the young King Peter II Karadjordjević to be full of age. Once the King's decisions were made legitimate, he named Simović head of government. Despite the fact that the Tripartite Pact was never officially broken, when the news of the protests and the coup d'état reached Hitler, he found the new occurrences offensive, and stated that Yugoslavia could not be trusted, and ordered the attack and systematic occupation of Yugoslavia under the name "Operation

² Ramet, Sabrina P. *The Three Yugoslavias: State-building and Legitimation, 1918-2005*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2006. Print. p. 110

³ In Serbian the parole is rhyming "Bolje rat nego pakt, bolje grob nego rob" Ibid p. 110

25". On that account, on April 6 - ten days after the Yugoslavian uprising occurred - bombs were thrown on the city of Belgrade, regardless to the fact that the government declared Belgrade to be an open city. The bombing operation itself was called "Operation Punishment"; it started very early in the morning, around 7am and without the official declaration of war. The first wave of the air strikes was performed with approximately 234 bombers Ju-88, Do-17, and "Stuka" Ju- 87.⁴

It is stated in Yugoslavian historiography that during one day of the bombing 2,271 Belgraders died and 682 buildings were completely destroyed.⁵ German sources state that there were around 4000 victims, and other sources claim that there were 20000. This inconsistency in the final number of the victims can show us how there was no systematical way of knowing the exact number of the dead, therefore there is still no real answer in regards to the number of victims.⁶ When it comes to the material damage, German *Luftwaffe* managed to bomb the train station, the main post office, Ministry of Army and Navy, Military Academy, airport in Zemun, high schools, hospitals, residential buildings, and also the bomb shelters. Out of all of these destroyed facilities, one in particular stayed present in the collective memory of Belgraders throughout the commemorative events and constant reminding, and that is the complete destruction of the National Library where 350 000 valuable books and manuscripts had gone into oblivion. Shortly after the bombing, Belgrade was occupied by the Axis forces, and a collaborative government came to power. General Milan Nedić was named head of the state for most of the time of the Nazi rule over the country as the head of collaborative government situated in Belgrade.⁷ This period of the bombings until the complete occupation and capitulation of Yugoslavian government is referred in historiography as April War⁸. It is important to say that during the April War not only was Belgrade bombed, but that the operation started earlier with the bombing of the Yugoslavian military airports in Kumanovo, Skopje, Zagreb, Brežic and Ljubjana, and was under the command of general Alexander Löhr.⁹ Yugoslavian Air Force Command was quite unprepared for the Nazi bombings for various reason. The first is due to the fact that the bomber planes and ammunition was far inferior and dated than the Third Reich's and the second reason is the internal turmoil in the institutions; certain generals deciding not to fight in the April War with the means to join the Axis powers later on given that

⁴ During the second wave at ten in the morning, there were apparently 57 "Stukas" attacking the city. It is claimed that in each wave there were hunters following the bombers, and certain sources claim that there were 250 hunters in the attacks, although Velimir Terzić believed that just an assumption because there is no written proof; source: Terzić, Velimir. *Slom Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941: Uzroci i posledice poraza*. Vol. 2. Beograd: Narodna Knjiga, 1982. Print. P. 473

⁵ Čubrilović, Vasa, ed. "Beograd u aprilskom ratu" *Istorija Beograda*. Beograd: Prosveta, 1974. 500. Print.

⁶ Petranović, Branko. "Vojni poraz Kraljevine i sudbina srpskog naroda" *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu: 1939-1945*. [Serbia in WWII: 1939-1945] Beograd: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992. Print

⁷ In the beginning it was Aćimović who was head of the new puppet state

⁸ Petranović, B. op.cit

⁹ Ibid: Alexander Löhr was tried in Yugoslavia after the war and then executed

there were already existing tensions in the army between each nation in the Yugoslavian kingdom.¹⁰ However, many Air Force pilots gave their lives in quite a dramatic manner while trying to defend the ground from the German bombers, and these pilots were frequently mentioned in the newspapers during the 90's and whose stories I shall briefly present in the empirical part of this thesis.

Once the April War ended, Yugoslavia was divided into pieces and was led by different Axis forces powers. Northern Serbia was under the control of Hungary, northern Slovenia under the Third Reich, and in the territories of Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Srem, the Nazi puppet state of Independent State of Croatia came to power; Montenegro so as Eastern Slovenia and parts of Dalmatia fell under the control of the Italians. However, after the April War, two major resistance movements resurged in the Yugoslavian territory, pursuing clandestine activities against the Nazis, but also against each other. The two groups had different ideologies, with partisans as Communists on one side under Tito, and with the Chetniks under the leadership of Dragoljub Mihailović, fighting for the ideas of the previously existing Yugoslavian monarchy, which had regarded Serbs as the dominant group in the Kingdom. Clashes between the two led to a civil war in the midst of World War II, a real and constant threat at time. Mihailović saw Tito and his partisans as a threat to the Serbian nation and he considered Tito to be as great an enemy as the Nazis.

Since the beginning of the war, Mihailović and the Chetniks were considered the official resistance movement in Yugoslavia by both the Allies and the Yugoslavian government in exile. Therefore, Mihailović was getting material help and support from the Allies up until the second half of 1943.¹¹ At that point, the Allies decided to stop assisting Chetnik troops, and began to send aid and support to Tito and the partisans. In the eyes of the Chetnik sympathizers, this dramatic twist was considered treason.¹² It is believed that the reasons for this transition of Allied support happened due to the fact that Mihailović did not have an extensive plan to beat the Nazis because he was too concentrated on defeating the Communists – a priority that the Allies did not share, as Tito prioritized the fight against the Nazis.¹³

In 1944, as Tito's partisan movement was gaining strength through new support, the Allies also started strategically bombing Axis-occupied cities throughout Europe. Belgrade was among those cities, as well as many others in the country. Therefore, the Yugoslavian capital had the misfortune

¹⁰ After WWI, Kingdom of Yugoslavia was firstly named Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

¹¹ Sundhaussen, Holm. *Istorija Srbije: Od 19. Do 21. Veka.* [History of Serbia from 19th to 21st century] Beograd: Clio, 2008. Print. p. 360

¹² Ibid. p. 363

¹³ Ibid, p. 363

of having been bombed twice during the war by both the Nazis and the Allied forces; this fact constitutes a key aspect of my case study.

The Allies bombed Belgrade six times in 1944, in order to slow down the Germans and interrupt their activities, however due to the predominant use of carpet bombing, many non-German locations were also bombed. The Allied bombings occurred on Orthodox Easter¹⁴ April 16, and continued into the next day as well. There are different estimates regarding the number of victims from these bombings, and sources from Yugoslavian historiography claim that around 1.160¹⁵ civilians died during the two days of bombing in April, while newer sources claim that there were actually 3.800¹⁶; this highlights the disparity in interpretations of this event from the past to the present.

As was expected, the Allied bombings managed to disturb both the collaborative government and the Nazis, thereby making the pursuit of resistance activities much easier, these included Belgrade Operation - the planned liberation of the city by partisan forces. Hence, on October 20 1944, Belgrade was liberated by the partisans under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito and with the help of the Soviet Red Army. It is speculated that the Allied bombings were being performed in agreement with Tito so that the victory of the partisans could be finalized,¹⁷ and that is one of the reasons it is believed the bombings from 1944 remained the taboo theme throughout the time of Tito's Yugoslavia.

Once the Yugoslavian partisans took over the country, it was the rise of the new Yugoslavia based on the communist ideology with Tito as leader. Along with the new country and social order came the new culture of memory, namely that of idealized partisans fighting the enemies for freedom; Yugoslavian historiography after war was mainly concentrated on Tito and the partisans, on the "fight for freedom", and everything else remained a taboo theme.¹⁸ Partisan ideology was present in many different forms, especially in Yugoslavian cinema.¹⁹ Given the historiography of the glorified partisan movement and Tito, it seemed logical to imagine every opponent of the partisans as an enemy, and the enemies were the Nazis, Chetniks, and civilians that were considered traitors for collaborating with the Nazis. Clearly enough, one of the taboo themes kept in the shadows by the

¹⁴ The fact that it occurred on Easter is an important information regarding the empirical part of the thesis

¹⁵ Marjanović, Jovan. "Uoči oslobodjenja" *Beograd*. Beograd: Nolit, 1964. Print. p. 300

¹⁶ Terzić Milan, „Jugoslovenska kraljevska vlada, general Dragoljub Mihailović i savezničko bombardovanje ciljeva u Jugoslaviji 1942–1944. godine“, *Tokovi istorije*, 1–2/2005, Beograd, 2005, p. 107

¹⁷ Pavlovic, Momcilo. "Da li su "Saveznici" bombardovali samo srpske gradove", *Istorija 20. veka*. 21/2003, br.1, p. 152

¹⁸ Sundhaussen, H. op. cit. p. 381

¹⁹ Ibid p. 382

Yugoslavian historiographical tradition was the event of the Allied bombings due to the blurry motives of the bombings and their disastrous outcome for the civilians. Given the speculations that the Allied bombings were considered the “clear path” for the liberation of the city, and facilitated the partisan victory in the war, little attention was given to it in cultural memory. It can be deduced that this event not being present in the country’s historical memory was due to the fact that the memory of these bombings did not seem appropriate and useful for the agendas of the political elite.

On the contrary, the event of the Nazi bombings in 1941 remained present in the collective memory of the Yugoslavian people most probably because it fit the Yugoslavian partisan ideology and formed a clear-cut image of the fascist enemy, and because it represented the beginning of the war that gave birth to Socialist Yugoslavia. The official commemoration date for the Nazi bombings is April 6, widely famous even nowadays among the people since it is still present in the public discourse through constant commemorative traditions and monuments. There are also commemoration dates for the Allied bombings of April 16 and 17 and it is known that the bombing occurred on Easter Sunday in 1944. However, the commemoration dates for the Allied bombings were never widely famous and that is one of the reasons that I am interested in conducting the research - because I wonder if its memory ever became as famous as the memory of the Nazi bombings from 1941.

1.1.1. The End of the 20th Century and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia

The last decade of the 20th century was a very dramatic one in the Balkans. It resulted in the horrendous civil war and the subsequent dissolution of Yugoslavia, the country that eventually consisted only of Serbia and Montenegro after previously having six different republics in a federation. Shortly after the civil war in Croatia and Bosnia, the Kosovo Crisis acquired more attention due to the seriousness of the situation that was developing amidst tensions between the Yugoslavian Troops and the Kosovo Liberation Army. When these violent clashes reached their greatest extent, NATO sought to intervene in Kosovo by sending peace-keeping troops, and when Yugoslavian president Milošević refused to allow the troops to interfere at the conference in Rambouillet, NATO decided to start bombing Yugoslavia. The operation began on 24 March, 1999 without the official approval of the UN. The intervention ceased its activities after 78 days of bombing, on 10 June, when the Yugoslavian government decided to pull back their troops from Kosovo. According to Human Rights Watch, the number of civilian casualties was around 500,

however other sources claim a larger number, from 1200 to 5200.²⁰ Milošević still ruled the country until 2000, when the 5 October Overthrow²¹ occurred and the opposition group of parties committed a coup d'état, which included Zoran Djindjić as one of the most important figures of the event.

During the turbulent decade of the 90's in the Balkans, a different culture of memory emerged from the one that was widely known to the public during the socialist era. Socialist Yugoslavian traditional memory was officially pushed aside, and in Serbia, we could observe the strong presence of Serbian nationalism with the interpretation of the national history becoming more connected to the idealization of the Chetnik movement from WWII than to the partisan one, as well as through the exploration of the memory of the Great War and Serbia's role in it. Growing nationalist ideologies were typical phenomena in all the former Yugoslavian republics.

Why the NATO intervention is relevant in my exploration of the past war memories is because it is the first bombing that occurred in the Yugoslavian territory after WWII, therefore I believe that the memory of the previous bombings was used as an identification with the contemporary traumatic event, and that it brought about more frequent usage of WWII memories. I particularly argue that the memory of the Allied bombings emerged not only because of the historiographical traditions, and changing national ideologies after the fall of Socialist Yugoslavia, but also because this memory served in the creation of the new image of the enemy due to the fact that American troops participated in both NATO intervention and the Allied bombings in 1944. Given the same perpetrator and the fact that that the Allied bombings of '44 were equally as devastating as the Nazi ones, its narrative could give a solid material for building a mythical construct that would help in the process of the Othering during the NATO intervention; this was the first hypothesis that led me to start this research.

In the last twenty years, intellectual discussions arose with the question of who actually approved and ordered the Allied bombings,²² with the speculations whether they were performed in agreement with the Chetnik leader Mihailović or partisan leader Tito. Therefore, it is no surprise that, on one side, there were assumptions in regards to WWII ending with the partisan victory – particularly that the Allied bombings were performed in agreement with the Yugoslavian partisans, which can be seen as an act against Serbian national interests. This kind of interpretation of history may be used to prove how, once again in the contemporary situation, the same forces are also acting

²⁰ "THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO." *Human Rights Watch*. N.p., n.d. Web. 28 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/2000/nato/Natbm200-01.htm>>.

²¹ I use the term Fall of Milošević sinonimously to 5 October Overthrow

²² Terzic M. op. cit. p. 81

against Serbian national interests, which contributed to the memory of Serbian nationals as victims of the powerful forces. Hence, for some, both the NATO intervention and the Allied bombings of the '44 have been perceived as the “treason of the West” using the example of the past experience “committed by the same culprit as now” in order to proven how the situation did not change after all this time.

1.2. Research Questions and Hypothesis

With the given problems from the previous chapter, what I am particularly interested in finding out is how the memories and images of the Belgrade bombings from WWII were presented in the public discourse, especially during the time of the NATO Air Strikes in Yugoslavia. I am interested in the memory of both the Nazi bombings and the Allied ones, particularly because the memory of the second bombing was on its way to becoming a new theme after being taboo in the Socialist Yugoslavia. It would be interesting to see for which purposes the memories of these bombings were used, or better said, if we witness a change in the collective memory, by Halbwachs, it is due to the needs of the group delimited in time in space, therefore I wish to see what the needs of the group were in using the memory of the bombings, particularly during the NATO Air Strikes. It goes without saying that I follow the frequency and the quality of the articles that depict the bombings from WWII with the means to grasp how these images changed over the course of years.

Connected with the main research question, I wish to find out if we are able to witness the emergence of the memory of the Allied bombings due to the fact that NATO intervention was being led by the United States government officials, hence we could make a connection in regards to the responsibility for both the Allied bombings in WWII and the one in 1999. My research also tends to answer to the possibility of finding examples in the public discourse, where we can find certain examples of identification of the current situation with the 40's bombings. I would like to see if the new memory of the Allied bombings was used for the purposes of identification especially because the “enemies” in both events were part of the US government.

I believe that after conducting the research and trying to answer the questions, we do witness the resurgence of the memory of the Allied bombings in the public discourse of the late 90's and early 2000's, and I suppose that memory of both of the bombings was used more often in the public sphere because of the NATO intervention. I assume that the images of the bombings were mostly used in the process of making the image of a new enemy and as an identification with the previous

time when a group, in this case Serbs and Belgraders, experienced events similar to those held in the collective memory of the past.

Given the fact that I conducted my research in a particularly turbulent time period, I am interested in acquiring the notion of possible changes in the usage of the bombing memories after the NATO intervention as well, and particularly after the Fall of Milošević. My belief is that the political usage of the memories decreased after the overthrow, with April 6 bombings traditionally still being more present in the public discourse, but the memory of the Allied bombings potentially starting to establish their space in the cultural memory as well and therefore coexisting with the first memory.

1.3. Historiography

The bombings from WWII have been mentioned frequently in the main narrative in the war historiography both in the pre-1992 Yugoslav and post-1992 Serbian versions regardless of the fact that many valuable sources that could give an exact insight into the bombings do not exist. There is a detailed chapter on Nazi bombings in the chapter on the April War in a book edited by Vasa Čubrilović in 1974 under the name “History of Belgrade”.²³ However, the most detailed study on the April War as a whole was written by Velimir Terzić in his book “The Fall of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1941”²⁴ published in 1982. It is a detailed analysis of the year 1941 with a main theme of the interpretation and analysis of the main reasons why Kingdom of Yugoslavia fell so rapidly in the April War. Therefore among an enormous amount of data, Terzić’s work offers us a very detailed narrative of the Nazi bombings in 1941. Terzić used many different sources, of which some were official German and Yugoslavian documents in regards to the quantity of the ammunition, aircraft, and crew of which the two consisted. In regards to the Nazi bombings, Terzić used the sources like Aircraft “glasnik”,²⁵ and Military Encyclopedia. The information on the numbers of the bombers and the type of aircraft that participated in the attacks can be found in the summary report written by the German Army, which can be found in the Military Historical Institute²⁶ in Belgrade. This source was used by Velimir Terzić as well as by the other historians; its numbers have been used in the major narratives of the April 6 bombings.

²³ Čubrilović, Vasa, ed. “Beograd u aprilskom ratu” *Istorija Beograda*. Beograd: Prosveta, 1974. Print.

²⁴ Terzić, Velimir. *Slom Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1941: Uzroci i posledice poraza*. Vol. 2. Beograd: Narodna Knjiga, 1982. Print. P. 473

²⁵ Aircraft Journal

²⁶ Vojnoistorijski institut u Beogradu, *ibid*.

The other detailed work on the April War was the book mostly dedicated to the city of Belgrade and therefore covers not just the April War but also the narrative of what was happening in Belgrade throughout the whole war. Its name is *Belgrade in War and Revolution*²⁷ published in 1984 and supported by SKJ.²⁸ The numbers and data were the same as in Velimir Terzić's study, which shows that the same sources were used for the interpretation of the narrative. All of the mentioned works belong to the Yugoslavian historiographical tradition and do not differ among each other in their interpretation of the April War.

We can conclude that many of the historians covering the April War mainly used Velimir Terzić's work as a secondary literature reference, and are therefore the same primary sources that Terzić himself used. This is also the case with the newer works such as Branko Petranović's *Serbia in WWII: 1939-1945*, published in 1992.²⁹ It is a written account of the events happening in Serbia during the war and it includes a chapter dedicated to the April War. Even in the 90's the narrative of the Nazi bombings remained roughly the same.

Regarding the pilots of the April War and Air battles, there is a study whose introduction is very useful for the analysis. It is written by Dragan Savić and Boris Ciglić, and it mainly treats the Croatian Air Force during WWII, but the introductory part is dedicated to the April War due to the fact that Croatian pilots were previously part of the Royal Yugoslav Air Force.³⁰

However, it is significant that in Yugoslavian historiography the Allied bombings were not as emphasized as the Nazi bombings of 1941, and we can see in the historical reference chapter that the number of victims was also considered to be lower than is believed nowadays. With the new political turmoil in the 90's also came the change in historiographical tradition, which consequently brought about new studies that began shedding new light on the event of the Allied bombings, especially after the Fall of Milošević.

Firstly, during the NATO intervention and most probably under its influence, Petar Aleksić wrote an article named "It Was Written Happy Easter on the Bombs"³¹ The text, as we could see from the title, is highly political and biased, and therefore cannot quite be categorized as academic, although it served as an inspiration for the articles from "Politika" that I use as primary sources.

²⁷ Piljević, Đorđe, Radomir Bogdanović, Venceslas Glišić, Nikola Živković, Mihailo Švabić, Petar Kačavenda, Jovan Vujošević, Dragoslav Dimitrijević, and Vojislav Birković. *Beograd u ratu i revoluciji*. Vol. 2. Belgrade: 1984.

²⁸ SKJ is abbreviation for Savez komunista Jugoslavie – Association of the Communists of Yugoslavia

²⁹ Petranović, Branko. "Vojni poraz Kraljevine i sudbina srpskog naroda" *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu: 1939-1945*. [Serbia in WWII: 1939-1945] Beograd: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992. Print

³⁰ Savić, Dragan, and Boris Ciglić. *Croatian Aces of World War 2*. Oxford: Osprey Pub. 2002. Print.

³¹ see Aleksić, Petar. "Na Bombama je pisalo srećan Uskrs." *Srpsko Nasledje* 15,16,17 (1999). *Srpsko Nasledje*. June 1999. Web. 21 May 2014. <<http://www.srpsko-nasledje.co.rs/sr-l/1999/06-ratno/article-06.html>>.

After the Fall of Milošević, we are able to witness new articles that came out emphasizing the Allied bombings of 1944 in a more serious and academic manner. The articles managed to give greater importance to the bombings and shed a new light on them. Therefore, in 2003, Momčilo Pavlović published an article³² where he starts with the review of the Italian history book *Vennero dal cielo*, which translates into *They Came From the Sky* and commented on the Allied bombings of the then Italian city of Zadar. The book that Pavlović review argued how Tito communicated with the Allies in regards to the potential bombings so that the Allies would not bomb the places where the partisans were and to bomb locations that would make partisan road to victory easier, and that Tito was the one who was culpable for disastrous bombing of Zadar.³³ Pavlović reaches this conclusion by dispelling the belief that the Allies only bombed Serbian cities, claiming that it is a myth present in Serbian public opinion³⁴ that goes in hand with the Serbian nationalist agenda of presenting the Western world as an enemy from before. Even though, Pavlović believes that the Allied bombings were not the main cause of the partisan victory, he does claim that the Allied bombings were more devastating than the Nazi ones from 1941.³⁵ Finally, the author states that Tito indeed sought for and approved certain bombings but he never gave the orders himself because it was ultimately the decision of the Allied commanders.³⁶

In 2005, one of the articles concerning the Allied bombings was written by historian Milan Terzić³⁷ in which he analyzed the role of Chetniks under Mihailović in communication with the exiled Yugoslav government in Great Britain and its effect on the Allied bombings.³⁸ This article was written in response to the scholarly discussions regarding the culprits of the Allied bombings. Terzić claims that Mihailović communicated with the Yugoslav government in exile and asked for the bombings of certain locations in and outside Yugoslavia.³⁹ In this article, we can find a different number of the victims of the Allied bombings than the one previously present in the Yugoslavian historiography. It was found in the report about bombings in Belgrade sent to the Embassy in Ankara in 1944 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the number of the civilians who lost their lives in the Belgrade bombings was 3800, and in Zemun 1200.⁴⁰ When we compare this number with the previous one, we could see that the number of the victims is considered much higher now

³² see Pavlovic, Momcilo. "Da li su "Saveznici" bombardovali samo srpske gradove", *Istorija 20. veka*. 21/2003, br.1, p. 149 - 168 <http://scindeks-clanci.ceon.rs/data/pdf/0352-3160/2003/0352-31600301149P.pdf>

³³ Ibid p. 151, 152

³⁴ Ibid p. 152

³⁵ Ibid p. 159

³⁶ Ibid. p. 161

³⁷ son of Velimir Terzić

³⁸ see Terzić Milan, „Jugoslovenska kraljevska vlada, general Dragoljub Mihailović i savezničko bombardovanje ciljeva u Jugoslaviji 1942–1944. godine“, *Tokovi istorije*, 1–2/2005, Beograd, 2005, p. 81 - 111

³⁹ Ibid p. 82

⁴⁰ Ibid p. 107

than it was before, which also proves the theory that the Allied bombings were more devastating than the Nazi ones.

In the same issue of the journal where Terzić's article was published, another publication found its place. It was the first time that General Nedić's memorandum regarding the damage of the Allied bombings written to Eisenhower was published. It was historian Mile Bjelejac who made the memorandum public.⁴¹

If we are to consider extensive works written about the Allied bombings in the whole of the Balkans and not just in Serbia, I should mention the book written by Marica Karakaš Obradov in which she wrote in detail about the Allied bombings that took place in Croatia from 1943 until 1945.⁴²

When it comes to the collective memory studies applied on the Balkans and their history and the memory - or mismemory of its past, it is important to mention Todor Kuljić and his work *Kultura sećanja*⁴³ where he fully develops the conceptual framework on collective memory and applies it to the changes in the historical memory of the Balkans that occurred after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

1.4. Presentation of the Sources and Limitations

In regards to newspapers as primary source for my thesis, I feel the need to explain why I chose them and in which way I can connect them to the concept of collective memory and Othering. Yes, it is true that it is difficult, sometimes impossible to draw conclusions on what the content of the collective memory of a certain group of people is merely by analyzing the newspapers; it requires more research and a variety of sources and methods. Nevertheless, the newspapers as a tool of communication have been deemed important by many in order to develop what Anderson calls "imagined community" in his elaborations of the cultural origins of a nation through print capitalism, which establishes newspapers as an important tool to make people of a certain nation imagine they are one.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Bjelejac, Mile. "Nedićev memorandum generalu Ajzenhaueru Maja 1945. Dokumenti o štetama nastalim bombardovanjem Beograda 1941 – 1944." [General Nedić's Memo for General Eisenhower from May 1945. Documents on the Damages from the Bombardment of Belgrade 1941–44. Tokovi Istorije, Časopis instituta za noviju istoriju Srbije 1 (2005): 211-36. Web. 11 Dec. 2013. <http://www.inisbgd.co.rs/celo/2005_1.pdf>.

⁴² see Obradov, Marica Karakaš. *Angloamerička bombardiranja Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu: Saveznički zračni napadi na nezavisnu državu Hrvatsku 1943.-1945.* Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2008. Print.

⁴³ see Kuljić, Todor. *Kultura sećanja: Teorijska objašnjenja upotrebe prošlosti. [Culture of Memory: Theoretical Explanations of the Use of History]*, Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2006.

⁴⁴ Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. "The Origins of National Consciousness." *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1991.

For this importance that mass-media carries in the society, I am confident that the choice for my primary sources is relevant to the research that I am trying to accomplish, and even though the articles that can be found are written by one person, I do believe that the opinions expressed are the opinions that are being developed within the community. However, once an individual receives the information, particularly the one that can be connected to the ideological nation-building, especially during the times of collective trauma which is in this case NATO Air Strikes, the effect of the media could be highly effective and capable of influencing the group. The content of the media should not be ignored, and should be considered when conducting a research in the field of cultural and social history.

Given my explanation on the choice of my sources, I tend to look into the newspapers articles that mention the WWII bombings, specifically those published from 1995 until 2003. My main primary source are the articles from the newspapers "Politika" that were gathered in Slovanska knihovna v Praze⁴⁵. "Politika" is said to be "the oldest and most influential daily newspaper in this part of Europe"⁴⁶ and indeed, "Politika" was an influential paper throughout the 20th century in many different ways. It was founded in 1904 by Vladislav Ribnikar and he claimed that the papers were "political and independent" from the government.⁴⁷ The papers were functioning throughout the whole of the 20th century up until the present except for the outset of the First World War and the Second World War.⁴⁸ The last edition before WWII actually came out on April 6 1941, on the day of the Nazi bombings.

Given its history, it is easily concluded that "Politika" certainly enjoyed great repute during the better part of the century, up until the 90's when it became a state tool serving the causes of Milošević's nationalist agenda. "Politika" acquired the symbol of the "regime media"⁴⁹ and it was referred to that way up until the Fall of Milošević in 2000. When we refer to the Milošević media control, "Politika", as one of the leaders in regime media, was famous for spreading the message and the idea of "ethnic nationalism"⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Slavonic Library of Prague

⁴⁶ Trklja, Nikola. "O Nama." *POLITIKA*. Web. 27 Apr. 2014. <<http://www.politika.rs/Stranice/O-nama.sr.html>>.

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Biserko, Sonja, Radovan Kupres, Nemanja Stjepanović, Izabela Kisić, and Obrad Savić. "Štampa: Nepromenjena Matrica." Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2004. *Mediji kao deo antievropskog fronta. Štampa: Nepromenjena Matrica*. Web. 27 Apr. 2014. <http://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/Mediji_nepromenjena_matrica.pdf>. p. 15

⁵⁰ Ibid "Medijska konstrukcija Srbije" p. 9

Nevertheless, it is important to state that the public sphere was not only occupied by the state controlled media, but there also existed the so-called “independent media”⁵¹, and the public was able to read daily newspapers like “Blic” or “Danas”, considered to have opinions contrary to those of the Milošević regime, favoring the opposition parties that sought to bring down the regime. However, opposition papers like “Blic” were quite filled with enmifying articles during the NATO Air Strikes,⁵² which means that such a particular tone was not only reserved for the state-led media in 1999, in our case “Politika”.

1.5. Methods

The case study is conducted through the analysis of the articles in “Politika”. Primarily, the plan is to do the quantitative research of the articles by the commemoration dates of both of the bombings from 1995 until 2003 in order to tackle the moment when the articles on the Allied bombings started getting more space in the discourse, and to see the basic changes in the frequency of the articles that mention both of the bombings. Therefore, I look into the articles that were published on the commemoration day of April 6, and in the days before and after to see if there were any reports or announcements on the commemorative events and logically enough I look for the articles that I can find on April 16 and 17 for any mention of the Allied bombings.

I am confident that there exist other articles mentioning the bombings that were published even in different days and months throughout the years and not just in the April period of the commemoration dates, but due to the limited length of this master thesis, and the fact that “Politika” does not have its issues in digital form, I feel that the best solution was to conduct the research based on commemoration dates. However, research based on commemoration dates can certainly give us certain patterns and networks from which we could draw further conclusions. This kind of research is not unique because Schwartz, in his previously mentioned Lincoln case study, looks into the articles of newspapers published on the day of Lincoln’s birthday.⁵³

All these articles, once gathered together, were counted in order to find out if the frequency of the mention of the bombings changed over the course of years. Once the quantitative research was conducted, I wished to reach a preliminary conclusion in regards to the quantity and frequency of the articles published on the WWII bombings and to see if there is any certain development over the eight year period. With the quantitative research I would create a visual pattern that I refer to as the

⁵¹ Ibid p.11

⁵² Conclusion reached by examining newspaper “Blic” published during the NATO intervention

⁵³ Schwartz, Barry. "Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality." *The Sociological Quarterly* 38.3 (1997): 469-96

“network of memories” driven by Schwartz’s theory, which shows the mutual coexistence of the two memories and how the relationship between the two develops throughout the period of the research.

After doing this kind of quantitative research, I would start with the content analysis and take a closer look at each article, also taking into consideration in which section the articles was, how big the title was, how much space these articles take up, who the author was, and what kind of the style was used in the text; with more profound examination, I would see what the actual purpose of these articles was, what kind of the tone was used, and if the articles had served the purposes of new nation building and the Othering process.

If I was able to find out new information in these articles, I would look for the secondary literature to try and see if this information existed in written form, for example number of the victims and buildings destroyed. With this sort of investigation, I specifically look for possible inaccuracies, since there has been great speculation on the actual number of victims of the bombings and on the extent of the material damage. By looking into these inconsistencies, I wish to answer a question if “Politika” did use “journalistic revitalization of history” as stated by some.⁵⁴ It would be fruitful to analyze if the number of alleged victims rises or falls across the years or stays the same. I would also give importance to the information found in the articles that I consider new to the public. In addition, I would also analyze in which way the journalists write history.

An additional level of analysis that I wish to pursue comes from the fact that many of the articles are reports of the commemorative events that were taking place throughout the years. In order to see if there were any changes in the culture of commemoration, I have one chapter in which I provide the results of my research, in which I try to see which commemorative events are still happening, which stopped happening, and if we also have any events that were single occurrences. Once I has seen a pattern developed in this commemorative events, I was able to draw conclusions on the transformations and modification of commemorative traditions, which are closely connected with the change in the Yugoslavian narrative and the presence of the new ideology.

It is important to point out that some of the articles I gathered do not specifically mention the Nazi bombings, but the whole event of the April War, and the German occupation. Given that the Nazi bombings were an integral part of the April War, I include these articles in the category of articles referencing the bombings of 1941.

⁵⁴ Biserko, Sonja...op.cit.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1. Collective Memory and Commemoration

For the purposes of my research, the notion of collective memory is essential due to its omnipresence in the depiction of the past events in the present – specifically, whether it could be found in the public discourse, books, movies, or even in the stories narrated among the individuals belonging to a certain group. The concept of collective memory was introduced and thoroughly addressed by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Even though Halbwachs wrote all his works before 1945, it is important to state that their importance resurged in the 80's and particularly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when studies of memory came to the attention of the academic world.⁵⁵

In Halbwachs's work *La Mémoire collective*⁵⁶ he tackled the phenomenon of the individual remembrance, expressing how it is deeply connected with the collective thought, and stated individual remembrance is recreated through a framework of a certain group, hence we can conclude that what Halbwachs pointed out to be the important factor in the phenomena for both collective and individual memory is the group as the main foundation for both the existence and survival of both individual and collective memory.⁵⁷ Halbwachs believed there was a difference between history and historical (collective) memory, thus he claimed that the main difference is that collective memory lives on with the support of a group existing in a particular place and time, while history does not require that⁵⁸, he also argued that there can be as many collective memories as there are groups, whereas there is only one history.⁵⁹

When it comes to the division between history and collective memory, we consequently make a distinguish history and commemoration. Pierre Nora's belief is that there are two different ways of perceiving the past, and thus he takes a slightly different opinion that the one from Halbwachs. Nora mentioned the *lieux de memoire* (sites of memory) opposing it with history that "deconstructs the past" while the sites of memory "reconstruct the past".⁶⁰ These *lieux de memoire* are not

⁵⁵ Kuljić, Todor. *Kultura sećanja: Teorijska objašnjenja upotrebe prošlosti*. Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2006. p. 97

⁵⁶ see Halbwachs, Maurice. *La Memoire Collective*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968. Print.

⁵⁷ Halbwachs, Maurice. "Individual Memory and Collective Memory." *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. 22-44. Print.

⁵⁸ Halwachs, M. *La Memoire...* op. cit. p. 75

⁵⁹ Ibid p.74

⁶⁰ Schwartz, Barry. "Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality." *The Sociological Quarterly* 38.3 (1997): p. 470

necessarily just geographical space, but also rituals, paintings, anthems, flags, monuments so as films, literature, and posters.⁶¹ Nora argues for two different ways of seeing the past with the belief that “history disenchant the past; commemoration and its sites sanctify it. History makes the past an object of analysis; commemoration makes it an object of commitment”⁶² Consequently, for Schwartz, lieux de memoire are commemorative symbols.

Commemorating an event is a commitment that “symbolizes values whose past existence history documents”.⁶³ Schwartz argues that collective memory is a presentation of past events that could be manifested in commemorative symbolism but also in historical evidence.⁶⁴ He believes that commemoration is a concept of its own, and that it is a network of connected symbols that groups use to make sense of the world’s pattern in a way that causes these symbols to become connected to particular events in history.⁶⁵

According to Schwartz, when we witness a new commemorative symbol in the collective memory, it does not enter the vacated area but actually is supposed to take the place of previously present commemorative symbols. If the new symbol requires attention, it has to do so in such a way as to replacing the previous one or by going along with it, as in coexisting with the preceding memory.⁶⁶ The resurgence of the new commemorative symbol is in my case the Allied bombings, whereas the old symbol is the commemoration of the Nazi bombings present in the collective memory for much longer time. If we followed this theory of the arrival of the new symbol, it would indicate that in order for the Allied bombings to be present in the collective memory, they should either completely replace the memory of the Nazi bombings or should try to and coexist with it. With the research that I am pursuing, we shall see in which way the new commemorative symbol found its place in the collective memory, and specifically whether is by replacement or by cooperation.

Schwartz calls the phenomenon of organizing the existing and new commemorative symbols to be *reseaux de memoire* (networks of memory), and states that it should be at analyzed with the *lieux de memoire*, which are commemorative symbols themselves.⁶⁷ In my case study, I follow Scwartz’s suggestion and analyze both networks and sites of memory, with networks of memory being the outcome of the quantitative research in which I count the articles that mention both of the

⁶¹ Ibid p. 470

⁶² Ibid p. 470

⁶³ Ibid p.471

⁶⁴ Ibid p. 471

⁶⁵ Ibid p. 471

⁶⁶ Ibid p. 471

⁶⁷ Ibid p. 471

bombings. Thereby I analyze the *lieux de memoire* by content analysis of the articles themselves when looking at the commemorative traditions and their spaces in the city.

In his case study of Abraham Lincoln as a symbol of racial equality, Schwartz takes both Nora's and Halbwachs's theory of commemorative symbols having formative abilities, and shows how symbols are transmitted into society in a different way than history itself, and how they set themselves apart from the historical facts. Schwartz examines the symbol of Lincoln through time and how it changes by looking into the manner in which African American communities wrote about Lincoln.⁶⁸ After conducting his research he reached the conclusion that a clear-cut division between history and collective memory – in this case commemoration - does not actually exist. Additionally, Schwartz argues that collective memory needs support from groups specified in time and space, while history is an independent entity, but he does not believe that commemoration is a complete deviation from history due to the fact that the image of Lincoln can be exaggerated but is essentially rooted in historical facts. The other academic to speak about Halbwachs clear-cut division between collective memory and history is renowned Egyptologist Jan Assman. Assman contradicts Halbwach's supposition in regards to collective memory, history, and the role of culture, claiming that even when a memory gets registered in the objectivized culture, for Halbwachs it becomes history, but for Assman it does not necessarily have to become history, but rather what he calls "cultural memory".⁶⁹

Assman further develops the notion of collective memory and defining it by marking a division between "communicative" memory also referred to as "everyday" memory - and the "cultural memory"⁷⁰. The basic difference that he gives between the two memories is that the communicative one has no fixity in time, and can not last more than approximately three generations due to the fact that it is characterized as oral history hence has no capacity to last long. Assman argues that the only way this type of memory can achieve fixity in time is through cultural formation but in that moment it transforms itself into a cultural memory, whereas this particular phenomenon Halbwachs had put in the categorization of *history*, against which Assman provides a counter-argument.

Assman mentions three poles in his concept of cultural memory: memory as "contemporized past", culture, and a group. He does this by trying to connect them together.⁷¹ In my case study, we could distinguish the memory of WWII bombings as "contemporized past" because it takes a different shape due to the shockingly similar circumstances of the present NATO intervention, in the second

⁶⁸ Ibid p. 471

⁶⁹ Assman, J. op. cit.

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Ibid

case, culture, which in my example is the press (“Politika”), and finally the group that clearly refers to the members of the Serbian nation. With my example, we could argue that three of these are certainly intertwined.

Nevertheless, he goes further into defining the cultural memory by giving it main characteristics that could certainly be applied to the memory of the WWII bombings. First among them is the “concretion of identity”, which means that cultural memory serves the purposes of giving unity, therefore an identity, to a certain group. The following trait is the ability of the cultural memory to “reconstruct the past” which is the characteristic that I find most suitable for my case study and which I have already mentioned while introducing the cultural memory as “contemporized past”. He states that cultural knowledge is consistently connected and can relate to present-time circumstances. Assman also specifies the characteristics of cultural memory as formational and organizational, meaning that it is supposed to be maintained organizationally in order for the memory to spread out and be sustainable. And finally, he lists the traits of obligation and reflexivity, obligation being explained with emphasis on the symbolical meanings, and reflexivity when arguing that cultural memory can make us think of ourselves and of the memory itself because it is in a way a presentation of ourselves and the group.⁷²

My main interest for the purposes of the research is the “presentist”⁷³ approach of collective memory, therefore it is important to mention Halbwachs’ last empirical work *The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land* in which he examined the places from the Gospels of the New Testament and finally reached the conclusion that the needs of society with the new time were capable of shaping not only the different memories of the past but also the spaces which in this case were places in the Holy Land during and after life of Christ.⁷⁴ This case study supported up Halbwachs argumentation that an event or a place from the past could be important and change in a present situation because its memory is found useful for a group. Schwartz puts Halbwachs’s theory on one side calling it the relativist theory. On the other side, Schwartz mentions the existence of the absolutist theory, the one that finds the importance of an event in its particular nature, especially if it marks a beginning of something in history. Eliade’s contributes to the absolutist theory with his theory of primordial myth.⁷⁵ In Schwartz’s case study he tries to bring the two

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Coser, Lewis A. "Introduction." *On Collective Memory*. By Maurice Halbwachs. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1992. Print. p. 25

⁷⁴ Halbwachs, Maurice. “ The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land” *On collective memory*. Trans. Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago P, 1992 p.193 - 235.

⁷⁵ Schwartz, Barry. "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory." *Social Forces* 61.2 (1982): p. 376

theories closer by claiming that the connection between them could be found, and he manages to do that by examining the iconography of the United States Capitol to look into the level of commemoration of certain events in US history.

Once we are familiar with Halbwachs's relativist and Eliade's absolutist theories and analyze the events of bombing from WWII and how they change even in regards to spaces which is in a way a similar case to *Topography*, it could without a doubt be attributed to Halbwachs's theory of memory being shaped and made important by present-time circumstances because of the NATO intervention and a new "enemy". Nevertheless, when we think of Eliade's theory that the importance of the event is in its beginning, we can argue that it might be just one of the reasons why Nazi bombings were more present in the collective memory of the Yugoslav society, and that it was not just due to the needs of the group. The Nazi bombing was the first one and absolutist theory claims that the importance could be found in the beginning of an event. Therefore, the first bombing might have been more commemorated because it marked the beginning of the Second World War in Yugoslavia, but it might have also remained because of the societal needs of the Socialist Yugoslavian society, which also explains why the "second" Allied bombing was not as present in the collective memory, both because of the fact that it was not the first one and because the society did not find memory to be useful for the present.

2.1.1. Concluding Remarks

Following Schwartz's example, I analyze both networks of memory to show how two commemorative symbols can coexist and correlate one with the other by conducting the qualitative research. I also analyze the content of the articles themselves to reach the conclusions on commemorative symbols and how traditions of the bombings change and in which way they were spoken about.

I would also apply the relativist and absolutist theories of the importance of the past events for the purposes of commemoration to try and answer why certain events are found important and why others are not, and why they change with time because I believe as well that there might be a connection between the two opposing theories.

When it comes to the Halbwachs's "relativist" theory of collective memory depending only on societal needs that exist in a certain time and space, I would try to find out what those needs were to develop new commemorative symbols and traditions, and I argue that one of the needs was the creation of a new image of the enemy.

2.2. Stereotypes, Othering and Enmification

As it is already stated in the chapter with the presentation of primary sources for this case study, considerable space in the press was dedicated to the agenda of creating the other to be perceived by the public as the enemy. Therefore I argue that the images of WWII bombings were probably used not just for the purposes of commemoration and keeping alive the memory of the past wars, or as identification in the times of trauma, but also for the purposes of the creation of the “new enemy”. In order to develop this idea, I would need to present the concept of stereotypes, Othering, and finally the concept of enemy-making that Rieber refers to as “enmification”⁷⁶ and which is the term that I will be using from now on throughout my thesis.

I believe that stereotype, other, and enmification are closely connected concepts, therefore I will first introduce the notion of stereotype. The word itself had been put to use in psychological studies by Walter Lippman.⁷⁷ Lippman mainly argues that stereotypes exist because people have a tendency, when presented with a new event or an encounter, to immediately start defining and judging the object before actually seeing it in detail. Therefore, what we are more prone to do is choose what had already been defined for us in our group and observe it in stereotypical form since it had already been defined by our culture.⁷⁸ Simply put by Lippman “We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them”⁷⁹

Stereotyping also occurs, by Lippman’s assumption, when it is easier for a person to perceive a new event, person or a group in its generality rather than analyzing the same phenomenon in detail and with an open mind.⁸⁰ But he also argues that the intention of analyzing the same event or person in detail might not even be possible due to the lack of time and chance for the “intimate encounter” between the two.⁸¹ He calls this incapability of perceiving the world analytically the “economy of effort”⁸² and says it is also one of the reasons for the existence of stereotypes in the society.

Nevertheless, there is also another reason why we have stereotypes, which is the defense mechanism that people might need to use at times. Since we get easily used to the environment around us as life goes, if our life habits become threatened by the presence of an outsider, we feel

⁷⁶ Rieber, R. W., and R. J. Kelly. "Substance and Shadow: Images of the Enemy." *The Psychology of War and Peace: The Image of the Enemy*. Ed. R. W. Rieber. New York: Plenum, 1991. p. 3-39. Print

⁷⁷ Curtis, Michael. "Introduction." *Public Opinion*. By Walter Lippmann. New Brunswick, NJ, U.S.A.: Transaction, 1991. Xxiii. Print

⁷⁸ Lippmann, Walter. "Stereotypes." *Public Opinion*. New Brunswick, NJ, U.S.A.: Transaction, 1991. 81. Print.

⁷⁹ Ibid p. 90

⁸⁰ Ibid p. 88

⁸¹ Ibid p. 89

⁸² Ibid “Stereotypes as Defense” p. 95

that “our universe”⁸³ has been disturbed. Therefore Lippman draws a conclusion stating that the pattern of stereotypes actually constitutes a “guarantee of our self-respect”⁸⁴ since a certain group has a tendency to judge the whole of society based on the values that exist in that particular group, therefore identifying society with the values of the group itself, while making anything different alien to the whole of society.⁸⁵

Up to this point we have become familiar with the two reasons that Lippman believed were responsible for the existence of stereotypes in a certain group. He also developed further the notion by connecting the image of the enemy to the notion of stereotype which is particularly the part that would be found useful in this research because I argue that the memory of both bombings resurged not just as an identification in the times of a new similar trauma, but particularly the Allied bombing memory resurged with the partial purpose of creating a new image of the enemy, better said, to enmify the NATO and US government officials. Lippman argues that groups have their own system of codes, particularly moral codes, and they perceive the world in regards to that system of codes, so when another group comes into contact with the first one, which lives according to a different moral code, this other group immediately becomes alien to the first group, or, more simply put, an enemy.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, when the process of making an image of the enemy comes into question, Rieber claims that it is a “prerequisite for modern warfare”⁸⁷ and that it has not been discussed enough in the social sciences.⁸⁸ In order to explain the concept, he largely relies himself on psychological theories saying that it can only reach the effect if it reaches someone on the individual level.⁸⁹ Therefore, he mentions that managing the public sphere in order to create the image of the enemy is a “complex social process” that goes along with the psychology of the individual.⁹⁰ He gives an example of this process occurring when a certain person finds themselves under considerable stress and pressure especially in cases of social disarray, the same person starts to feel threatened, and in order to cope better with the stressful situation, the person builds himself a clear image of the enemy.⁹¹ We could apply this example to my case study, since the NATO Air Strikes were certainly a traumatic event, and the state and public therefore sought to create an image of a culprit, which

⁸³ Ibid. p. 96

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Ibid “Codes and Their Enemies” p.115 - 129.

⁸⁷ Rieber, R. W., op.cit. p. 4.

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 6

⁹⁰ Ibid p. 7

⁹¹ Ibid

could also be observed in the doings of the mass-media. The public sphere in the times of the intervention was packed with articles in which enmification was clearly occurring and not only in the case of the exploitation of the WWII memories. Nevertheless, since the core of my research is the image of the past bombings, I would argue that those images were partially used in this process of enemy-making, which also influences the transition of the cultural memory regarding the past.

When it comes to the “strategies” of enmification, Rieber once again seeks an answer in psychology, and there is one that I found useful and could be applied to the activities of the public opinion: *object dehumanization and self-inflation*.⁹² Object dehumanization is used in order to dehumanize the enemy, strip them of moral values that exist in the group, and give them “evil” characteristics, in a way making them into “monsters”. We could partially compare this concept with Lippman’s aforementioned moral code theory explaining the emergence of an enemy in a group. Nevertheless, Rieber also argues that dehumanization becomes more present when a group faces a trauma⁹³ or threat, which we could again apply to the NATO intervention. Self-inflation is the process when the values and virtues are assigned to the inner group, which is parallel to the object dehumanization. Further on, Rieber gives ways by which enmification can occur, the first being through cultural communication with the usage of the media, school, or family⁹⁴, and the other through the population itself.⁹⁵ My case study is logically limited to the first type of cultural transmission since I chose to analyze the public discourse.

⁹² Ibid p. 16

⁹³ Ibid p. 17

⁹⁴ Ibid p. 18

⁹⁵ Ibid p. 19

Chapter 3: Quantitative research of “Politika”

As already stated above, the first conducted research on the sources is the one with the finality to look into the frequency of the articles in “Politika” that mention bombings from WWII on the days of the commemorations from 1995 until 2003. Once I finished the research, I was able to place the articles in order to create the “network of memories”.

In 1995, in the period of April 6 in honor of the anniversary of the Nazi bombings, “Politika” published three articles, whereas we find no articles regarding the Allied bombings in the issues of April 16 and 17. There was no front page mentioning the bombings, and the articles did not take much space on the pages. The dominant theme was the memory of the bombed National Library.

In the following year of 1996, I was able to find four articles mentioning the Nazi bombings and in the second series of commemorations, better said, during the dates of the Allied bombings, there were still no articles, nor any front-page references.

However, in 1997, there was an article mentioning the commemoration of the Allied bombings for the first time. The article spoke about the religious ceremony commemorating the bombings in the St. Mark’s Church in Belgrade led by the Serbian Patriarch.⁹⁶ Even though it is the first mention of the Allied bombings, the article was small in size. When it comes to the references to the Nazi bombings, there were four articles and one testimony in ten parts of a woman who witnessed the April War in 1941.

We could find the significant changes in 1998 due to the fact that there was already a possibility of the NATO intervention present in the public discourse. There were two articles mentioning the Allied bombings and eight articles regarding the Nazi bombings plus a testimony in eighteen parts that gives mention to both bombings. We could see that number of both articles increased, however the ones mentioning the Nazi bombings remained dominant in the papers. I would argue that it might be the case because the memory of the Nazi bombings is deeply rooted in the Yugoslav collective memory and as an event is still kept alive. In the same year, we can find the first headlines but only those connected to the Nazi bombings, and there were three articles mentioned on the first page.

In the year of the NATO Air Strikes when the “new” bombing had already started, we witness a notable increase in the frequency of articles that make reference to the Allied bombings, whereas

⁹⁶ K., M. " Patrijarh Pavle: Stradanje za istinu nije uzaludno." *Politika* 17 Apr. 1997: 16. Print.

the number of articles mentioning the Nazi bombings stayed the same. However the number of articles is higher altogether, and the upswing proves one of the main hypotheses of the resurgence of the memory of the previously traumatic event of the WWII bombings due to the fact that the public was experiencing similar occurrences at the time. We are able to count ten articles mentioning the Nazi bombings. There are four articles that reference the Allied bombings plus two that mention them in the group of already counted articles that mention the Nazi bombings. We can find one of them referenced on the front cover. It goes without saying that these articles take much more space on the pages than the ones from the previous years.

Once the NATO intervention ceased but when the country was still led by Milošević, in 2000, we can find four articles that mention the Nazi bombings with two of them actually referencing the articles from the previous year because “Politika” was doing the retrospective of the year before as a reminder of the NATO bombings. There was only one article mentioning the Allied bombings, and it was a retrospective piece as well which means that the mention of the Allied bombings was only done due to the previous year’s happening. There are no front-page articles in this year, which shows that the importance of WWII events diminished slightly after the year of the intervention. There were no headlines. In the same year, the 5 October Overthrow happened and Milošević ceased to be the president.

Following the Fall of Milošević, in 2001, “Politika” changed its directions since they were not under the control of the same government structure as before, and it was the year when 60 years of the Nazi bombings were commemorated. There were five articles mentioning the Nazi bombings and one serial in 16 parts, but interestingly enough, there were no articles that gave reference to the Allied bombings. However, since the edition during the days of the Allied bombings commemoration was the Easter holiday edition, there were many religious articles that clearly showed the intentions of post-Milošević Orthodox national identity. The other curious occurrence worth mentioning is that even though it was 60 years after the Nazi bombings, there were no front cover articles.

The fact that in 2001 we can not find any article mentioning the Allied bombings might be because it was the three-day holiday edition of the papers, or because it was the first year “Politika” was not controlled by the previous regime, and there might still have been confusion as to whether the memory of the Allied bombings should still be exploited as much as it had during the NATO intervention and the times of Milošević, but also because there was no societal need to use the memory of the Allied bombings as much as before. We should be able to consider this one year break as a preparation for the post-revolutionary Serbian nation-building, which would be deeply

encouraged by the ideological views of Vojislav Koštunica, president of Yugoslavia from the 5 October Overthrow until 2003. Such a view is connected to my hypothesis that Serbian National myth was not only present in the age of the Milošević regime but actually gets officially incorporated into the post-revolutionary society and was encouraged by the new political elites.

In 2002, we have three articles regarding the Nazi bombing, and three articles mentioning the Allied bombings, which is quite a jump since the year before where there were absolutely no articles. There are no front-page references. Nevertheless, this is the first time that we can witness the same number of articles mentioning both bombings, therefore we could claim that the memory of the Allied bombings started getting equalized with the memory of the Nazi bombings, which seems obviously the only way the memory of the Allied bombings can exist and be sustainable if we follow Schwartz's theory on the resurgence of a new commemorative symbol. Therefore, the memory of the Allied bombings did not push away the memory of the Nazi bombings but had to "squeeze itself in" and start to coexist. This equalization of the memory never occurred before because the pieces mentioning the Nazi bombings were more frequent every year until this one.

In 2003⁹⁷, the last year of the time period that I analyze, we are able to find three articles referencing the Nazi bombings, and two articles that spoke about the Allied ones. There were no front-page articles this year either. Even though the number of the articles mentioning the Nazi bombings is slightly higher, we could still conclude that the memory of the Allied bombings is doing quite well in finding its own place in the public discourse and coexisting with the memory of the Nazi bombings.

3.1. Results of Quantitative Research

From the quantitative research that I conducted, and by analyzing the network of memory, we reach the preliminary conclusion that during the NATO intervention we can definitely witness a growing number of articles referencing both bombings. All the numbers of the articles and the presence of front page references put together can be found on Table 3.⁹⁸

The first time the number of the articles became significantly higher was in 1998 when the public was aware that the NATO Air Strikes might be a possible scenario, which fits the concept of the changes in the collective memory due to the necessities and conditions of the group at the time.

⁹⁷ 2003 is the year when Serbian Prime Minister Djindjić was assassinated in March which marks a certain period

⁹⁸ Found in the Appendix, page 113

After the NATO intervention, “Politika” was under the regime control one more year until the 5 October Overthrow, and the first year after, in 2001, there were no articles mentioning the Allied bombings, which I find to be very interesting and I believe the reason might be because it was a three-day Easter holiday edition or because of the state of preparation for the escalation of the new Serbian ideology that would be used after the Overthrow, and because the memory of the Allied bombings did not fit the societal needs of the moment.

Nevertheless, in 2002, we can witness for the first time the same amount of articles mentioning both Nazi and Allied bombings, which means that the memory of Allied bombing did in fact fit the pattern of the new Serbian collective memory and started to find its place. We could say the same for the following year even though the number of pieces mentioning the Nazi bombings is slightly higher. When we consider the whole period and only the memory of the Allied bombings, we could conclude that it resurged from no mention at all as in 1995 and 1996 up until the years when the articles mentioning these bombings became regular every year, except for 2001.

When it comes to the front cover of the press, there were always only Nazi bombing articles mentioned and only in the years 1998 and 1999. I believe that in 1998, the articles mentioning the Nazi bombings appeared on the front page because that was the year that NATO intervention first appeared to the public as an event that might happen in the future. It is interesting to notice that after 1999 there was never an article on the front page. Here again we could apply Halbwach’s concept of the collective memory being restructured to suit society’s needs.

With the conducted quantitative research of “Politika”, it is possible to visualize Schwartz’s *reseaux de memoires* (network of memories) in order to see the relation between the two memories. As Schwartz mentioned, in order for the new commemorative symbol to enter the public sphere, it should either push the other one away, or try to “coexist” with the previous memory. We can see the network of memories of the bombings on table1, and we can easily conclude that in order for the memory of the Allied bombings to exist, it has to go along with the memory of the Nazi bombings. By analyzing the table, we are able to draw new research question, foremost among them being why the event of the Nazi bombings did not diminish from the collective memory? The answer might be both because of the societal needs, which is the Halbwachsian approach, but also because it was the first one that happened, the bombing that marked a beginning of the war, which is Eliade’s approach by events from history being important in the present because of their origin. The answer might also be due to the fact that the Nazi bombings (and having Nazi as the main other) were deeply rooted in previous Yugoslav collective memory with the intense usage of Yugoslav partisan ideology and that it became a very hard tradition to break in the new Serbian one.

We could also see that not only did the memory of the Nazi bombings not go away, but actually remained dominant in the public discourse, which we can see as “appropriation” of the Yugoslav memory into the new Serbian national myth. It is important to mention that the main other during

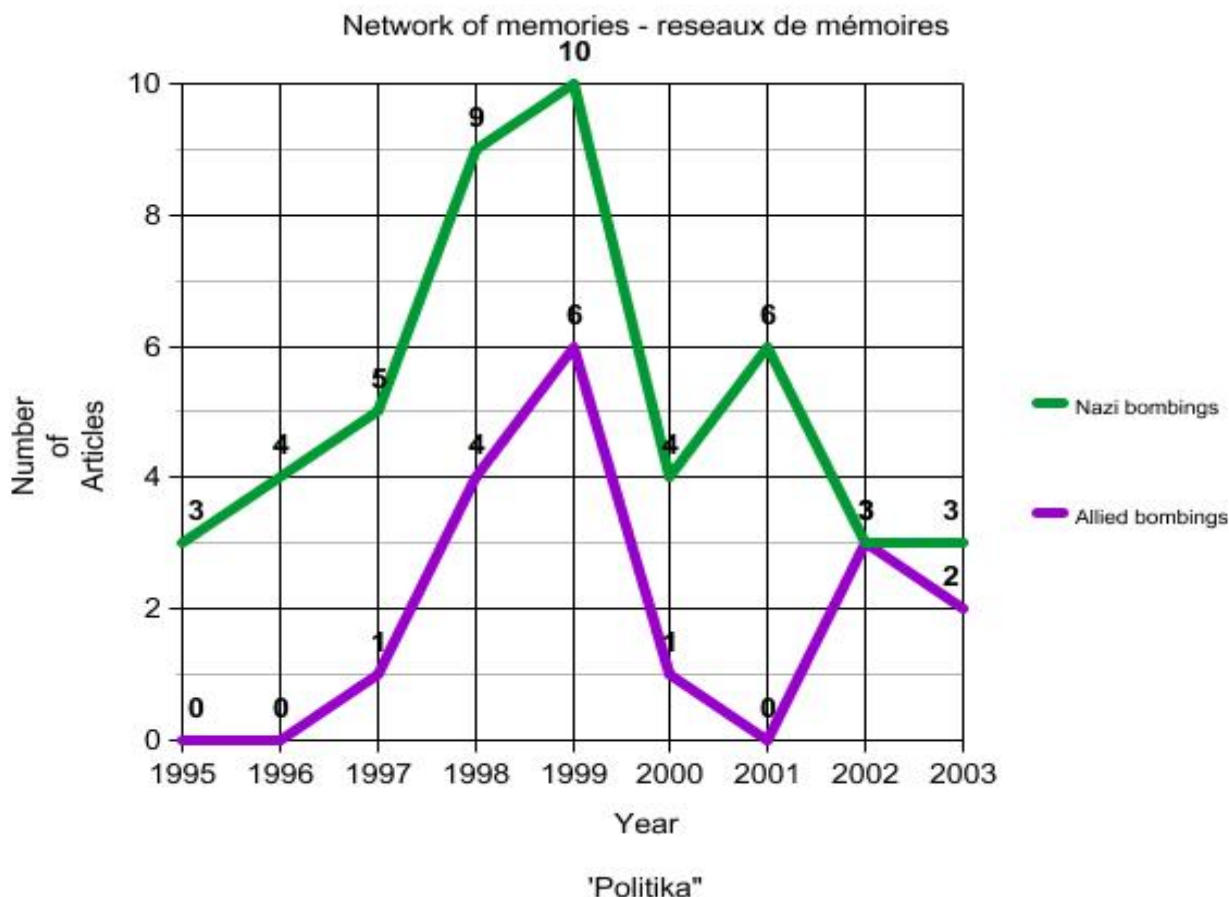


Table 1: “Network of Memories” created with the articles from “Politika”

Socialist Yugoslavia was the Nazis by emphasizing the Partisan resistance memory from WWII; I contend that the memory of having Nazis⁹⁹ as the main Other was so strong that it remained the same in the Serbian case, and therefore the memory of the Nazi bombings remains dominant, and Nazis being already the established Other, it can be concluded that it was used as a comparison for the creation of the new other which we could try to find out during the qualitative research of the articles. The fact is that it is difficult to find an exact answer on why the memory of the Nazi bombings remains dominant, especially because it might be influenced by many different factors already emphasized, due to the importance of the historical beginnings, and the traditional Other. I would argue that it is simultaneously due to both factors at the same time why the Nazi bombings remained more present, however, these are just my assumptions, and further research on the subject

⁹⁹ However Nazis were largely referred as fascists and its reasons shall be explained further on in the thesis

might develop a new answer that I mention in the final conclusion after conducting the remaining body of my research.

When it comes to the concept of collective memory and the assumption that the changes of memory depend on the needs of the group whose collective memories is being shaped, as Halbwachs argues, I wish to see for what societal needs the memories of the Allied bombings were used. In order to do that, I should conduct content analysis of all the gathered articles in order to draw further conclusions. I believe that with this case study, we could have better insight in the concept of collective memory and commemoration in regards to history, and it could also reveal the motivations for commemorative symbols shaping themselves based on changes in society. Very deeply connected to the concept of commemoration and collective memory is certainly the nation-building process, and this case study could give us further insight into the process of the new Serbian national building and the problem that it can cause in reaching the consensus of the Serbian community.

Chapter 4: Qualitative analysis of “Politika” by Years

4.1. Year 1995 or Military Nature

The year 1995 meant the end of the Yugoslavian Civil Wars in the Balkans with the definite separation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia from Yugoslavia. Hence, Yugoslavia consisted of Serbia and Montenegro under the name Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milošević was still head of state, and the public discourse was already filled with certain signs and factors of the Serbian national ideology. In this year, we encounter three articles that mentioned the WWII bombings: all three of them make reference to the Nazi bombings, and no trace could be found of the memory of the Allied air strikes.

On April 6, there is one third of the page are filled with two articles that we can find important for this research. One of the articles gives the bombing narrative that was familiar to the public from before covered by the main state-owned news agency at the time.¹ The article gives the story of the Nazi bombings with details such as the number of casualties and destroyed buildings, the number of German pilots attacking the city, and how the city was bombed in the morning. The title says, “There were 484 Bombers Participating in the Attack”² When analyzing the way the narrative was constructed in this article, we are able to confirm that this story-telling does not differ from the typical Yugoslavian narrative. When it comes to the inaccuracies, we can find it in the number of the bombers attacking the city in the first wave of the bombing. The article states that there were around four hundred bombers in the first wave, whereas the secondary sources state that there were 234. This shows how certain inaccuracies and assumptions have been presented as truths in the media.

The second article on the same page is the report of the event that occurred the day before that was organized in honor of the pilots-defenders of the Nazi bombings of the Command of the Yugoslavian Army Air Force and Air Defense, as well as the City Hall.³ The article was written by the news agency Tanjug under the title “Ceremony in the Honor to the Aviators – Defenders of Belgrade” and it is stated that there were nine surviving pilot from the April War present at the

¹ Tanjug. "U napadu na Beograd učestvovalo 484 bombardera." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1995: 13. Print.

² “ U napadu na Beograd učestvovalo 484 bombardera” Trans. by the author

³ Tanjug. "Svečanost u čast vazduhoplovaca - branilaca Beograda." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1995: 13. Print.

event. In this report there are also quotations by then Belgrade Mayor Nebojša Čović.⁴ The excerpt of the speech given by Čović quoted in the report refers to April 6 1941 calling it a “barbarian attack on Belgrade - the open city,”⁵ and he also gave praise to the pilots who defended the city. Special attention during the night was given to the captain pilot Miloš Žunjić who died on April 6, whose plane burst into the flames during the air battle against the Nazi bombers, and according to the story, Žunjić managed to parachute himself out, but was shot to death on his way to land on the ground.⁶ According to this article, we can conclude that Miloš Žunjić was considered to be one of the major heroes of the April War.

The third article from the year 1995 was published on 7 April and reports on the events that occurred the previous day at the Serbian National Library, and the first subhead refers to the reported event as the Day of the National Library.⁷ The main headline of the article is “The Recognition to Slobodan Selenić.”⁸ The National Library held the event with the purpose of opening the exhibition “St. Sava and his literary works” and gave the award to the writer Slobodan Selenić because his book “Ubistvo s predumišljajem”⁹ was claimed to be the most read book in the preceding year in the libraries of Serbia.¹⁰ The given reason for this event taking place on April 6 is because it marked the day of the National Library due to the fact that the National Library was bombed during the Nazi bombings hence it was marked as the day of the National Library.¹¹

4.1.1. Conclusion

Of the three articles that appeared in 1995, two of them were reports of the events that occurred in the dates on April 5 and 6 and gave reference to the Nazi bombings, and the third narrates the one in the details of the bombings. The two articles appearing on April 6 were both written by the news agency Tanjug. There is no visual material attached to any of the three articles. The articles from April 6 show in a way a typical Yugoslavian narrative, particularly the Yugoslavian militaristic nature with which commemorative event in honor of the pilots is covered. Even though there are certain symbols presenting Serbian national ideals, like the symbol of St. Sava, the image of the

⁴ Nebojša Čović is a figure who was present in the ruling party of the 90's but also remains political figure even after the 5th October Overthrow, and he was Prime Minister for four days after the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjić in 2003

⁵ Tanjug, “Svečanost...” in Serbian “zapamćen po varvarskom napadu na Beograd - otvoreni grad” trans. by the author

⁶ Terzić, V. op. cit. p. 532 Terzić however refers to Žunjić as Žunić

⁷ Djordjevic, M. "Priznanje Slobodanu Seleniću." *Politika* 7 Apr. 1995: Print

⁸ Djordjevic, M. “Priznanje....

⁹ There is also a film by the same name that translates into English as “Premeditated Murder”

¹⁰ Djordjevic, M. “Priznanje...

¹¹ The question on the day of the National Library will be tackled later on in the research

bombings is in this case synchronized with the typical Yugoslavian narrative of the event itself. We have no references on the Allied bombings this year whatsoever.

4.2. Year 1996 or the Academic Dedication Year

This year we can find four articles mentioning the Nazi bombings, which is one article more than the amount I gathered from previous year's issues. It was the fifty-five year anniversary of the Nazi bombings. However, there was still no article appearing that gives reference to the Allied bombings.

The first article that I encountered is entitled "Witness From Skopje."¹² It is an article written by a reader who was interested for some time in finding out what had happened to two Yugoslavian pilots whom he believed had disappeared during the April War. The name of one of the pilots that the author, engineer A. Benčević, had been looking for was Nikola Vice, but the name of the second one is still unknown. Benčević mentions that these pilots flew from Mostar¹³ Airport on April 6 and that all trace was lost of airplane 607 apparently around Uroševac,¹⁴ and that the pilots had never returned to Mostar. Benčević, therefore, makes a supposition that German bombers tore down the plane on their way to bomb Skopje.¹⁵ In order for Benčević to find out what happened to these two pilots, he wrote a letter to the journal based in Skopje called "Nova Makedonija" in which he asked for his letter to be published and asking any of the readers if they knew what happened to these pilots. In the continuation of the article, Benčević said that he had received one letter from Skopje whose content he presents in the article.¹⁶ The letter presented in the article was written by a certain A. Selimije, and it said that on the April 6 the author of the letter was 14 years old, and that with his family he was on the way to Kačanik¹⁷ on a carriage that morning and when the Nazis started bombing Skopje he had already been on the periphery of the city. Selimije mentioned that he remembered seeing the skeleton of a crashed and burned airplane, and two completely scorched bodies below the skeleton of the plane. Selimije believes that nobody buried the scorched bodies and that there was no memorial plaque left on the site and that the next day Germans entered Kačanik.¹⁸

¹² Benčević, A. "Svedok iz Skoplja." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 10. Print.

¹³ City presently in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1939 was part of Banovina of Croatia, the region of Yugoslavian Kingdom

¹⁴ Uroševac presently city in Southern Kosovo, from 1929 to 1941 was in Kingdom of Yugoslavia

¹⁵ Skoplje presently the capital of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, During the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, it was the capital of Vardar Banovina. In 1941, Skopje was primarily occupied by the German and later on by Bulgarian forces. Hence, the Nazis also bombed other major cities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

¹⁶ Bencevic, A. "Svedok iz Skoplja." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 10. Print.

¹⁷ Town in Southern Kosovo, back then part of Kingdom of Yugoslavia

¹⁸ Benčević, A.....

Apparently, Selimije believed that the two scorched bodies that he remembered seeing were the two pilots that Benčević was looking for. In order to find out what happened to Nikola Vice, I did a keyword research, and encountered a book where pilot Nikola Vice was mentioned several times.¹⁹ In one part of the book, there certainly was the narrative about planes flying around Uroševac and the author of the book wrote that Nikola Vice was seriously injured.²⁰ The same pilot was mentioned again in the book as a pilot fighting for the Independent State of Croatia in the Soviet Union.²¹ By the same book, there were four planes flying off to Skopje, therefore the two scorched bodies that Selimije claimed to have seen might have been pilots from another plane.

This article does not mention the Nazi bombings of Belgrade, but it does mention the bombings of Skopje which were also executed on April 6 1941 hence the date of this article's publication. I included it in my collection of primary sources due to the fact that it mentions the April War and gives reference to the April War pilots. My further research unravels that the author Benčević²² dedicated his time trying to find the remains of and information on the missing pilots from the April War. Given the author's dedication, this article shows the results of his research, which makes this a text of an academic nature.

The second encountered article was found in the issue from the same day with the title "Yugoslavian bombers above Sofia"²³ with the following sub-head "New Facts about April War from 1941"²⁴ This article is written by historian Petar Bosnić who was, as it turns out, extensively working on the April War with the final goal of trying to find information on the missing pilots.²⁵ It was said that he had continued one part of the work from none other but Benčević, the author of the first analyzed article from 1996, therefore we can conclude that the authors knew each other based

¹⁹ Savić, Dragan, and Boris Ciglić. *Croatian Aces of World War 2*. Oxford: Osprey Pub., 2002. Print.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 11

²¹ Ibid p. 46

²² With the intentions to find out who the author of this article was, I also did a web search with the information I was given with this article which is the first letter of the first name, the last name and where the author is from which is Zemun. Interestingly enough, I found out there was a partizan Antun Braca Benčević who was declared along with his sister in 1994 one of The Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem for his attempts to save Jewish population fleeing from the Nazis in the city of Zemun. This could be just a coincidence, or the author is in fact partizan Antun Benčević who tried to save Jewish people in Zemun, declared the Righteous among the Nations for his doings during the war. There are good chances this might be the same person because there are proof of Benčević surely being alive in 1998, because it is the year that United States Holocaust Memorial Museum gives an information on the interview done with Benčević. "The Righteous Among The Nations." *Yad Vashem*. N.p., n.d. Web. 01 Apr. 2015. <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4042634>>; "USC Shoah Foundation Institute Testimony of Antun Bencevic." - *USHMM Collections Search*. N.p., n.d. Web. 01 Apr. 2015. <<http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/vha46636>>

²³ Bosnić, Petar. "Jugoslovenski bombarderi iznad Sofije." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 10. Print.

²⁴ "Nove činjenice o aprilskom ratu 1941 godine" trans by the author. Ibid

²⁵ Petar Bosnić - Air Force historian, died in 2006, dedicated most of his time in the research of the missing pilots and air craft of the April War

on their similar interests and research.²⁶ Given this discovery, we can see a pattern in regards to the authors of the encountered articles. And both articles are of academic nature and in a Yugoslavian historiographical tone.

We are able to find out from this article that on 1 and 2 April 1996 there was a second commemorative conference held under the name “Yugoslavian Air Force in the April war of 1941”. During this event, there was a presentation held about a memoir from one of the Yugoslavian majors, Dragomir Žikić, found by the researcher Srećko Bradić from Kruševac.²⁷ The rest of the text gives the excerpts of the memoirs where it states that Major Žikić, once he realized that Belgrade was being bombed, recommended to Commander Zdenko Gorup that he send Yugoslavian pilots to bomb Sofia in order to “wipe the tears of our Belgraders with that act”²⁸ With a little hesitation, the Commander Gorup accepted the piece of advice, therefore Žikić called the commander in Kosovo in order to let them know they should send pilots to bomb Sofia. From this excerpt, we can see that apparently 30 pilots were sent to Sofia with 24 tons of bombs at 08:45 on the April 6. The excerpt given in the article ends with a sentence saying that the town of Sofia could feel the effect of the bombings.²⁹ In this article, by analyzing this excerpt of a memoir by Major Žikić, we can find out what kind of actions Yugoslavian pilots were doing as a counter-offense. Specifically, these include the decision to bomb the Bulgarian city of Sofia since, as the Major claimed, it was a place where the enemy was.³⁰ We can also find out from this article that a major radio station, Belgrade Radio, announced the bombing of Belgrade at 7:04, which was around half an hour later after the bombing had started.³¹

The last article that was published on April 6 was entitled “Memory of Patriotism”.³² This article was a report from the conference held in The Central Club of The Yugoslavian Army, which had started the day before. The motive for holding the conference was the fifty-five year anniversary of the Nazi bombings and the main theme was the question of why the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had fallen so easily in WWII. It is stated that there were many researchers discussing the April War. For example, a researcher named Slobodan Branković stated that Yugoslavia had been in a paradoxical situation since, by his opinion, Hitler wanted peace in the Balkans whereas Churchill and Great

²⁶ Nikolić, Zoran. "Tajna Bežanijskog brega." *Večernje Novosti Online*. N.p., 10 Oct. 2002. Web. 2 Apr. 2015. <http://www.novosti.rs/dodatni_sadržaj/clanci.119.html:275949-Tajna-bezanijskog-brega>.

²⁷ Bosnić, Petar. "Jugoslovenski bombarderi iznad Sofije." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 10. Print. Srećko Bradić, aviation researcher still active nowadays, see <http://www.sreckobradic.com/>

²⁸ Ibid “i time operemo suze nasim Beogradjanima” trans. by the author

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Ibid; the announcement of Radio Belgrade seems to be a frequent motif in the bombing narrative

³² “Sećanje na patriotizam” Trans by the author. Stevanović, D. "Sećanje na patriotizam." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 12. Print.

Britain wanted to start the war in the region, because Churchill saw in Serbians the capacity to fight the Nazis or as it was written in the article “to defend the civilization”.³³ Given that Hitler did not want a conflict in the Balkans, he fulfilled all the conditions Yugoslavia had for the signing of the pact. The author of the article, Stevanović, mentioned a couple more researchers and their field with one of them being Gojko Miljanić, who said that by conducting the coup d'état of March 27, Yugoslavia practically declared war on The Third Reich, and that the April War had great consequences for Hitler as well because it made him slower in regards to the attack on the USSR. And finally Miljanić stated that all the events of the April War were convenient for the Communist Party and this is why Josip Broz Tito arrived to Belgrade in 1941, as his arrival brought with it the means to mobilize groups for the clandestine communist resistance.

The information and opinions expressed and reported in this article show us that there was room for the discussion, that opinions on this historical theme were observed and thought out, and most importantly, that found its space in the newspapers. Regarding the discussions held, we may conclude that the opinions and insights given were more critical of the events of March 27, and we can sense a change in the way the event was perceived before and after. In the Yugoslavian national narrative, the protests and the coup d'état were perceived as a heroic act whereas one of the versions of the Serbian national narrative likes to stress the destructiveness of March 27. This destructiveness was also expressed by Miljanić, and the involvement of the British in Yugoslavian events was made famous to the public after the opening of the British archives, and is often used in the Serbian national narrative how Serbian people were used as “puppets” by greater powers. Therefore, we can notice in this article a switch in the narratives. However, by encountering such an article we can recognize an academic dedication to the events of the April War, which we have not encountered with the event of the Allied bombings.

On April 7, there was an article where we can encounter the first visual material, which was the image of a commemorative event held the day. This article is a report from various commemorative events, and it can be concluded that there were about five or six different events held the day before; the title is “Commemoration of the Victims of the Bombings from April 6 1941” written by the news-agency Tanjug.³⁴ The first event mentioned in the article was the visit of the collective tomb of the victims in Novo Groblje cemetery³⁵ by Belgrade's Mayor Nebojša Čović, and the Citizens' Association “April 6”. At six fifty in the morning of the same day, which was the hour when the Nazi bombing commenced, as stated in the article, Belgrade's mayor also placed the

³³ Stevanović, D. "Sećanje na patriotizam." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 12. Print.

³⁴ Tanjug. "Komemoracija žrtvama bombardovanja 6. Aprila 1941." *Politika* 7 Apr. 1996: 12. Print.

³⁵ Cemetery in Belgrade

wreath in front of the building “Belgrade Lady”³⁶ at the fountain “Vrelo Života” that commemorates the losses in WWII. Wreaths were also placed on the tomb of a deceased commander and captain who participated in the defense of the city Miloš Žunjić, and Dragiša Miljević laid down by the Yugoslavian Army and a surviving pilot Mihajlo Nikolić, their tombs also being in Novo groblje cemetery. Another commemorative event that was mentioned was the one that was finally being held in St. Mark’s church which, as it was stated in the article, was partially destroyed in the bombing, thus the requiem was held for the deceased pilots defenders. There was a second requiem on the same day, held in the Vaznesenjska church,³⁷ organized by the Citizens’ Association “April 6”, and finally a commemorative event was held in the space where the bombed National library used to be, where there are still ruins surrounded by a fence in part of the city center called Kosančićev venac.³⁸ This article seems to merely enumerate the events from the day before thereby familiarizing us with five different places for commemoration including the St. Mark’s service. However this article gives us a first insight into the commemorative traditions in the city and allows us to follow its development and to discover the major places of commemoration.

4.2.1. Conclusion

As previously stated, all the articles from this year also give mention only to the memory of the Nazi bombings, which means that the nature of the articles remained unchanged and is very much in line with the Yugoslavian traditional narrative. It is important to mention that half of this year’s articles were of an academic nature written by researchers and historians, with reports from two conferences in which the April War was discussed, showing the academic nature of reporting on the events from the April War, which shows the academic nature in pre-1999 public opinion.

4.3. Year 1997 or the First Allied Bombings Reference Year

The most curious occurrence regarding the articles in the year 1997 is that there was the first encountered article mentioning the Allied bombing since the first year in my research time frame. Next to this one article, I counted four articles that make reference to the Nazi bombing with the first testimony that was published in ten parts from April 5 until April 14.³⁹

³⁶ in Serbian “Beogradjanka”, one of the tallest buildings in Belgrade

³⁷ Not mentioned in the article, but this church was seriously damaged during both bombings and in its garden there is a cross that commemorates the victims of the bombings

³⁸ Further on in the text, I shall present these places of commemoration

³⁹ Jocić, Vera. "Aprilski rat iz donjeg rakursa: Biciklom od Subotice do Beograda." *Politika* 05 Apr. 1997, Feljton (1) sec.: 33. Print. - Jocić, Vera. "Aprilski rat iz donjeg rakursa: Najzad u Beogradu." *Politika* 14 Apr. 1997, Feljton (10) sec.: 31. Print

I shall start the analysis with an article that is actually a letter from a reader from Novi Sad, Mihajlo Milošević – a short testimony with the curious title “Poppy Seed Strudel” published on April 6.⁴⁰ Mihajlo recounts his memory of the Nazi bombings when he was a young boy back then living in Zemun.⁴¹ He shares the memory of playing in Kalvarija⁴² with his friends and all of a sudden seeing the Stukas⁴³ flying over them, which they believed to be Yugoslavian planes doing flight practice, but the moment they realized that was not the fact, they ran to their homes. When the author’s mother told him what was happening, the family decision was reached for him to go to Gornji Milanovac with the cousin who was at that moment living with them in Zemun as a student. Before the author and his cousin left for Gornji Milanovac, the author’s mother had packed for him a poppy seed strudel to go, hence the title of the article. When Mihajlo and his cousin were on their way to Gornji Milanovac surrounded by an uncommon atmosphere, the description of this particular atmosphere was envisioned by the author’s comment that he had never seen dead bodies lying around him just like that in his life, adding that his own life was also in direct danger.⁴⁴ Exactly for being surrounded with such an ambience, the author claims he thought of the poppy seed strudel he was carrying with him in a little suitcase that his mother had given him. He took out the strudel and started eating it, and once his cousin and travel companion gave a surprised reaction asking how it was possible for him to eat the strudel calmly after everything that was happening, the author responded “Pera, brother, if we die, then strudel goes to waste!”⁴⁵ The comment was intended to be comical relief in a stressful situation, and apparently when his companion shared the story about the strudel to the others after their safe arrival in Gornji Milanovac, he was given the nickname “Mika Strudel”⁴⁶

I would suppose that the Strudel article was sent to “Politika” for publishing because it was a personal bombing memory that the author felt like sharing. Because it was characterized more an anecdotal nature of an episode in a person’s life during the time of this traumatic event, it is not quite possible to develop broader conclusions from this particular testimony. Remembering what one was exactly doing during the time when influential events in the society occurred that are either traumatic (like the JFK assassination or 9/11 in the American case), is called “flashbulb memory.”⁴⁷

⁴⁰ In Serbian “Štrudla s makom.” Milošević, Mihailo. “Štrudla s makom.” *Politika* 6 Apr. 1997: 12. Print.

⁴¹ Curiously enough, the author mentions the same neighborhood where I grew up, Zemun is a neighborhood of Belgrade, it used to be a separate city

⁴² Hill in Zemun

⁴³ Stuka was a dive bomber for two men also known as Ju 87

⁴⁴ Milošević, M. op. cit.

⁴⁵ “Pero, brate, ako izginemo, propade nam štrudla” trans by the author, Ibid

⁴⁶ “Mika Štrudla” trans by the author, Ibid

⁴⁷ “On the Creation and Maintenance of Collective Memories: History as Social Psychology.” *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Ed. James W. Pennebaker, Darío Páez, and Bernard Rimé.

In our particular case, flashbulb memory can be very powerful in the creation of a collective identity because, the Nazi bombings were symbolically the beginning of the WWII in Yugoslavia and therefore could support the thesis on the absolute theory of the importance of the beginnings.

In an issue from the same day, page fifteen was almost completely covered with three articles mentioning the Nazi bombings, with the biggest one named “The Day Belgrade Was Getting Destroyed”⁴⁸ written by the same author who wrote the history of “Politika” on their website.⁴⁹ This particular article is written in a serious historical tone. The author gives an in-depth narrative of the Nazi bombing, with formal and comprehensive vocabulary. Many details were given regarding the casualties of the bombing and the time of the series of bombings which are almost the same as given in the historical sources that I used for the historical introduction of this particular research. Regardless of the title that might announce the great usage of ideological narrative, the author actually maintains an unbiased tone in the article, and reminds us of an article of academic nature. He does use the epithets as “deadly” and “brutal”, but these were common terminology often used to describe the Nazi bombings over the years. The article itself gives additional information that I have not found in the consulted secondary sources which is the apparent false alarm in Belgrade at four in the morning of April 6. This article is the continuation over the time frame of my research of the articles of academic nature, which we had a chance to encounter in previous years.

The other two articles from the same page are significantly shorter than the previously analyzed one, and they are incorporated in Trklja’s article inside little frames.⁵⁰ One of them gives reference to the bombed National Library under the title “Serbian Cultural Treasure Destroyed”. The bombed National Library was also mentioned in the previous article, but this one gives information on how much cultural treasure was lost in the National Library and by the style of the article, it seems that it was written again by Nikola Trklja. It is claimed in the article that 1300 original manuscripts were burned, as well as 210 Serbian documents and 220 Turkish documents, 60 manuscripts in Latin and Italian, 2000 letters written by historical figures, 200 old books, 1500 old maps, and 4000 journals. After this enumeration, it is stated in the end that the value of these manuscripts was priceless.⁵¹

The second small article from the same page is a report on a commemorative event for the pilot defenders of the April War held at Novo Groblje cemetery in Belgrade under the title “Wreaths on

Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997. 4. Web. 2 Apr. 2015.
<<http://homepage.psy.utexas.edu/homepage/faculty/pennebaker/reprints/Collective.pdf>>

⁴⁸ Trklja, N. "Dan kad je rušen Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1997: 15. Print.

⁴⁹ Trklja, Nikola. "O Nama." *POLITIKA*. Web. 27 Apr. 2014. <<http://www.politika.rs/Stranice/O-nama.sr.html>>.

⁵⁰ "Uništena srpska kulturna riznica." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1997: 15. Print. Tanjug. "Venci na grob pilota branioca Beograda." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1997: 15. Print.

⁵¹ "Uništena srpska kulturna riznica." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1997: 15. Print.

the Tombs of the Pilots Defenders of Belgrade”, and the commemoration was given by putting the wreath on the tomb of pilot captain-pilot Miloš Žunjić who died on April 6, with whom we became familiar from the reports on the commemorative events dating from the previous years. The wreaths were positioned on the tomb in the name of the “Command of the War Air Force” by pilot Slobodan Pavlović, as well as in the name of the “Association for the Preservation of the Air Force Tradition” by the surviving pilot Mihajlo Nikolić Kajle, who participated in the air defense of Belgrade on April 6.

According to the text, there were other associations that participated in the commemorative event such as the “Association for Preservation of the Tradition of Freedom Wars 1912-1918”⁵², “Association of the Retired Pilots”, as well as other unnamed air force associations. By providing all the names of the associations that were present at this commemorative event, we are able to familiarize ourselves with the various associations existing at the time that saw importance in commemorating the Nazi bombings, recognized that they were of a militaristic nature, and held that the most appropriate space at the time to have a commemoration for the fallen pilots was their respective tombs in Novo groblje cemetery.

After analyzing the three articles that were in a way connected to each other given that they were all on one page, we may conclude that they do not step out of the traditional militaristic narrative and it did not stand out in any manner that showed certain personal feelings or allusions. We are able to say that they do not differ much from the articles from previous years. However, this year we first encounter the testimony of not just the first Nazi bombings but also the whole April War. It was divided into ten parts and therefore published in ten continuous daily issues of “Politika”, and each part was spread over a half of a page.⁵³ The narrator of this testimony is Vera Jocić, a Yugoslavian artist who worked on films but also dedicated her life to painting. In the introductory part of the narrator, it is said that both Vera Jocić and her husband were enjoying good reputation among the intellectual circles before and after WWII. Interestingly enough, it was mentioned that Vera Jocić was also close to the partisan and communist circles. Considering her work in the film industry, she named her testimony “April War From a Lower Angle” as an allusion to her profession and to point out that her testimony is not from the point of view of somebody who held an influential position at the time, but from one who witnessed the April War from a different perspective, or as she puts it,

⁵² By the dates given, the war for freedom was a reference to the Great War

⁵³ Jocić, Vera. "Aprilski rat iz donjeg rakursa: Biciklom od Subotice do Beograda." *Politika* 05 Apr. 1997, Feljton (1) sec.: 33. Print. - Jocić, Vera. "Aprilski rat iz donjeg rakursa: Najzad u Beogradu." *Politika* 14 Apr. 1997, Feljton (10) sec.: 31. Print

from a “lower angle” as just a “regular soldier” - or better, a “nurse”.⁵⁴ In the introduction, Jocić also gives homage to her late husband expressing that this testimony is also for him. In the further analysis of Vera’s testimony, I do not plan to divide the parts but will take the testimony as a whole, as though it were not published in ten parts.

Vera’s testimony starts with March 27 when the coup d’état in Yugoslavia occurred, and at that time Vera was in Subotica, the most Northern city in Yugoslavia; she comments that not many people there were aware of what was going on in Belgrade, even though she witnessed the Yugoslavian Army marching on the main streets, which Vera believed was an attempt to display the power of the Yugoslavian Army. Vera was in Subotica because she was working as a teacher in a high school, and since there was a general panic among the people and her husband was in Priština, mobilized by the Yugoslavian army, she wanted to leave to be with him even though she was told at her workplace that nobody was allowed to abandon their positions or they would be fired. However, Vera decided to go all the way from Subotica to Priština, which is in the Kosovo region of Southern Yugoslavia. The first part of her trip started on April 4 by coming to Belgrade by bicycle, commenting on an uncommon atmosphere among Belgraders. She took a train to Priština on the same day and met her husband while he was with other soldiers moving the aerial bombs into storage loft outside of the city. She comments on Priština being poor and underdeveloped while observing the surroundings when she was on the way with her husband and other soldier to the storage loft. Vera stayed in a hotel in Priština and found out through Radio Belgrade that the capital was under fire,⁵⁵ and she joined her husband where the loft was, on the outskirts of the city. By her words, while they were on the balcony of the loft, they saw Nazi planes starting to shoot at them; Vera’s theory on why the pilots did not bomb the loft was so that they could capture all the ammunition that they might find on the ground in the next phase of the occupation. After the shooting stopped, they realized that there were no casualties, even though according to the author, hundreds of bullets were fired at them. The next day the decision was made for everybody to abandon the loft with the ammunition, and Vera informally became part of the soldiers and was given an army uniform to wear. They had several troubles and accidents on the road looking for a safe spot, and they took the road to the West passing Kosovska Mitrovica, and on the way, they met some soldiers that said they had been trying to get to the coast in Montenegro so that they could flee to England which made Vera think that a disorder ruled among the soldiers at the time. One night, Vera’s group of soldiers spent the night in a house of an Albanian and commented that he was scared of them, thinking they might hurt him, and even though nothing had happened, and the

⁵⁴ Ibid (1)

⁵⁵ Once again we meet with the motif of the Radio Belgrade Announcement which is typical of flashbulb memories

soldiers only spent the night, Vera made the comment that the hostility between the Serbians and Albanians was something people were talking about even back then.⁵⁶

However, on their way to Montenegro, Vera and her group found out that the route to get there was blocked since it was said that the Germans had already arrived, and soon enough they saw planes flying over them and then decided to go back because they initially had not believed the story about the arrival of the Nazis. The atmosphere of disorder among the soldiers that Vera observed was intensified by the uniforms and badges that Vera could find on the road because it seemed that soldiers were abandoning the badges and symbols from their uniforms.⁵⁷

Since Vera and her entourage took another route, they ended up in Kraljevo, and then took the road to Užice, the part of the town that was not yet under occupation. From then on, Vera's group was moving around little villages on the mountain Zlatibor, and that is when they heard that Belgrade had been completely destroyed. The group decided to keep up with the previous plan and try to get to the sea in Montenegro in the hopes of finding other groups of soldiers acting as a resistance force or at least to find a safe spot. Along the road, the rest of the soldiers started abandoning Vera and her husband Ljubiša, some to surrender to the Nazis, and some just to go back home; by the end only the two of them remained from the initial group of soldiers that took the road from Priština. An interesting anecdote is that on their way to the South, Vera and Ljubiša encountered a monument commemorating the fallen soldiers from the First World War, which, she commented, gave her the zeal to press on. Soon enough, they found out Belgrade was officially occupied by the Nazi forces, therefore Vera and Ljubiša were walking and spending nights around Zlatibor hoping to eventually find communist guerilla forces that Vera suspected might already exist in the surroundings. In the meantime, Vera decided to return to her civilian attire that she was carrying in her bag the whole time, and buy civilian clothes for her husband and another companion in Užice, where by that time, the Nazis had already entered. She achieved her task, and all three of them had civilian clothes that made them incognito, because the word was out that the Nazis were not yet persecuting any civilians. They decided to go back home to Belgrade, and took the road, scared to find out whether their families in Belgrade were still alive due to April 6 bombing, especially because it was known in their street that both of them were communist sympathizers. However, they took the bus from

⁵⁶ Jocić, V. op. cit.

⁵⁷ Interestingly enough, there was one pilot badge that Vera had found and kept with her ever since was the one with bird wings on a wreath, and a crown on the top, that had engraved number 349 and the following words in the back "Karnet – Kiseľy, Praha", which I found out to have been a small factory of medals, coins and badges located in Žižkov, neighborhood in Prague, Czech Republic and was active in the year thirties of the twentieth century source: Cajthami, Marek. "7. Ražby Továrny Na Odznaky a Stejnokroje Karnet a Kyselý Praha Žižkov." *Regionální Muzeum K. A. Polánka Žatec*. N.p., 2002. Web. 02 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.muzeumzatec.cz/7.-razby-tovarny-na-odznaky.html>>. Jocić. V. op.cit

Topola to Belgrade, and when they arrived, Vera comments that the city looked destroyed and that it smelled of recently extinguished fire, of medicines, and of dead people.⁵⁸ They finally reached their street and saw that their house was intact, and that is the point in the story where the testimony ends, with the author finishing by commenting on how the war took the next four and a half year to end, and that the brutality of the invader was yet to start.⁵⁹

From this testimony we cannot really get much information on the bombing of Belgrade itself, since it is the individual recollection of a woman who witnessed the atmosphere of the April War outside of Belgrade. Her narrative is colored with feminist ideas, and particularly communism, which makes it interesting how this testimony found its place given the strong communist ideology running throughout the text. It is one of the many proofs that the memory of WWII was still exploited in a traditional Yugoslavian way in the public discourse, regardless of the social transformations of the country at the time.

The last article from the year 1997 is the first one that mentions the Allied bombings. However it is small in size, and it is a report on a commemorative event without giving any extra narrative on the bombings themselves. It is written by an author signed K.M. which is most probably Kuburović Mirjana, the author whose articles would appear in the following years. Nevertheless, the article itself is of religious character and is in direct ideological contradiction with the testimony of Vera Jocić, which is sympathetic to communist beliefs. The title of the article comes from the words pronounced by the Patriarch Pavle, Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, who said “Dying for the Truth is not in Vain”.⁶⁰ It is a report from a commemorative event held in the Church of St. Mark’s of Belgrade, where the Patriarch performed a dirge for the victims of the Allied bombings. According to the text, this dirge had been occurring since 1994 and is organized by citizens who survived and remembered the Allied bombings. However, even though it was the fourth year this commemorative event was occurring, it was the first time that it appeared in “Politika”. The text was mainly filled with religious quotations pronounced by Patriarch Pavle where the words from the title are repeated again, and adding how “[n]ot even in the biggest of evil, should we turn to crime, even if we are to disappear from the face of this planet, [...], better to disappear as the people of God and on a way to truth and justice”⁶¹

⁵⁸ Jocić, Vera. "Aprilski rat iz donjeg rakursa: Najzad u Beogradu." *Politika* 14 Apr. 1997, Feljton (10) sec.: 31. Print.

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ K., M. "Patrijarh Pavle: Stradanje za istinu nije uzaludno." *Politika* 17 Apr. 1997: 16. Print.

⁶¹ In Serbian “Ni u najvećem zlu neka ne posežemo za zločinom, pa čak i ako mora da nas nestane sa ovoga sveta, [...], bolje je da nestanemo kao narod Božiji na putu istine i pravde.” Trans by the author. Ibid

I find this article very curious and in contradiction with the rest of the articles from the same year, which remained traditional in their usage of the memory of the Nazi bombings. We can confidently conclude that by the religious character, the timing, and the location of the event, this commemoration belongs to the Serbian national character, which is a character in certain contradiction with the Yugoslavian one due to the atheistic approach of the Yugoslavian Socialist ideology. This year stands out in particular because we encounter for the first time the mixture and clash of two ideologies, and we shall discover further on how this mixture would become one or remain split.

4.3.1. Conclusion

As a conclusion for this year, it is important to mention the continuous exploitation of the memory of the Nazi bombings in the traditional character, but also in the academic and serious way without showing any major hostility, as much as it is a preservation of the memory of the Nazi bombings themselves and a commemoration of the fallen civilian victims and pilots. Many of these articles, therefore have a military character, especially the testimony by Vera Jocić who showed not just militaristic values, but strong communist sympathies that is in line with the Yugoslavian partisan ideology. The article on the Allied bombings interestingly stands in ideological contradiction with the previous ones, especially with Vera's testimony, not because of the memory of the two bombings, but by the ritual used to commemorate the Allied bombings, which had a strong religious character that is incompatible with partisan ideology. Therefore, this is the part of the research where I wish to mention that the two bombings are not in contradiction with one another as the events themselves, but are in contradiction in the way the *memory* of the two events was exploited during the time and for the purposes that the *memory* of the two was used, and it is very important to point out what the real nature of my using the term "contradiction" is in order to explain the relationship between the two WWII bombings in particular times in Yugoslavian history.

4.4. Year 1998 or the Pilot Year

Before I start with the analysis of the articles that I encountered from 1998, it is essential to mention that in this year, the public discourse in the country already spoke about the idea of a possible NATO intervention, and I believe that it is the main reason for the greater number of articles appearing, and for having three of the titles on the front page for the first time.

As it was already mentioned in the quantitative research chapter, this year we encounter eight articles referencing the Nazi bombings plus one long testimony divided into eighteen parts

published from April 5 until April 22.⁶² It is possible to find two articles giving reference to the event of the Allied bombings plus the aforementioned testimony since it also talks about the Allied bombings.

The first article that appears in *Politika* on April 6 is by Petar Bosnić, the historian who wrote one of the articles from the year 1996.⁶³ Given Bosnić's vocation, this article is as academic as the previous one he wrote. The title is "The Destiny of the Bombardier "Blenheim" number 3528."⁶⁴ As we can imagine, Bosnić writes in this article about the type of plane that was used by the Yugoslavian Royal Army in the April War. He gives the narrative of a light bomber called Bristol Blenheim, saying that the Yugoslavian Royal Army had 62 Bristol Blenheims, of which twenty two were bought from Great Britain, and forty of them constructed in a factory in Zemun under British license.⁶⁵

Bosnić points out that Blenheims were capable of reaching great speed, but had to be light in the ammunition, which proved to be a flaw since they were faced against modern German bombers that had powerful weaponry and could exceed the speed of the Blenheim. That is the reason why apparently the command of the Yugoslav Army decided to renovate the Blenheim bombers and equip them with more ammunition. However, they were stopped in the process by the April War itself, and only managed to renovate Bristol Blenheim under the number 3528. Bosnić gives us the activities pursued in regards to this particular bomber, and points out that it was used during the April War by the Yugoslav Army and by Bosnić on the April 11 after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia,⁶⁶ when the pilot of the bomber under the name Vlado Molnar landed in Hungary to give himself over to the Hungarian Army, which repatriated him to the Independent State of Croatia.

As we can see, this is one of many articles of an investigative nature. However, we cannot be certain of whether the information given by Bosnić is accurate as we are not familiar with his methodology and sources. I was able to find another research where it mentions how this same Bristol Blenheim 3528 was shot down on April 6,⁶⁷ therefore we cannot be sure which information

⁶² Nikolić, Milorad. "Šestoaprilsko bombardovanje Beograda: Na vatrogasnom dežurstvu." *Politika* 05 Apr. 1998, Feljton (1) sec.: 30. Print. ... Print. Nikolić, Milorad. "Šestoaprilsko bombardovanje Beograda: Zašto nema spomen-obeležja." *Politika* 22 Apr. 1998, Feljton (18) sec.: 28. Print

⁶³ Bosnić, Petar. "Jugoslovenski bombarderi iznad Sofije." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 10. Print.

⁶⁴ Bosnić, Petar. "Sudbina bombardera "blenhajm" Br. 3528." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1998: 12. Print.

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Common abbreviation of the Independent State of Croatia is NDH, it was Germany's and Italy's puppet state formed in one part of the Yugoslavian occupied territory

⁶⁷ Ognjević, Aleksandar M. *Bristol Blenheim: The Yugoslav Story: Operational Record 1937-1958*. Trans. Milica Protić. Zemun: Aleksandar M. Ognjević, 2014. p.77

is correct. Nevertheless, it is possible to conclude that this is yet another article of an academic nature that deals with the Air Force equipment of the Yugoslav Army, and its pilots that is similar to the articles published in the previous years.

The second article that we can find on the next page number 13 of the issue from April 6, is an article that resumes the testimony from a Yugoslavian pilot named Stanislav Džodžović who participated in the April War.⁶⁸ The article is written by Tihomir Nešić, a journalist and writer from Niš, and currently the editor of a publishing house. The title of the article that presents the information on how the war started two hours before the Belgrade bombings was presented as if it were a novelty to the public but to the April War historians, it was already a familiar event, therefore the title of the article is “The War Started Two Hours Earlier”.⁶⁹

Nešić starts the article by saying how the following testimony sheds new light on the event of the Nazi bombings, which were, in his opinion, a taboo theme that had not let any revisionism take place. He makes the claim that the Nazi attack on Yugoslavia did not start with the bombing of Belgrade, but actually began two hours earlier. The author makes this claim by referencing the testimony of the pilot Stanislav Džodžović whose life and work he presents as well, as a pilot who took part in the April War, and that at the time of this article he was still alive and retired. The testimony by Džodžović comes from his own book with which the pilot wanted to give recognition to his fallen comrades from the April War; the book is called “On Wings – Fifth Hunter Regiment”⁷⁰ Nešić claims that in this book Džodžović explains how Operation 25⁷¹ did not start with the bombing of Belgrade at 6:30 AM but two hours before with the bombing of the military Air Force base in Rezanovačka Kosa near Kumanovo.

In Džodžović’s opinion, this bombing was not often mentioned and not much attention was paid to it because, he claims, the Commander of this 36th Hunter Grupa that was in Rezanovačka Kosa was major Drago Brezovšek, a Slovenian who later fought with the Luftwaffe and died in Africa during combat, and because of the assistant to the Commander Franjo Džal who later joined the forces of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). The way I can interpret the reason Džodžović gives for this event’s being kept in the shadows is the allegiance that was given from the two main Commanders of the regiment after this bombing that is apparently considered as a notorious act and a betrayal in the eyes of a Yugoslavian.

⁶⁸ Nešić, Tihomir. "Rat je počeo dva sata ranije." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1998: 13. Print.

⁶⁹ Nešić, T. op. cit

⁷⁰ In original language “Na krilima – peti lovački puk” Džodžović, Stanislav S. *Na Krilima: Peti Lovački Puk 1941. Kumanovo*. Beograd: Elit, 1996. Print.

⁷¹ Codename for the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia

However, Džodžović continues with his narrative of the attack claiming that the commander Brezovšek behaved conspicuously, announcing to the pilots that he had good news and that the situation in Belgrade seemed calm and that they were allowed to sleep one hour longer the next day. After giving the announcement, Brezovšek apparently left for Niš with the purpose of visiting his sick wife.⁷² They were ordered to set the planes in an ordered manner, and that is the moment in the story where Džodžović claims that, in wartime, planes and weapons should all be purposefully scattered around. By his recollection, at 04:30 AM, German “Messerschmitt” bombers started the attack, which apparently was a surprise attack. Soon enough, the defensive started when the first pilot to get into the air battle, lieutenant Milorad Tanasić, shot down the first bomber but crashed into the second one, apparently on purpose which is a strategy called aerial ramming. The second pilot, Voja Popović, also crashed into a Nazi bomber but managed to catapult himself free just before, and was shot while coming down on a parachute, which was something that also happened to Miloš Žunjić in Zemun. Džodžović claims that Popović only wore underwear and a wind jacket,⁷³ which puts further emphasis on the apparent surprising and unannounced character of the attack. In the last part of the article, the author mentions the names of the fallen pilot to whom Džodžović wanted to give his recognition with the following names: Captain of the First Class Konstantin Jermakov, Captain Second Class Vojislav Popović, lieutenants Milorad Tanasić and Milutin Perović, and sergeants Jefta Arsić, Ratomir Milojević, Veroljub Stojadinović, and Milorad Radević.

This is another one of the articles with an investigative character, even though we cannot be sure of the accuracy of the historical facts given in the testimonials, especially when it comes to the part of the story describing the strategically planned betrayal of the commander Brezovšek and the assistant Džal, which can only be something that Džodžević and also Nešović as the author of the article, can only guess, but not claim with any certainty. Interestingly enough, Džodžević’s testimony is not consistent with the narrative of the attack in Rezanovačka Kosa that I found in other sources. One of the examples is that some claim that the pilots had been warned of a possible attack and actually scattered the gear and planes, as was routine.⁷⁴ Regardless of this either inaccuracy, or actually the revisionist information, the interpretation of the event of Džodžević’s testimony by Nešić gives the impression of a fiction tale, with the clear dichotomy of the “good and bad guys” where the “bad guys” were clearly the traitorous Commanders and the Nazis, which makes the interpretation itself slightly ideological regardless of the truthfulness of the event on

⁷² Nešić, T. op.cit.

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ "Porucnik Milorad D. Tanasic." *Biplane Fighter Aces - Yugoslavia*. N.p., n.d. Web. 02 Apr. 2015. <http://surfcity.kund.dalnet.se/yugoslavia_tanasic.htm>.

which it reports. This event can be interpreted as an example how in dramatic moments, only the Serbians were fighting to defend the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, whereas the Yugoslavians of the other nationalities were prone to betrayal. It is of no wonder why such stories found its place in the public sphere of the 90's, because I can confidently conclude that such narratives are part of the Serbian national agitation that shows historic loyalty to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

On the same page, we are able to encounter two more articles, one of which is the article that gives recognition to the Yugoslavian pilots who defended Belgrade in the April War. The article gives the already familiar short narrative of the coup d'état of March 27 and the bombing adding that in those days, several hundred pilots lost their lives.⁷⁵ The title of the article is "Recognition and Gratitude to the Brave Aviators",⁷⁶ and the author is not named. It is claimed in the text that the reason for unsuccessful defense in the April War was because the Yugoslavian political and military elite was disrupted by betrayal and separatism, which is the allusion to the nationalist tensions that existed among the different ethnic groups inside the kingdom of Yugoslavia.⁷⁷ In the continuation, it says that the defense was therefore prepared by small units of Yugoslavian soldiers still willing to fight with the voluntary help of young anti-fascists and socialists adding that their sacrifice was not in vain because their work had entered in the epic of the liberating war lead by the "peoples of Yugoslavia".⁷⁸ This expression "peoples of Yugoslavia" is an interesting one because it is suggestive of the variation among ethnic groups fighting together against the Nazis, which I believe is a reference to the partisan troops, especially with the usage of the expression "liberating war"⁷⁹ which is commonly used to describe the partisan war. Finally, the last paragraph gives gratitude to all the fallen pilots of the Yugoslav Royal Army and prisoners of war. As we can see, this is already the third article that year to talk about the Yugoslavian pilots of the April War, which is a greater number of this kind of articles than previous years.

The last article on the same page thirteen is entitled "Brutal Attack on the Open and undefended City"⁸⁰, immediately giving allusion to Belgrade. It is written by the famous state owned agency Tanjug, as was the case with four of the articles published in the previous years. It is interesting to point out that almost all of page thirteen is covered by the articles about Nazi bombings. There is quite a prominent underlined heading saying "Today is 57 years from the Nazi bombings of

⁷⁵ "Priznanje i zahvalnost hrabrim vazduhoplovcima." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1998: 13. Print.

⁷⁶ In Serbian "Priznanje i zahvalnost hrabrim vazduhoplovcima." Trans by the author

⁷⁷ "Priznanje... op.cit.

⁷⁸ "Priznanje... op.cit.

⁷⁹ In Serbian "Narodnooslobodilački rat"

⁸⁰ In Serbian "Brutalan napad na otvoreni, nebranjeni grad." Tanjug. "Brutalan napad na otvoreni, nebranjeni grad." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1998: 13. Print.

Belgrade”⁸¹, and that is exactly how the article itself starts, from which we are able to guess the continuation. As we can see, almost every year until now we had at least one article where the complete narratives of March 27 and Nazi bombing were given. In 1997, it was the article by Nikola Trklja, with his in-depth description of the event,⁸² and in 1995 we had an article also written by Tanjug.⁸³ Interestingly enough, the only time we do not encounter an article with the narrative of the bombings is in the year 1996, when the 55 anniversary of the bombings was commemorated. However, this year’s narrative, given by Tanjug does not differ much from the previous, generally descriptive articles. The only novelty in this year’s article is that here as well, pilot defenders are mentioned, expressing that in the defense of Belgrade, eleven of them died, and curiously enough, the article claims that these pilots had a monument consecrated in their honor just the year before. The other novelty is that the article is accompanied for the first time by a photograph of Belgrade in ruins after the bombing.⁸⁴



Figure 1 The monument for the fallen pilots of the the April War photograph from sh.wikipedia.org, saved in April, 2015

The information of the raising of the new monument that was apparently unveiled in 1997 (but after April 6 since there was no mention of it in the last year’s articles) is an important change because with its unveiling it changes the locus of memorializing the April War pilots.⁸⁵ It is very interesting to realize that the monument for the pilots was not put up until late 1997, which makes it fifty-six years after the beginning of the war. And as I already concluded that 1998 consisted of the majority of the articles dedicated to the Yugoslavian pilots of the April

⁸¹ In Serbian “Danas se navršava 57 godina od nemačkog bombardovanja Beograda”

⁸² Trklja, N. "Dan kad je rusen Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1997: 15. Print.

⁸³ Tanjug. "U napadu na Beograd učestvovalo 484 bombardera." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1995: 13. Print.

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Place of memory

War, it may be exactly for this new monument that we see this little switch occurring. The year of the unveiling of the moment makes sense because it was not a place for commemoration in the article from the previous years, however, other sources claim that the monument was erected as early as 1994.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the monument to the fallen pilots of the April War is very important for this research because it shall become one of the main places for the commemoration of the Nazi bombings.

The last article that appears in the April 6 issue is quite different than the rest of the articles. It is in the TV section on page thirty eight, and it is the announcement of the TV drama series called "The Man who Bombed Belgrade."⁸⁷ I categorized this article as one of those that gives reference to the Nazi bombings because of the fact it announces the TV program, which is about the April War itself. It is the drama series⁸⁸ from the year 1976 with a plot that is set shortly after the end of WWII in Yugoslavia, when the partisans started the trials against the Nazi culprit of the April War and the battles in Neretva and Sutjeska, Alexander Löhr.⁸⁹ Löhr was a Luftwaffe Commander, and during the war he was a Commander-in-Chief in Southeastern Europe. He was imprisoned in 1945, sentenced to death and executed in 1947 by Yugoslavian court. Given the plot of this movie, we can categorize it in the group of Yugoslavian partisan films that played a great role in creating the post-war partisan ideology. It is interesting that this film was being shown in 1998 regardless of the strong ideological tone therefore we are able to refer to this article as well as traditional Yugoslavian.

On April 7, three articles came out, all of them on the same page number thirteen, which is similar to the articles from the day before. Two of the articles are descriptive, and the third is a report on a commemorative event. The first article I analyze is written by Jelena Arsenović and is named "‘Corporals’ of the April War."⁹⁰ It is one of the three articles from this year that were announced on the first page. The word corporal from the title is in quotation marks because the article is about high-school boys from Zemun volunteering in the April War. The article is mainly based on the testimony of Dušan Veselinović who was one of the high school boys who abandoned school after 27th of March and went to join the 6th Fighter Regiment of the Royal Air Force in Zemun. However, the boys who joined did not do it without previous knowledge of planes and piloting; rather, they had all been trained before in the Aero Club, and also went through training in the regiment itself.

⁸⁶ "Miodrag Živković Biografija." *Miodrag Živković*. N.p., n.d. Web. 18 May 2015. <<http://miodrag-zivkovic.com/biografija.htm>>.

⁸⁷ In Serbian "Čovek koji je bombardovao Beograd" "Čovek koji je bombardovao Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1998: 38. Print.

⁸⁸ *Čovek koji je bombardovao Beograd*. Dir. Sava Mrmak. 1976.

⁸⁹ Battles during the war between the Axis and Yugoslav partisan forces

⁹⁰ In Serbian "Kaplari" aprilskog rata. Arsenović, Jelena. "'Kaplari' Aprilskog Rata." *Politika* 07 Apr. 1998: 13. Print.

Veselinović remembers flying from Zemun to the small airport in Lazarevac with an older colleague on April 5, spending the night there and listening in the morning to Radio Belgrade⁹¹ announcing that the capital was under attack. Given that Lazarevac is a town not far south of Belgrade, Veselinović had a chance to hear from the refugees leaving Belgrade how German Stukas had devastated the city. The next morning, the Nazis also bombed Lazarevac station with only one bomber plane salvaged. The next step that the young corporals and the pilots undertook was getting south to the sea, so that they could join the Allies, which seems to have been a plan for many of the Yugoslavian soldiers after April 6 given that Jocić's testimony mentions the same route to Montenegro taken by the soldiers.⁹² However, when Veselinović's group found out about the capitulation of the country on the April 17, they were in Bileća, and they changed their path and started going back to Belgrade. Veselinović mentions that they were walking back to Belgrade and that it was a very difficult road because of the dangers of Ustaši attacks, commenting that many of his friends did not make it back alive. Veselinović arrived back in Belgrade, finished high school, and had a chance to participate in the war for liberation in 1944 flying over cities "from Zemun to Ljubljana."⁹³ Arsenović finishes this article by placing certain importance on these young high school corporals, saying that after the war, they became the "backbone" of the reformed Yugoslavian Aviation, with many of them becoming great pilots and engineers and adding that Veselinović himself was a pilot for JAT⁹⁴ until his retirement.⁹⁵

This article proves even more how much emphasis was put on the pilot defenders of the April War in 1998. It is the second pilot's testimony that we encounter in this year's articles, with the first one being Džodžović's testimony on the air battle in Rezanovačka Kosa. This article stays in the traditional tone; it is descriptive and involves a historical testimony. It is interesting to conclude that it is already the fifth time⁹⁶ that we have testimonies of individuals remembering the first day of the bombing, despite the fact that only in this one case was this individual actually in Belgrade, which is the case with Miša Strudel's testimony.⁹⁷ This fact shows the importance of the individual memory in creating the collective memory of a certain event, hence I would argue that the usage of the individual memory presented to the public is maybe the most authentic mechanism in

⁹¹ Third time we can encounter the motif of Radio Belgrade

⁹² Jocić, V. op.cit.

⁹³ Arsenović, J. op. cit.

⁹⁴ JAT stands for Yugoslav Aero Transport that was the country's flag carrier and biggest airline, it changed its name to Air Serbia in 2013

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Previous four were Jocić's testimonies; Džodžović's testimony: Nešić, Tihomir. "Rat je počeo dva sata ranije."

Politika 06 Apr. 1998: 13. Print.; Milošević, Mihailo. "Štrudla s makom." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1997: 12. Print. and the letter from Skopje that Benčević published: Bencevic, A. "Svedok iz Skoplja." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 10. Print.

⁹⁷ Milošević, Mihailo. "Štrudla s makom." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1997: 12. Print. As a reminder, Mihajlo remembers bombing starting while he was playing with his friends in Zemun, and Zemun was at that time, and is now the neighborhood of Belgrade

convincing and showing the people and new generations the ruthlessness of a certain past event. This is the process of showing how much collective memory is constructed by small individual remembrances of our own mixed with the others. This goes hand in hand with Halbwachs's opinion that individual memory cannot exist without the collective memory and vice-versa.⁹⁸ One of the examples in world history is the memory of the Holocaust, which means that from the moment when the survivors of the Holocaust started sharing their individual memories to the public, was the public actually aware of the horrors happening in the concentration camps and through the usage of the public discourse became part of the collective memory of the Western world.

After the brief theoretical reflection, I shall go on with further analysis. The next article on the same page is yet again a summary of the testimony of the professor Sekula Joksimović. The article is written by Radovan Kovačević. Professor Sekula Joksimović, who was a retired colonel at the time the article was written, was one of the authors of the history book about the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, which was published in 1982 and explains the way partisan resistance was organized and how it won the war.⁹⁹ Even though the book is published two years after the death of Tito, it still belonged to the Yugoslavian historiographical tradition.

In order to continue with the analysis of the article, I should mention that the title is "Brave Breach of the Skadar Squad"¹⁰⁰ and in it Joksimović recollects his memory of the April War. In the introductory part, the author gives information on how the Italian and Hungarian Armies also participated in the occupation of the Yugoslavian territories. Joksimović explains the hopelessness of the Yugoslavian military elite when the April War commenced and claims that already on April 10 the command declared the order for the army to defend itself without the chain of command, and that the Yugoslavian government soon enough abandoned the country.¹⁰¹ However, Joksimović wishes to recall shining examples of Yugoslavian heroism during the April War, specifically the story of the "Skadar squad" shortly formed after March 27 by Commander Popović. Popović had been given the task of stopping the Italians from entering Yugoslavia across Skadar¹⁰² from Albania. Therefore, Joksimović shares with the public a story that he learned from Popović himself, and how his troops bravely resisted the entrance of the Italian soldiers until they were ordered to stop resisting because the Yugoslavian government had capitulated. Joksimović gives praise to Commander Popović adding that he deserves more space in the history of the country. Even though

⁹⁸ Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. Print.

⁹⁹ Anić, Nikola, Sekula Joksimović, and Mirko Gutić. *Narodno Oslobodilačka Vojska Jugoslavije: Pregled Razvoja Oružanih Snaga Narodnooslobodilačkog Pokreta 1941-1945*. Beograd: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1982. Print.

¹⁰⁰ In Serbian "Hrabri prodor skadarskog odreda." Kovačević, Radovan. "Hrabri prodor skadarskog odreda." *Politika* 07 Apr. 1998: 13. Print.

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Skadar, a town on the Skadar Lake which was the border between Albania and Yugoslavia

this particular article does not mention the Nazi bombings themselves it does give an overview of one of the events that were happening during the April War, and we can categorize it yet again in the descriptive articles that fall into the traditional narrative, like many that appeared in the same year. We encounter the motif of individual memory for the sixth time since start of the research time frame.

The last article from page thirteen of April 7 issue under the title “April 6 Commemorated – as the Day of the Civilian War Invalids”¹⁰³ is a report on the first commemorative event of 1998, written by Tanjug. The title is very interesting because it claims that April 6 is the day of the civilian war invalids, which is the first time since 1995 that this day is referred to as such; before it was certainly referred as the Day of the National Library. The Counsel of the Civilian War Invalids of Serbia organized this particular commemorative event and the counsel gave recognition to certain ministers who apparently fought for the rights of the civilian war invalids in Serbia. The report from such a commemorative event might have been praise for the Milošević government since the new laws about the protection of the civilian war invalids were put to place in 1997.¹⁰⁴ This law exists even nowadays and was just recently strongly criticized for its flaws.¹⁰⁵ Since this article in a way gives praise to the new law enacted by the Milošević government, we could categorize it in a different way than the other articles that came out this year. The usage of the memory of the Nazi bombing in this case is clearly used to praise the new law, which shows the appropriation of the memory for present societal purposes.

When it comes to the articles that mention the Nazi bombings in 1998, I shall finish with quite an extensive testimony that was published in eighteen parts.¹⁰⁶ It is the testimony of Milorad Nikolić, who at the time of the publishing of the series apparently was the only living fireman to witness the Nazi bombings of Belgrade. The testimony starts with the narrative of March 27, commenting on how the Serbian Patriarch at the time, Gavriilo Dožić, contributed to the atmosphere of resistance against the Third Reich and the Tripartite Pact.¹⁰⁷ When it comes to life in Belgrade after the coup d'état, Nikolić comments that because many people were expecting something wrong to happen, they were buying large quantity of ingredients and many young people were being sent away from their families to live outside the city, this is the first time we can learn about the ambience in the

¹⁰³ Tanjug. "Obeležen 6. April - Dan civilnih invalida rata." *Politika* 07 Apr. 1998: 13. Print.

¹⁰⁴ "Zakon o pravima civilnih invalida rata." *S. Glasnik RS* 52/96. Web. 2 Apr. 2015.

<http://www.ombudsman.osobesainvaliditetom.rs/attachments/023_Zakon%20o%20pravima%20civilnih%20invalida%20rata.pdf>.

¹⁰⁵ Peščanik.net. "Država ne mari za žrtve rata." *Peščanik*. N.p., 03 Mar. 2014. Web. 02 Apr. 2015.

<<http://pescanik.net/drzava-ne-mari-za-zrtve-rata/>>.

¹⁰⁶ Nikolić, M. op.cit

¹⁰⁷ Ibid (1)

city before the bombings. The government was planning to evacuate, and Nikolić also adds that he found out from certain sources that there were plans to move the manuscripts from the National Library to a safe location, but as we are familiar with the outcome of the bombings, this never happened. This piece of information is a novelty to me, and unfortunately it is almost impossible to check the veracity of such a statement.

Nikolić shares that he used to listen to Hitler's speeches on German radios, which his German-speaking colleague would translate, and that they were aware that the attack was going to happen. Early Sunday morning he heard the emergency sirens in the city and saw many people coming out of the buildings, and at 06:30AM the bombing started. The author claims that the first bomb fell on the pharmacy in front of the Law School, and that Stukas started dropping bombs incessantly, with the first series lasting until 09:00.¹⁰⁸ As Nikolić was on duty as a fireman, he was given the order first to put out the fire in the institutional buildings and then to take the people out. In the meantime, Nikolić went home to find his wife who, as it turned out, was not there, and further on comments how dusty Belgrade was and how much of it was on fire. The first ruin that he saw was of a kafana¹⁰⁹ Kamenović. He could hear the noise from below the ruins, and once he started digging with his colleagues, he found ten people alive in the basement. While his colleague was putting out the fire, Nikolić was pulling people out, commenting that some of them were children¹¹⁰ and that some people died the moment they got pulled out. Nikolić complains that the city did not have enough ambulance vehicles so it made no sense to wait for one as they took all the wounded to the hospital themselves. On his way from the hospital to the river where he was supposed to fill in the cistern, the second series of bombing started.

The second bombing seemed to have been even more ruthless than the first one, hitting targets outside of the city center as well, however it lasted only one hour, and the author could see hundreds of fires in the city, as well as many dead bodies scattered around the streets - images that still make the author cry.¹¹¹ They started putting out the fire using the water from a nearby well while observing how one ambulance car was picking up the wounded, and other car was picking up the dead. Particularly interesting is the information that Nikolić gives on how many of the Jewish homes were bombed along with the Belgrade synagogue in Dorćol neighborhood, which was 70% destroyed in the bombings.¹¹² He mentions the National Library being bombed as well as Palata Albanija that supposedly had the safest shelter of them all, but the Nazis bombed directly to the side

¹⁰⁸ Ibid (2)

¹⁰⁹ Serbian for a bistro

¹¹⁰ Hence the title of the second part "Kids under the Ruins" in Serbian "Deca pod ruševinama"

¹¹¹ Ibid (3)

¹¹² Ibid

to hit the shelter. By being aware of how precise Nazis were, Nikolić gives a comment saying how the spies and reporters who worked for the Nazis did a great job in registering the places of interest.¹¹³

Nikolić mentions the third series of bombings and how after this series looters came out to the street to take advantage of the situation, even though, apparently, the rule was that whomever got caught stealing would be shot immediately. The hectic state of Nikolić's mind is noticeable by the hyperboles that he employs to explain the situation, exclaiming how he saw thousands and thousands of fires and dead bodies around him, not knowing where to go first to give help. The author additionally offers comments comparing the bombing of Belgrade to the bombing of London, saying that he heard that 10.000 firemen had been putting out the fires in London whereas in Belgrade only 50 firemen were doing the same, and with such a comment, the author puts an accent to the fact how disorganized the city of Belgrade was.¹¹⁴ Eventually, the army came to help the firemen saving the civilians. When the firemen needed to drink water they drank it from the Danube and Sava¹¹⁵ for which Nikolić claims were clean enough to drink from at the time. The fire squad took shelter in a cave in Tašmajdan park in the city center, where Nikolić claims to have seen two thousand people hiding. At 1PM, the firemen were ordered to go to the National Library and give help there, but the alarm rang again and the fourth series of bombing started.¹¹⁶

After the fourth series the firemen had got out of the cave, and seen Makedonska Street, where the "Politika" building was, in ruins. However, Nikolić concludes that there were fewer victims this time since many people had already left their homes.¹¹⁷ Instead of going to the National library, Nikolić's squad went to put out the fire around the synagogue where many Jewish families lived in Dorćol. He remembers saving one Jewish family, and helping two rabbis take out their families from the ruins, where the families unfortunately lost their lives. Nikolić does add how he saw many valuable objects when he was entering the ruins. When they finished with the fire around the synagogue they were on their way to the National Library but a new series of bombings started and they hid in the grass next to Tower of Nebojša,¹¹⁸ they survived but he encounters that this time train station was bombed so as Zeleni Venac.¹¹⁹ After this series of bombings, they finally reached the National Library and Nikolić confirms that everything in that part was in ruins except for the

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Two rivers going through the center of Belgrade, more specifically, Belgrade lies on the confluence of the Sava and Danube

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid (5)

¹¹⁸ Historical tower in Kalemegdan

¹¹⁹ Both locations in the center of the city

Cathedral Church.¹²⁰ They filled the cisterns from the river, finally reaching the National Library since there were many ruins before it, and started putting out the fire, adding that all the books that remained were apparently finished off with the water they were using. When it comes to the remaining ruins of the National Library, Nikolić claims that not even during the seventies was it possible to approach the ruins, and that it stood there as a sort of a museum, which lets us draw a parallel in regards to the Generalštab building and what remained of it after the NATO intervention in 1999.¹²¹

After the National Library, the squad went to Skadarlija,¹²² and the new series of bombing began - the one that Nikolić claims was the last of that day, when the area around Slavia and the train station was bombed. The next day, in the morning while again on duty, Nikolić witnesses two new series of bombings and the new devastation of the city center and a scene similar to the previous day's.¹²³ Nikolić's squad was assigned to go to the train station, seeing ruins in Karadjordjev Park and Krunska Street. The author describes putting out the fire and saving the people and newborn babies from a bombed hospital in Prota Mateja Street. The series of bombings started and afterwards, the squad finally arrived at the train station commenting that it was interesting how the Parliament building, the Post Office and the New Court were not bombed whereas the whole Krunska street, where many rich families lived, was almost completely in ruins.¹²⁴

In the tenth part of his testimony, Nikolić gives his estimate of the number of victims, which he claims to be 14800, which is inconsistent with other sources. In the same part Nikolić in a way repeats the narrative of March 27 and the atmosphere of the night before the bombing and the first series of bombings, which seems to have been a mistake in the publishing of the testimony. The interesting difference is that, in this part, Nikolić claims that he speaks German and that he was the one who was translating Hitler's speeches from the radio to his colleagues,¹²⁵ whereas in the first part, he claimed it had been his friend who spoke German and translated the speeches.¹²⁶ The tenth part seems to have been included by mistake since it looks as it was the first draft of Nikolić's testimony. However, this mistake helps us realize that much of the information Nikolić gives, such as the information on the German language, might not have been true, which is usually the case with the individual memories as they are always interconnected with the collective memory of the

¹²⁰ in Serbian "Saborna crkva", Ibid (7)

¹²¹ It is a government building in Knez Miloša street bombed in 1999, and is still in ruins serving as a sort of a commemoration of the NATO Air Strikes, it was the official place of commemoration of the NATO Air Strikes in 2015

¹²² Bohemian quarter of Belgrade, famous tourist spot

¹²³ Ibid (9)

¹²⁴ Ibid (10)

¹²⁵ Ibid (11)

¹²⁶ Ibid (1)

other people in his surroundings, therefore the complete veracity of Nikolić's memory can easily be doubted, as is the case with many individual remembrances in times of traumatic events.

The twelfth part of the testimony seems to continue the first draft of the testimony that started in the eleventh part. Nikolić describes the atmosphere in the city while they were on duty, adding this time that he had seen an unexploded bomb in one of the streets that he heard that had remained in the same place for three months, and we find out that his wife went to the periphery, to a village called Bačevac where he found her on the April 8.¹²⁷ In this part we encounter a new inconsistency, where the author claims that he cannot know the number of the victims of the bombings whereas in the tenth part he stated it at 14800.¹²⁸ However, in this part Nikolić mentions the Allied bombings saying they occurred during Orthodox Easter and adding that the Nazi bombings also happened on Easter, which is another common inaccuracy. Orthodox Easter in 1941 occurred on April 20. Considering that this mistake is quite common, it is also proof of how much an individual memory can be influenced by the collective memory of others who have wrong information which they believe to be real. The interesting thing that Nikolić mentions is that several days after the Nazi bombings, it started snowing which made the situation even more difficult. They were given an order to leave Belgrade on April 9.¹²⁹

The fourteenth part of the testimony is also a repetition of the author's narrative of the situation on the streets of Belgrade while his squad was trying to put out the fires. In this moment, I am confident that beginning with the tenth part of the testimony, we are actually able to read a different version of Nikolić's memories that were probably published by mistake. However, he continues describing the third day of the bombing, claiming that he saw the most beautiful hotel "Serbian King" bombed to the ground. On the tenth of April, he left Belgrade driving some Yugoslavian army officers by an order to Boka Kotorska in Montenegro, with the explanation that these generals were planning to get to Cairo via hydro jet, and then to England.¹³⁰ This is the third time that we encounter an individual memory in which we discover that many soldiers, generals, and pilots were trying to reach the Adriatic Sea by way of Montenegro. Nikolić took the generals to Boka and stayed alone afterwards, then decided to go back to his family in Bačevac and gave a ride to a pilot who also had the same wish, so they went on their way to Belgrade again. It was that same day when Nikolić found out about the capitulation of the Yugoslavian government. He arrived to

¹²⁷ Ibid (13)

¹²⁸ Ibid (10)

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Ibid (16)

Bačevac, and decided to visit Belgrade on April 15 to see how it looked.¹³¹ He comments that Belgrade looked deserted and that POW's were cleaning the streets under the surveillance of the Nazis. He gives us a picture of the state of the whole country after the occupation and how the Yugoslavian land was divided among the Axis forces.¹³²

Nikolić uses the last part of the testimony to talk about the memory of the bombings claiming it was pity that there is no monument to commemorate the civilian victims of the bombings. The author claims that he wanted to organize the mass grave of the victims, and put up tombs with the names. The officials told him that they were going to clean the place, but that they would not put up the monument.¹³³ Nikolić claims that it makes him angry that there is no monument for the victims and in this way tries to give recognition to the victims, adding that if it is possible to make a monument for just about anything, why not for the victims of the 1941 and 1944 bombings?¹³⁴ I am quite confident that this testimony was written before 1966 because in 1966, the collective tombs in Novo groblje cemetery became memorials (or maybe Nikolić was not aware of this fact.)

This testimony is by now the longest group of articles I have analyzed. It is the eighth individual memory found among the articles. Each part of the testimony contains an image, among which there were two photographs of Nikolić himself, and the rest were ruins of Belgrade photographed after the bombings. As already mentioned, we can find certain inconsistencies in the testimony, which can be a good example of the close relationship between individual and collective memory. The narrative of the bombings seen through the eyes of the fireman was very detailed, sometimes confusing and repetitive due to the fact that all these events occurred long ago. The text contains many emotional expressions against the Nazis when encountering horrible and traumatic images of fires and victims. In the end of the text, Nikolić provides a harsh criticism because there is no monument that commemorating the civilian victims of either bombing - Nazi or Allied. However, the nature of the narrative stays in a traditional form.

Of the rest of the articles from 1998, three of them mention the Allied bombings, which counts for two articles more than the previous year. The first one was published on April 16 on page twelve, and it is once again an individual flashbulb memory, tenth in the chronological order of published articles. The article is a letter from reader Danilo Šipetić from Zemun.¹³⁵ The title of the article is

¹³¹ Ibid (17)

¹³² This was presented in historical framework

¹³³ Ibid (18)

¹³⁴ Ibid

¹³⁵ Šipetić, Danilo. "Nece se valjda ponoviti." *Politika* 16 Apr. 1998: 12. Print.

“Hopefully, It Will Not Be Repeated,”¹³⁶ which is the first time we can see a direct allusion to the potential NATO intervention, and it is the first time the Allied bombings were mentioned in that sense, compared with the present situation. Šipetić comments on how April 16, 1944 was Easter Day and the weather was sunny, he was sixteen years old and the general mood in the city was nice since they were expecting liberation soon enough. However, Šipetić says that all of a sudden the Allied bombers arrived around 9AM, and started bombing the city. Šipetić comments that he was very surprised by such an act, asking himself how that could be possible and why they would do it on Easter, and Šipetić’s biggest question was why they would drop bombs on civilian buildings even though there were still Germans in the city.¹³⁷

The author recalls a memory of seeing buildings around him getting bombed and of himself stuck in the ruins from which he had to escape with the help of other people. He also recalls his friend trapped in another ruin. He wishes to express how horrendous these images were, adding that he felt the need to share this remembrance with the public because he was afraid of a similar event happening again, by the same forces that “wished us happy Easter– with the bulge of devastating bombs.”¹³⁸ Šipetić finishes the article with this sentence. In this article, we can observe for the first time the process of contrasting the two events, one from the past, and one potential. This is the first article mentioning the bombings from WWII that is directly connected to the present and can therefore go along with the Halbwachsian vision of collective memory used for the societal needs of the present.

The second article published on the same day on page fourteen is written under the initials M.K. and has quite a graphic title “Recollection of ‘the Bloody Belgrade Easter’”.¹³⁹ Immediately in the title, we can see the emphasis on the fact that the Allied bombings occurred on Easter and it is conducted with the mythological approach. The article is an announcement of the dirge that was supposed to take place on that day in the Church of St. Mark’s. The author gives us the short narrative of the Allied bombings mentioning the carpet bombing tactic, that it happened on Easter day, and for the first time, that the public was given information about how during the Allied bombings the Belgrade birth center was bombed, with fifteen mothers and their babies dying during the Air Strikes.¹⁴⁰ The last paragraph indicates that the Allies did not only bomb Belgrade but also other cities in Serbia like Niš, Leskovac, Kraljevo and Kragujevac. There are no real historical

¹³⁶ in Serbian “Neće se valjda ponoviti” trans. By the author

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ In Serbian “čestitali Uskrs – tepisima razornih bombi” Ibid

¹³⁹ In Serbian “Podsećanje na “krvavi beogradski Vaskrs”” K., M. “Podsećanje na “krvavi beogradski Vaskrs”” *Politika* 16 Apr. 1998: 14. Print.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid; Birth center is important to not because it becomes the frequent motif of the Allied bombings narrative

inaccuracies in this article, but considering it was emphasized that the Allied bombings occurred on Easter, and especially with the author giving the epithet “bloody Easter”, the narrative takes on a more dramatic note and a mythical value. The announcement itself shows a religious character both by inviting the public to participate in the dirge but also in the narrative of the bombings, which places it in the sphere of Serbian national ideology.

The third article that mentions the Allied bombings was published on April 17 and is a report from a dirge that was held in St. Mark’s church the day before and was announced in the papers. It is similar to the article that came out the previous year but is much shorter; it is only one sentence long and has no quotations. It merely gives information on the dirge organized for the victims of the Allied bombings in 1944 and was held by the Serbian Patriarch Pavle. There is not much we can conclude from this article except that the dirge in St Mark’s church was mentioned in “Politika” for the second time after the first one in 1997, and it shows a religious character, typical of Serbian national ideology, in the new commemorative tradition of the Allied bombings.

4.4.1. Conclusion

When it comes to the memory of the Nazi bombings, 1998 articles were very much dedicated to the memory of the pilot defenders of the April War. We read for the first time how the monument for the fallen pilots was unveiled in 1997 next to Hotel Yugoslavia. Many articles are research-based; the main sources used were the individual memory and testimony from certain surviving pilots from the April War. We also encounter a lengthy testimonial from a fireman who witnessed the Nazi bombings.

Given that we came across many individual memories in this year’s articles, we can see examples of the connection between the individual and collective memories due to the certain inconsistencies in the testimonies of these eyewitnesses. When it comes to the usage of the individual memories in the articles, ever since 1995 up until now, we can find ten articles that contain a testimony from the April War and one from the Allied bombings. There is one individual memory that connects the memory of the bombings with the present situation in the country, which is Šipetić’s testimony on the Allied bombings. However, mainly the articles referencing to the Nazi bombings remained in the traditional nature of Yugoslavian historiography without any connection to present times and present political situations. It is also important to conclude that the dirge held in St Mark’s church was the only ceremony that commemorated the victims of Allied bombing that we had a chance to encounter in “Politika”, but also in the other media like “Blic” in the year 1997.¹⁴¹ This being the

¹⁴¹ E., S. "Parastos žrtvama Saveznickih bombardovanja." *Blic* [Belgrade] 17 Apr. 1997, Društvo sec.: 4. Print.

only ceremony for the Allied bombings and being of religious character, it puts it in direct contrast with the ceremonies held to commemorate the memory of the Nazi bombings, which were more numerous and more secular.

4.5. Year 1999 or the Year of the NATO Air Strikes

I believe that I can take the liberty to say that the articles from the year 1999 are probably the most interesting for this analysis due to the unfortunate situation in the country at that time. On March 24 1999, the NATO Air Strikes started due to the Yugoslavian government's refusal to accept the Rambouillet agreement. NATO bombed Serbia for 78 days until 10th of June when the Yugoslavian government decided to pull away its army from Kosovo. Given the timing of the NATO Intervention, the articles that mention the WWII bombings appear exactly during the Air Strikes, which were largely considered a traumatic event by the public. It is essential to mention that ever since the beginning of the intervention, the mass media took an aggressive stance against NATO and the US government, criticizing both. The tone of the discourse was quite sensationalist and enmifying, and such an opinionated stance was present in most newspapers regardless of their interest group and political opinions.¹⁴²

Given the situation, the number of articles referencing the WWII bombings is greater and consequently goes hand in hand with my hypothesis. I expected in advance to find such a discrepancy in the number of articles as I already explained in the chapter discussing the quantitative research of "Politika". Therefore, we have a total of ten articles mentioning the Nazi bombings, and four mentioning the Allied ones, plus two from April 6 and 7 that mention both of the bombings at the same time, which in total is six for the Allied bombings - more the double the amount than from the previous year (counting two that mention both bombings).

The first article from this year that we encounter is from April 6 on page six and it makes no mention of the Nazi bombings explicitly, but it is incorporated into the context since it mentions the occupation of Yugoslavia during WWII. This article is a translation originally published in a German journal "Nation und Europa" famous for its far-right ideology. It was written by German far-right politician Harald Neubauer under the title "Germany at War Again."¹⁴³ From the title of the article alone, we can see the pairing and comparison of a past event to a present situation. Neubauer in this article criticizes the Germans for participation in the NATO attacks against Yugoslavia and compares it to the Nazis attack on Yugoslavia in the Second World War. It starts

¹⁴² Conclusion drawn from personal experience and from the general overview of the public discourse conducted during this research

¹⁴³ In Serbian "Nemačka ponovo u ratu" Nojbauer, Harald. "Nemacka ponovo u ratu." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1999: 6. Print.

with the sentence “We are here again!”¹⁴⁴ immediately making an allusion to WWII (if one reads between the lines) and continuing with a comment on how this time it is the grandchildren reenacting their grandparents’ invasion of Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁵ He compares the two situations, claiming that even this time the attack occurred without an official declaration, mentioning that the NATO bombing started without the UN mandate.¹⁴⁶ After that, Neubauer practically stops commenting on the Yugoslavian situation but merely uses it as initial means to criticize the actual German government, particularly Joschka Fischer and Gerhard Schröder. Neubauer claims that it is forbidden to lead an attack on another country by the German constitution, and therefore asks if the government officials will be arrested.¹⁴⁷

As we are able to conclude, Neubauer uses the current Yugoslavian situation to criticize the German government that apparently he was personally against, and to compare it to the Nazis from WWII. It is a mechanism to make an image of the enemy out of the German government. I am confident that this article was translated and published in “Politika” in the section of the newspaper where foreign articles are published for the public to glimpse the global discourse (a nonetheless selective discourse in my opinion). Hence, this article is used to give an image (probably false, due to the specific selectiveness), of what German public discourse might be like regarding the NATO Air Strikes in Yugoslavia.

The second article is the one that mentions both Nazi and Allied bombings. Like the first article, it was published on April 6 on page sixteen and has a title that immediately compares the current situation with the one from the past. It says, “This April as Well the Fascists are Throwing Bombs on Belgrade”¹⁴⁸ written by D. Stevanović, who had already written one of the articles from the year 1996.¹⁴⁹ Even in the title his article immediately compares the NATO with Yugoslavia’s historical enemy, the fascists.¹⁵⁰ Since Yugoslavian ideology is largely based on the memory of WWII and partisan heroism, it is logical enough that the Other of such a country be the Nazi, or how a Yugoslavian would say, simply a fascist. Therefore, what we encounter in the title itself is the comparison of NATO with the Yugoslavian traditional Other that is the fascist. We can witness the

¹⁴⁴ in Serbian “Ponovo smo tu!” trans by the author

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

¹⁴⁶ Ibid

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

¹⁴⁸ In Serbian “I ovog aprila fašisti bacaju bombe na Beograd” Stevanovic, D. "I ovog aprila fasisti bacaju bombe na Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1999: 16. Print.

¹⁴⁹ Stevanovic, D. "Sećanje na patriotizam." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 12. Print.

¹⁵⁰ Fascists as a term is used in Yugoslavia to refer to Nazis as well, the word might be popular because of the famous partisan slogan used often after the war “Smrt fašizmu, sloboda narodu” trans. “Death to fascism, freedom to the people” apparently first time said by the partisan Stjepan Filipović while he was being executed in 1942 "Death to Fascism, Freedom to the People." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, n.d. Web. 26 Apr. 2015. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Death_to_fascism,_freedom_to_the_people>.

use of Yugoslavian ideology to express a specific opinion of the present situation. This title also shows us a certain process of Othering, and this Othering is being conducted by a comparison with the Other from the past “contemporized” to the present.

Stevanović makes the comparison yet again in the first paragraph, exclaiming how the bombings from this year might be even more deadly than the Nazi ones in 1941.¹⁵¹ After the comparison, the author gives the narrative of the Nazi bombing but exaggerates the numbers of the bombers attacking the city, numbers of casualties, and numbers of destroyed buildings, giving significantly higher digits than in the historical sources as well as in articles from previous years. After finishing with the hyperbolized Nazi narrative, Stevanović goes on to mention the Allied bombings, expressing how they bombed many cities in Serbia and Montenegro. This narrative is also hyperbolized in regards to the victims and the number of bombers. It refers to one article released in “Politika” that talks about the Allied bombings of Leskovac and how this article claims that in Leskovac alone there were four thousand victims.¹⁵² This is already the second article that makes a direct comparison between past events and the present situation, and in such a way as to make the image of the enemy by using the memory of the fascists as the main Other in Yugoslavia.

The third article published on April 6 mentions the National Library and is on page twenty-three under the title “Books in Flames” written by G. Popović.¹⁵³ The secondary headline states that April 6 is the day of the National Library, which is already the second time we encounter such information. However, the article announces the Day of the National library and how there will be awards given to Ljiljana Habjanović Djurović¹⁵⁴ as the author of the most-read novel in Serbia in 1998.

After the announcing the event, the author gives a narrative not just of the bombings of April 6 and how it destroyed the National Library, but also a narrative following the founding of the library up to the present. In the first paragraph, the author gives the names of the valuable manuscripts lost during the bombing, and in the continuing paragraphs the author tells the history of the National Library since it was founded in 1832.¹⁵⁵ The narrative given does not differ much as it was described on the official web page.¹⁵⁶ In this article well we are able to find a comparison between a past event and the contemporary situation and in the last paragraph the author comments on how

¹⁵¹ Stevanović. D. “Sećanje... op.cit.

¹⁵² Ibid

¹⁵³ In Serbian “Knjige u plamenu” Popović, G. "Knjige u plamenu." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1999: 23. Print.

¹⁵⁴ In the original article, the writer’s name was misspelled as Hajbanović

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ “Настанак Библиотеке.” *Narodna Biblioteka Srbije*. N.p., n.d. Web. 18 May 2015.

<<https://www.nb.rs/pages/article.php?id=29>>.

“[i]n the moment when the danger is above our country again, the history of the Serbian National Library gives the warning but also ensures that the thought, spirit, and culture are indestructible.”¹⁵⁷ This is the third out of three articles from this year that compare the two bombings from the past with the new ones (fourth if we count the individual memory article from 1998.)¹⁵⁸ This article is the first to include an image in this year: a photograph of the actual building of the National Library that was opened on April 6 1973 and sits right next to St. Sava Temple.

We have a short article on the same page that is a report from the event that took place the day before and it was the opening of the twenty second exhibition of architecture named “We build, They Destroy” which is also the name of the article.¹⁵⁹ The title itself insinuates the bombings of Belgrade and in this case the current one and the ones from before. It is said in the text that at the entrance to the museum where the event was held there was a panel with the given years when Belgrade was being bombed, which are 1915, 1941, 1944 and then 1999, and below these years was written “The Builders : The Destroyers, the result is 4 to 0 in favor of the Builders”.¹⁶⁰ The years given on the panel symbolized each year when Belgrade was bombed and it includes both of the WWII bombings, as well as the WWI bombing and the NATO Air Strikes. With such a panel at the architecture fair, we are able to witness once again the process of Othering and comparison of the actual bombings with the previous ones. The panel text symbolizes some sort of a scoring game in which the people of Belgrade, called the Builders would be the winner after every attack giving a clear dichotomy between the good and bad, of these that build and others that destroy, which in 1999 refers to NATO. It is the fourth article in that year to make a direct connection between the NATO Air Strikes and earlier bombings, and is the last one encountered on April 6.

The first article that we can encounter on the April 7 issue is on the front cover of “Politika” with a photo from the National Library accompanying it. It is a short report on the event that occurred the day before in the National Library and it is entitled “Symbol of Dying and Resurrecting” written by R.K.¹⁶¹ The title insinuates a strong religious character, and the rest of the article makes a direct comparison of the NATO Air Strikes with the bombing of the National Library in 1941, adding how the National Library resurrected itself afterwards with more collections than before.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ in Serbian. ”U trenutku kada je opasnost ponovo nad našom zemljom, istorija Narodne biblioteke Srbije opominje, ali i uverava da su misao, duh i kultura neunistiva” trans by the author, Ibid

¹⁵⁸ Šipetic, Danilo. "Neće se valjda ponoviti." *Politika* 16 Apr. 1998: 12. Print.

¹⁵⁹ “Mi gradimo, oni ruše” Dj., M. "Mi gradimo, oni ruše." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1999: 23. Print

¹⁶⁰ In Serbian “Graditelji : Rušitelji, rezultat četiri prema nula za Graditelje”

¹⁶¹ K., R. “Simbol stradanja i vaskrsnuća” *Politika* 07 Apr. 1999: 1. Print

¹⁶² Ibid

On April 7 we find five articles, all of them on the same page twenty-one. The longest one on the page is entitled “You Cannot Beat Us”¹⁶³ which is apparently taken from one of the speeches held at a commemorative event the day before. It is a report from a commemorative event and was written by G. Novaković. The sub headline confirms that “You Cannot Beat Us” was said by Ilija Vuković, president of the Patriotic Association of Yugoslavia. The author of the text tells us that Ilija is sending this message to the “contemporary fascists led by the USA”,¹⁶⁴ which is yet again an



Figure 2 - Granite Cross in the garden in Vaznesenjska Church
A photo from Vaznesenjska Church web site <http://xn--g2aaa.xn--80aaafcqa03ab2a4bjb1f2q.xn--90a3ac/2014-08-01-17-40-9/камени-крст.html> saved in April, 2015

example of reference to the NATO by naming the traditional Yugoslavian Other – the fascist.

In this article, we can witness a new place of memory that did not appear before, because this time, the commemoration events was held at the monument for the fallen pilots of the April War that was mentioned for the first time the year before, and is said to had been unveiled in 1997. This is the first time a commemorative event takes place at the relatively new monument next to the hotel Yugoslavia. The article states that wreaths were laid down at this

monument by a delegation from City Hall, as were present members of the Yugoslavian Air Force, The Association of Military Pilots and Parachutists, The Patriotic Association of Yugoslavia, and The Citizens’ Association April 6. This is the commemorative event at which Ilija Vuković delivered the “You Cannot Beat Us” speech. According to the text, Vuković reminded the public of the heroic acts of the pilots who defended the city, adding that once again Yugoslavians are facing the “contemporary fascists”. After that, he said “you cannot beat us” mentioning that such is the case whenever the enemy forces are more technically powerful, and he uses the opportunity to invite all the “justice-and-freedom-loving peoples to join the antifascist front”¹⁶⁵ also giving praise to the president Slobodan Milošević.¹⁶⁶ I am confident enough in my analysis of this speech as particularly Yugoslavian by using the same terminology that was used by the partisans in the

¹⁶³ In Serbian “Ne možete nas pobediti” Novakovic, G. “”Ne možete nas pobediti”” *Politika* 07 Apr. 1999: 21. Print.

¹⁶⁴ In Serbian “savremenim fašistima” trans by the author. Ibid

¹⁶⁵ In Serbian “pravdoljubive i slobodarske narode da se uključe u antifašistički front” trans. by the author. Ibid

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

creation of its myth, which is another example of the Yugoslavian myth still alive in the narratives of the people, transformed for different necessities.

The second commemorative event from the day before was held in the yard of Vaznesenjska church in center of Belgrade, bombed during the 1941 bombings.¹⁶⁷ In the yard of the church, there is a monument in the shape of a cross (figure 2) that commemorates the victims of the April bombings. Wreaths were laid down here as well by the City Hall delegation led by Milan Božić and the

Citizens' Association April 6.



Figure 3 - Collective tomb in Novo groblje cemetery

Photograph from *Novo groblje u Beogradu: Vodič*. Beograd: JKP Pogrebne Usluge, n.d. Web. 3 Apr. 2015. <http://beogradskagroblja.com/pdf_vodic/vodic_sr.html#book2/page36>. Saved in April, 2015

The third commemorative event from the previous day took place in front of the memorial plaque in Karadjodje park where there used to be a shelter, in which many civilians died during the Nazi bombings. It was visited once again by a

delegation from City Hall, the mayor Vojislav Mihailović, the Association of the War invalids and the Citizens' Association April 6.

The fourth commemorative event was held at Novo groblje, on the collective tomb of the citizens who lost their lives in the Nazi bombings. The collective tomb was designed and built by architect Milica Momčilović in 1966.¹⁶⁸ The collective tomb (figure 3) is created with the eight alleys (as seen in the photograph) that are supposed to symbolize the war trenches. Along these alleys we can see twenty-nine marble plaques on which we can find the names of 646 identified victims, and mentioned 1.361 unidentified victims of the Nazi bombings. There is also a collective memorial tomb for the victims of the Allied bombings with eleven alleys and along them fifteen marble

¹⁶⁷ It is said that it was also bombed in 1944.

¹⁶⁸ *Novo groblje u Beogradu: Vodič*. Beograd: JKP Pogrebne Usluge, n.d. Web. 3 Apr. 2015. <http://beogradskagroblja.com/pdf_vodic/vodic_sr.html#book2/page36>.

plaques with the names of 313 identified victims, and mention of 165 unidentified victims of the Allied bombings in 1944.¹⁶⁹

Considering that we were able to identify four commemorative events from this article, therefore four different places of memory up until now, it is the most detailed report. We can conclude that much more attention was given to the commemoration of the Nazi bombings than in previous years, and we encounter different organizations spread out among four different locations in the city. I tend to believe that the reason why these commemorative events received more attention is exactly because of the fact they were held during the NATO intervention. Unsurprisingly, once again, we encounter a direct comparison between the NATO Air Strikes and the Nazi bombing, but in very Yugoslavian terminology. With the speech given by Vuković, we can also sense the process of Othering employing the traditional Other again.

The second article from the same page is entitled “We Are Getting on Their Nerves Because We Love Freedom”¹⁷⁰ written by a certain G.N., who might as well be the same author from the previously analyzed article. The article consists of a message dedicated to Belgraders that does not have a particular author behind but is stated to be a message from the executive branch of City Hall.¹⁷¹ Yet again, we have an enmifying title that identifies Yugoslavian peoples as freedom lovers. In this message, City Hall expresses gratitude to the Belgraders for showing heroic resistance in these times, and it also mentions the suffering of Belgrade during the Nazi bombings, and how once again Belgraders are in the same situation after 58 years. One sentence expresses how this April again “our country and its capital, [...], completely innocent, are under the attack of the world powers.”¹⁷² In the last paragraph, the content of the title is repeated in the message expressing how the powerful countries are mad because they just want to defend their country and not give up Kosovo; the message ends by exclaiming that eventually they will defend it.¹⁷³ Here again, it is the 6th article of the year that directly compares the two events, Nazi bombings and NATO Air Strikes. It has an enemying tone, and is a part of the Othering process, in a particularly Yugoslavian traditional terminology by using the memory of the Nazi bombings, and the rhetoric of the “Liberating Wars”.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ In Serbian “Trn smo im u oku zato što volimo slobodu” trans by the author N., G. “Trn smo im u oku zato sto volimo slobodu” *Politika* 07 Apr. 1999: 21. Print.

¹⁷¹ N., G. “Trn smo im u oku zato što volimo slobodu” *Politika* 07 Apr. 1999: 21. Print.

¹⁷² In Serbian “naša zemlja i njena prestonica su, [...], bez trunke krivice na udaru svetskih moćnika” trans by the author. Ibid

¹⁷³ Ibid

The third article on the same page is a very small one written by Lj.M. under the title “Protest walk of Belgraders”¹⁷⁴ It is a small report from an organized walk that took place the day before, adding that during this walk the participants commemorated the April 6 bombings, also protesting against the NATO intervention. There are parts of a speech quoted by the Minister of Science at the time, Branislav Ivković who also referred to NATO as contemporary fascists, which seems to have become a common theme that year. However small the length of the article, it managed to be the 7th article to make a direct comparison, and to be part of the Othering process, making use of Yugoslavian terminology.

The fourth article on the same page is under the title “Appeal for the Peace”¹⁷⁵ written by the news agency Tanjug. It is in one way a report from a meeting that was held the day before among many different groups and associations along with the Citizens’ Association April 6. The location of the reunion was not given, only the names of the associations that participated and a message that reminds the public of the Nazi bombings, condones the NATO Air Strikes and appeals to the world community to stop with the aggression.¹⁷⁶ It is the 8th article in a row making the direct comparison with the current events.

The fifth and the last article that appears on the page twenty-one is under the title “The People That Shed Blood for the Freedom of Europe Are Attacked”¹⁷⁷ written by D. Matović. It is again a report on a commemorative event that took place in a completely different location than before, which makes it very interesting for the analysis. The event took place at the Cemetery of the Belgrade Liberators of 1944 (Figure 4). It is located a street next to Novo groblje cemetery and is a separate cemetery where partisans that participated in the liberation of Belgrade are buried along with the Red Army soldiers who lost their lives for the same cause. It was organized by the League of Associations of the victims from WWII, POWs, and civilian victims. Wreaths were laid down at the cemetery and a speech was given by Božidar Lazić, the president of the Association of the WWII victims, recalling Easter, April 6 1941, when the Nazis bombed Belgrade, and now condemning the new bombings by NATO.¹⁷⁸ We are able to find a common inaccuracy in claiming that the Nazi bombings occurred on Easter, when it is not a fact. Velimir Coković, president of the Association of the civilian victims referred to the USA as a fascist state, comparing it to Nazi Germany, and while hyperbolizing expressions that the US had surpassed even Hitler in its cruelty he added how

¹⁷⁴ In Serbian "Protestna šetnja Beogradjana." Trans by the author. M., Lj. "Protestna šetnja Beogradjana." *Politika* 07 Apr. 1999: 21. Print.

¹⁷⁵ In Serbian “Apel za mir” Tanjug. "Apel za mir." *Politika* 07 Apr. 1999: 21. Print.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ In Serbian "Napadnut narod koji je prolivao krv za slobodu Evrope." Matovic, D. "Napadnut narod koji je prolivao krv za slobodu Evrope." *Politika* 07 Apr. 1999: 21. Print.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

nowadays the ones who were our Allies in WWII are the ones who are dropping the bombs.¹⁷⁹ In the final paragraph support for the president Milošević was emphasized.



Figure 4 - Cemetery of the Liberators of Belgrade in 1944
Photograph from sh.wikipedia.org, saved in April 2015

This article is very interesting due to the location of the commemorative event at the Cemetery of the Liberators of Belgrade, which completely fits the Yugoslavian partisan ideology. I can conclude that the use of the Yugoslavian ideology, in this aspect, maintained itself until the last breath of the country even though it almost completely dissolved years back during the Yugoslavian Civil Wars. It is an interesting observation since this was a time of great social transformations, and ideological transformations, from Yugoslavian to Serbian ones. Realizing that even in 1999, the partisan ideology was strongly used by the military, we observe that it lasted until the last breath of the existence of Yugoslavia, even the dissolved one that consisted of merely Serbia and Montenegro. It is also 9th article in a row that compares the Nazi bombings and NATO air strikes, and that enmifies US officials through the use of the term fascist.

The next series of articles contains four mentioning the Allied bombings that were published on the dates April 16 and 17. It is the year that marks 55 years since the Allied bombings and the peak year in regards to the quantity of articles with my observation that the reason for the peak is the NATO intervention. There is only one that came out on April 16 and it is on page fifteen under the title

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

“More than Two Thousands American and British Pilots Were Saved in Yugoslavia”¹⁸⁰ written by R. Kovačević. This article does not mention the Allied bombings of Belgrade but I did include it in this category because it mentions the Allied bombings in broader terms and in a different context. It is the first article in this year where we can find the motif of the individual memory. Immediately in the first paragraph, the author quotes the testimony of Slavo Stijačić who wonders if these new planes are the offspring of the pilots whose lives they were saving in WWII because he claims that, in Herzegovina, pilots who would forcefully land on the ground would be helped out by the local people.¹⁸¹ The author then gives a story about the Allied pilots who had to land forcefully on the ground and how many of them were saved by the locals, either partisans and chetniks. Kovačević mentions foreign sources that claim how approximately two thousand pilots were saved in Yugoslavia, commenting that the most faithful source is the book written by Walter R. Roberts¹⁸² called *Tito, Mihailovic and the Allies, 1941–1945*, published for the first time in 1973.¹⁸³ The author then quotes the journalist Djordje Berar¹⁸⁴ and the story that Djordje shares is the one of the forceful landing of the B-24 with nine crew members in Vojvodina, near a town Srpska Crnja, where the local helped out the pilots. In the rest of the text, the author states that such actions were highly regarded by the American government officials at the time.

This article tells a different story than the ones I was used to finding in “Politika” until now. It is research based, more academic, but is compared with the NATO Air Strikes in regards to the nationality of the pilots and through criticism of the pilots participating in the 1999 Air Strikes. In order to check the veracity of the information given in the article, I tried to find out whether Walter Roberts wrote about those two thousand saved pilots and indeed he did, although he did not state his own source.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, when trying to check if the story about the pilots in Srpska Crnja was true, I found an article that gives the same story of a bomber B-24, called “Hubba, Hubba”, and as a matter of fact it did forcefully land in Srpska Crnja and the crew was saved by local partisans.¹⁸⁶ My observation is that this article, which tells a “different side” of the history of WWII where the Serbian people save the pilots, was published at this time as a process of self-inflation, and to criticize the actions of NATO, therefore it is the tenth article in a row that makes a reference to the contemporary situation, comparing it to the saving of the American pilots in WWII.

¹⁸⁰ In Serbian “Više od dve hiljade američkih i britanskih pilota spaseno u Jugoslaviji” trans by the author. Kovačević, R. "Vise od dve hiljade američkih i britanskih pilota spaseno u Jugoslaviji." *Politika* 16 Apr. 1999: 15 Print.

¹⁸¹ Ibid

¹⁸² Walter Roberts 1916 – 2014 writer, lecturer, and US government official

¹⁸³ Roberts, Walter R. *Tito, Mihailović, and the Allies, 1941-1945*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1973. Print.

¹⁸⁴ Djodje Berar - Journalist from Zrenjanin, died in 2010

¹⁸⁵ Roberts, Valter. "I poslednji Amerikanac napušta Mihailovića." *Tito, Mihailović i Saveznici 1941-1945*. Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2013. p. 315

¹⁸⁶ Moore, Don. "B-24 ‘Liberator’ Crew Saved by Yugoslav Partisans." *Don Moore's Wat Tales*. N.p., 05 Aug. 2011. Web. 3 Apr. 2015. <<http://donmooreswartales.com/2011/08/05/raymond-hook/>>.

The remaining three articles that mention the Allied bombings and that appear in this year are all on page nineteen of the edition that came out on April 17. The first one is under entitled “Delegation of the City Hall Laid Down the Wreaths” written by A.J.¹⁸⁷ It is a report from a commemorative event that was mentioned for the first time in “Politika” since 1995, and it was the first commemorative event of that type to occur. It took place at the entrance to the Student Clinic in Krunska, where there used to be the birth center that was bombed with fifteen mothers and babies inside, which has already been mentioned in the previous year. The wreaths were laid down by then-mayor Vojislav Mihailović. This commemorative event is a good example of the presentist and Halbwachsian approach to collective memory, which argues that the collective memory of a group depends on the societal needs of the present. The motif of a birth center was used not just as object-dehumanization in the process of the Othering, which is visible in the article, but the same motif of the birth center is used in the creation of the place of memory for the event. It is the first article in a year that does not make an explicit comparison of a past event with the NATO bombings, and it might be due to the fact that the article is very short. It is followed by a photo from the event.

The second article is an extended report on the same commemorative event entitled “Commemorated 55 Years of the Easter Bombings in 1944” written by J. Antelj¹⁸⁸, who might have been the author of the previously analyzed article given the author’s initials. This article reports about the commemorative event in the Student Clinic in Krunska, and again mentions the birth center and its casualties, as well as the whole narrative of the Allied bombings, how it happened on Easter, that the reasons are still unknown for it and that it used the carpet-bombing strategy.¹⁸⁹ The information about the birth center can be found in the address from doctor Dragan Ilić, the director of the clinic, mentioning that it is only in 1994 that the building was restored to its previous look, adding that under the conditions of the new bombings the doctors were trying their best to help their patients.¹⁹⁰ In the last paragraph, one of the participants is quoted when expressing how “Golgotha repeats again after 55 years”.¹⁹¹ This article is similar to the previous one, only in that it gives the narrative of the Allied bombings more extensively, and this time makes an explicit comparison with the NATO air strikes, which makes it the 11th one to make this direct comparison.

The last article of the year that on the same page is partially inspired by the commemorative event at the Student Clinic. It is called “Appeal to the European Capitals to Stop the Devastation of

¹⁸⁷ In Serbian “Delegacija skupštine grada položila vence” A., J. "Delegacija skupštine grada položila vence." *Politika* 17 Apr. 1999: 19. Print.

¹⁸⁸ In Serbian "Obeležena 55-godišnjica od bombardovanja na Uskrs." Trans by the author. Antelj, J. "Obeležena 55-godišnjica od bombardovanja na Uskrs." *Politika* 17 Apr. 1999: 19. Print.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

¹⁹⁰ Ibid

¹⁹¹ In Serbian “a golgota se ponavlja i posle 55 godina” trans by the author. Ibid

Belgrade”¹⁹² written by D.M. It is an announcement to the public of how the president of the city government Spasoje Krunić sent a letter to all the capitals of Europe and appealed to help the cause and persuade those committing the air strikes to stop.¹⁹³ It is mentioned that the letter was sent on the same day that in the year 878, the name Belgrade was for the first time put in a written document.¹⁹⁴ On the same occasion Spasoje Krunić compared Belgrade to Warsaw, and also mentioned the Allied bombings. He affirms that the commemorative event at the Student Clinic was held for the first time, and that Belgrade has not even properly recovered from it but is yet again bombed by “new criminals”.¹⁹⁵

The last article of this year counts as the 12th to make an explicit comparison of the previous bombings with the NATO air strikes, uses object-dehumanization in the process of Othering, and uses again the motif of the Birth Center, which became dominant in this years’ articles on the Allied bombings. With this article we are also assured that the commemorative event at the Student Clinic was held for the first time.

4.5.1. Conclusions

The year 1999 was probably the most interesting to analyze and interpret because we can trace certain changes in the quality of the articles. The main conclusion for this year is that all of the articles served the purpose of Othering and enmification, and used the strategy of object-dehumanization, which means that it had the purpose of stripping the enemy of all human qualities. We can also see that in twelve out of thirteen articles, there is a direct comparison between the WWII bombings and the NATO Air Strikes. Compared to the year 1998, in which we find many articles that used the individual memory of the witnesses of the bombings, this year we can find it only once. Furthermore, compared to the previous years, far fewer articles had an academic character. In regards to the Allied bombings, we can conclude that there was a new commemorative event happening for the first time, which proves the hypothesis of the changing commemorative traditions based on the particular needs of the group.

4.6. Year 2000 or the “Time-Machine” Year

In April of 2000 the country was not witnessing the NATO Air Strikes anymore, as they had ceased in June, 1999. It was the last year of the Milošević regime, because in October of this year he was

¹⁹² In Serbian "Poziv evropskim prestonicama da zaustave razaranje Beograda." Trans by the author. M., D. "Poziv evropskim prestonicama da zaustave razaranje Beograda." *Politika* 17 Apr. 1999: 19. Print.

¹⁹³ Ibid

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵ Ibid

overthrown by a coalition of opposition parties. Since the danger of the air strikes diminished, so did the quantity of the articles referencing the WWII bombings. The number of articles reverted back to pre-1999 levels: there are four mentioning the Nazi bombings and only mentioning the Allied bombings.

The first article that we are able to encounter this year is written by now familiar researcher Petar Bosnić under the title “Unpaid Depth of the Homeland”.¹⁹⁶ It is a critical text and an open letter with the subtitle describing how the Yugoslavian pilots who died in the April War had not yet been honored.¹⁹⁷ Petar Bosnić uses the opportunity of the 59 years anniversary of the Nazi bombings to point out that the pilot defenders of the April War had never been officially honored by the Yugoslavian Air Force officials. To make his remark even clearer, Bosnić expressed how the year before, after the NATO Air Strikes, the pilot defenders had been honored, reminding us that such had never been done for the defenders of Belgrade from 59 years prior. He also reminded the public of the narrative of the April War defense with which the reader (and myself) are already familiar, given my analysis of many pre-1999 articles describing the heroic actions of the Yugoslavian pilot defenders. Therefore, Bosnić mentions the air battle at Rezanovačka Kosa that ended fatally for the Yugoslavian pilots, as well as for the defenders who were located in Belgrade, revealing that 137 pilots died in total, in addition to 576 aviators who were not flying. Bosnić also reveals that there were already plans to honor the pilot defenders in Yugoslavian Air Force Command during the April War but it did not happen due, apparently, to the Nazi occupation.¹⁹⁸ Bosnić also reminds the public that there were many citizens writing to “Politika” appealing for the pilot defenders to be honored, he appeals, likewise, to the Commander of the Air Force and Air Defense Force Courier to finally honor the pilots that stood up bravely to defend their country. The open letter was signed by Petar Bosnić with his title underneath, which reads “Administrator of the historical section of the Association for the Preservation of the Aviation Tradition.”¹⁹⁹

Throughout the text, Bosnić uses the term Yugoslavia to refer to the pilots and his country. Considering that this article is written by an academic, and is critical in its nature, it reminds us of the articles from 1998 that mention quite often the pilot defenders of the April War, who were not mentioned even once in the year 1999. We are again able to witness the direct comparison between the Nazi bombings and NATO air strikes, now both as past events. We can see Bosnić using the

¹⁹⁶ In Serbian "Neizmireni dug otadžbine." Trans by the author. Bosnić, Petar. "Neizmireni dug otadžbine." *Politika* 06 Apr. 2000: 12. Print.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid

¹⁹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹⁹ Ibid

present circumstances to amend the outcomes of events from the past in honoring the pilots of the April War.

The second article that we can find on April 6 is on page fifteen under the title “At Dusk, on April 6, Bombs were Falling on Belgrade” written by A.A.²⁰⁰ Despite a title that would make us think the article is completely dedicated to the Nazi bombings, it is actually an article under a new section called “The Time Machine” that covers the headlines and titles of “Politika” that came out the year before as a reminder of the NATO intervention. Hence, the article mentions other events that made the news on that day the year before. For example, the author mentions Milošević giving medals of honor to the soldiers of the Third Army of Yugoslavia for resisting NATO. It also describes certain political meetings, details the situation in Kosovo in quite a biased tone, and finally commemorates the bombings and recalls the public of the article under the name “This April as Well the Fascists are Throwing Bombs on Belgrade”²⁰¹, which I already analyzed in this research. After that, the author mentions that the bombing also happened on the April 6 at dusk in 1999, making a direct comparison between the two events. These “Time Machine” articles were apparently used to remind the public of the NATO intervention, which is in a way a continuous process of Othering even though the NATO Air Strikes had ceased. It is the second article in a row that explicitly compares 1999 to 1941. The article contains an image of the first page of the previous year’s “Politika” published on April 6.

There is a second “Time Machine” article from April 7 that mentions the Nazi bombings again under the title “Disastrous Night for Aleksinac”²⁰² written by the same author as the day before, under the initials A.A. Once more the time machine article takes us back to April 7, 1999 reminding us again of major headlines from last year’s “Politika”. Therefore, the article mentions how in the previous night the air strikes were very severe in Aleksinac²⁰³ and how twelve people died that night, quoting one Japanese journalist who seemingly reported how “Serbia got its Hiroshima”²⁰⁴, another comparison to WWII. Along with the continuous analogy, we can find a comment about the bombing of the National Library of April 6 in 1941, mentioning the event that the author referred to

²⁰⁰ In Serbian "U predvečerje 6. aprila bombe su padale na Beograd." Trans by the author A., A. "U predvečerje 6. aprila bombe su padale na Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 2000: 15. Print.

²⁰¹ Stevanović, D. "I ovog aprila fašisti bacaju bombe na Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1999: 16. Print.

²⁰² In Serbian "Kobna noć za Aleksinac." Trans by the author A., A. "Kobna noć za Aleksinac." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2000: 15. Print.

²⁰³ Mining town in Serbia

²⁰⁴ In Serbian "Srbija je dobila svoju Hirošimu" trans by the author. Ibid

as the Day of the National library. The article also mentions last year's negotiations between Milošević and Ibrahim Rugova,²⁰⁵ and Gabriel Garcia Marquez's criticism of the NATO bombings.

This second "Time Machine" article once again directly compares the NATO Air Strikes with the bombing of the National Library in 1941. Considering the nature of the article, it maintained the same tone as the one that was dominant last year. The article contains an image of the last year's first page of "Politika" that was published on April 7.

On the same day, we can find an article about the National Library under the title "Book, the Healer of the Bombs"²⁰⁶It is the report of the event held at the National Library the day before written by G. Popović, the same author as the previous year's article on the National Library.²⁰⁷ Once more, the author writes in the heading line that the Day of the National Library was commemorated. The article starts with the quotation from the writer Dobrilo Nenadić, who the day before received the award for the most read book of the year 1999 under the name "Despot and Victim".²⁰⁸ In his speech he compares the bombing of the National Library and the bombings of 1999, further stating that the books, if they make us forget the bombs, are in their own way a weapon that can heal us from the humiliation.²⁰⁹ Nenadić sets up a Manichean pair with such a speech expressing how knowledge and books are on one side, and the bombs and violence are on the other, which is again a process of self-inflation and object-dehumanization. After the brief narrative of the bombing of April 6 1941, the director of the library, Milomir Petrović, also compares the Nazi bombings and the NATO ones, and shows his negative feelings towards the presence of the UNMIK in Kosovo.²¹⁰ Petrović continues by saying how April 6 is the day of the defiance and resistance. This is the fourth article that draws an explicit comparison with the air strikes of 1941 and 1999. We can find the usage of the dichotomy of good and bad, which is used in the Othering process. The Day of the National Library is still claimed to be April 6.

This year we only find one article mentioning the Allied bombings and it is unsurprisingly in the "Time Machine" section that covers the events from April 17 of the previous year, which is an abrupt change from last year, both quantitatively and qualitatively. There is no report on any commemorative event from this year; furthermore I am confident that the Student Clinic commemoration did not repeat again for at least the next five years. This "Time Machine" article is

²⁰⁵ Prominent political figure of Kosovo

²⁰⁶ In Serbian "Knjiga vidarica od bombi. Trans by the author. "Popovic, G. "Knjiga vidarica od bombi." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2000: 27. Print.

²⁰⁷ Popovic, G. "Knjige u plamenu." *Politika* 06 Apr. 1999: 23. Print.

²⁰⁸ Nenadić, Dobrilo. *Despot i žrtva*. Beograd: Prosveta, 1999. Print.

²⁰⁹ Popović, G. . "Knjiga ... op. cit.

²¹⁰ Ibid

entitled the title “Russian Duma Voted for a Resolution of Joining of Yugoslavia to the Union of Russia and Belorussia”,²¹¹ written by the same author as other two retrospective articles and informing us of the major events that were written about in the issue of “Politika” from the year before. Therefore, the article is dedicated to the event of the Russian Duma voting for Yugoslavia to join the union of Russia and Belorussia, adding that Ibrahim Rugova was still in Belgrade, and in the rest of the article, the author mentions the texts from last year that harshly criticized Tony Blair and NATO, in an enmifying tone and in a biased manner, and is full of Serbian nationalist agitation, as was the case with the other “Time Machine” articles. The Allied bombing is only mentioned in one sentence, along with the information that the same day last year Belgrade was celebrating the day when its name first appeared in written documents. In the sentence where we can read about the Allied bombings, it is mentioned due to the commemorative event that took place in the Student Clinic.²¹²

It is interesting to observe that only one article this year talks about the Allied bombings, and this is the article that covers last year’s event, therefore we are not encountering any commemorative events, nor any descriptive or historical articles, and I tend to believe that if it were not for the “Time Machine” article, the Allied bombings would not have been mentioned at all, which marks a big difference in a year’s time, in which we witness a peak in the memory of the Allied bombings, both in quantity and in quality, yet already the year after the NATO intervention, its memory ceased, and space is given only to the traditional memory of the Nazi bombings.

4.6.1. Conclusion

The most dominant motif from the year 2000 is again the comparison of the Nazi bombings with the NATO intervention, which in 2000 became the exploitation of the two *memories* since at that moment both of them became events from the past, and the NATO Air Strikes entered the field of collective memory; its memory is very much present in this year’s articles, and we may say that it is more dominant than the memory of the WWII bombings, because they take up significantly more space in the analyzed articles. The tone of the articles is similar to the previous year’s, being less objective and more enmifying which comes as no surprise given that the government structure had not changed since the previous year, and there was no rupture in the political system. We still witness the process of Othering in three out of four articles, where the fourth one was a critical text by Bosnić driven by the comparison of the NATO Air Strikes with the Nazi bombings to ask why

²¹¹ Duma is a lower house of Federal Assembly of Russia; title in Serbian “Ruska Duma izglasala rezoluciju o pristupanju SRJ Savezu Rusije i Belorusije.” Trans by the author. A., A. “Ruska Duma izglasala rezoluciju o pristupanju SRJ Savezu Rusije i Belorusije.” *Poilitika* 17 Apr. 2000: 15. Print.

²¹² Ibid

the 1941 pilot defenders were never honored if the ones in 1999 were. When it comes to the memory of the Allied bombings, it is almost non-existent and is only mentioned in the "Time Machine" article, and the existence of the "Time Machine" article with its purpose of reminding the public of the NATO intervention is in a way the continuance of the Othering process and the tendency to forcefully make the air strikes present in the collective memory. The main point for this year is the fresh exploitation of the NATO intervention memory that is present in the articles on the WWII bombings.

4.7. Year 2001 or the First Year after Fall of Milošević

April 2001 counts seven months since the 5th October overthrow - massive demonstrations against the Milošević regime organized by the coalition of the democratic parties, led by Zoran Djindjić with the presidential candidate for the opposition being Vojislav Koštunica. This is the first year that "Politika" was no longer a tool for the ambitions of the old regime, but remained the state-owned media. This year we have one article more than last year regarding the Nazi bombings plus a testimony in sixteen pieces, and no article mentioning the Allied bombings. It is important to mention that 2001 marked 60 years since the Nazi bombings.

We encounter the first article on April 6, on page fourteen under the title "The Day When Belgrade Was Burning"²¹³, written by Radovan Kovačević, the author of two historic articles, the one on the rescued Allied pilots, and the other on the resistance of the Skadar squad against the Italian troops.²¹⁴ This article is a narrative of the events of March 27, the bombing and the occupation that succeeded and how Yugoslavian territory was divided among the Axis powers.²¹⁵ The fact-giving itself does not differ from before; the only novelty is that it is the first time that I encountered a comment that Kovačević gives on how Hitler had a "brutal serbophobia", which gives a perspective from a Serbian point of view which makes it different than previous traditional comments. Kovačević also bitterly commented not just on the actions of the Nazis but also of Italy, Hungary, and Albania, additionally criticizing Hungarian and Albanian projects of their ideal borders.²¹⁶ It is interesting to note that this is the first time after 1998 that an article mentioning the Nazi bombings does not mention the NATO intervention, which shows in a way how the memory of the NATO Air Strikes loses its dominance in direct reference to WWII bombings.

²¹³ In Serbian "Dan kad je goreo Beograd." Trans by the author. Kovačević, Radovan. "Dan kad je goreo Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 2001: 14. Print.

²¹⁴ Kovačević, Radovan. "Hrabri prodor skadarskog odreda." *Politika* 07 Apr. 1998: 13. Print. -----, "Više od dve hiljade američkih i britanskih pilota spaseno u Jugoslaviji." *Politika* 16 Apr. 1999: 15 Print.

²¹⁵ Ibid

²¹⁶ Ibid

The second article that came out the same day on page seventeen is under the title “Fighter Planes Above Hotel Yugoslavia”²¹⁷ written by the Tanjug news agency. It is a two-sentence short announcement of the commemorative event next to the monument for the fallen pilots of the April War that is next to the famous hotel Yugoslavia. The article notifies the public that during the event next to the monument, there will be fighter planes flying over the hotel in honor of the pilot defenders. This is the first time that such an event was announced on April 6. However, we can conclude that the monument to the fallen pilots had become the most dominant place of memory over the other three that we already mentioned in previous analysis. The change of the place of memory is something we had a chance to experience in the 1998 commemorative events. The other dominant place of memory is the National Library because every April 6, there were events happening there. Due to the shortness of the article, no connection yet again was made with the memory of the NATO bombings, which makes it the second article this year.

The third article can be found on page fifteen on April 7, and is a report from the commemorative event announced the day before, under the title “Memory of the Heroes of the April War”²¹⁸ written by the author under the initials M.G. The article informs how the day before the Command of the Air Force and Air Defense Force Courier commemorated the 60 year anniversary of the Nazi bombings by laying down a wreath on the monument for the fallen pilots next to hotel Yugoslavia. The text also confirms how the two planes flew over the hotel in memory of the pilots, and it is accompanied by one photograph from the event. The other participants in the event were the delegation of the City Hall, Association of the War Veterans, and the Association for the Preservation of the Air Force Tradition.²¹⁹ This article confirms the dominance of the monument in New Belgrade becoming the dominant place of memory, and once again does not make any reference to the NATO intervention that happened two years before that.

On the same page (page fifteen) of April 7, we can find an article that reports on a scientific conference written by R.K. that might be the initials for Radovan Kovačić. This is the first report from a scientific conference on the April War since 1996.²²⁰ The title of the article is “Hitler and Extinguishing the “Balkan hotbed””²²¹. Immediately at the beginning of the article, it is the second time in the same year that in the narrative of WWII, one author uses the word Serbian people rather

²¹⁷ In Serbian ““Borbeni avioni iznad hotela "Jugoslavija"” Tanjug. "Borbeni avioni iznad hotela "Jugoslavija"” *Politika* 06 Apr. 2001: 17. Print

²¹⁸ In Serbian “Sećanje na heroje Aprilskog rata.” G., M. "Sećanje na heroje Aprilskog rata." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2001: 15. Print.

²¹⁹ Ibid

²²⁰ Bosnić, Petar. "Jugoslovenski bombarderi iznad Sofije." *Politika* 6 Apr. 1996: 10. Print.

²²¹ In Serbian "Hitler i gašenje "balkanskog zarista"” K., R. "Hitler i gašenje "balkanskog zarista"” *Politika* 07 Apr. 2001: 15. Print.

than Yugoslavian, which is the case here when R.K. writes how 60 years ago, the Serbian people found themselves before a great test, namely whether they should join the Pact or show resistance to the evil forces.²²² The author then presents a conference under the name “The War in South-Eastern Europe in 1941” where the April War was discussed in depth among the researchers. The conference took place in the Ethnographical Museum of Belgrade. It is claimed in the text that it was the first time there was a conference held where more than 50 researchers were able to discuss a complicated moment in history. By the author’s opinion, the most discussed issue is what would have happened if there had been no coup-d’etat of March 27, and Yugoslavia had remained with the Axis powers. Miroljub Vasić, the president of the Union of the Associations of Historians gives a comment saying that the result of the April War was the death of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and a strong anti-fascist front, adding how humanity nowadays is at the crossroads of the “globalism scare” as it was back then on the crossroads of the “communism scare”.²²³ The report from this conference shows again the usage of history taken from a Serbian perspective, being critical of communism, which is a first encounter in the analyzed articles. There is no connection to the NATO bombing which is an abrupt switch from the previous year. This type of historical discussion and interpretation shows the changes in the political systems of Yugoslavia considering it is the first year under the government of the coalition of democratic parties. Under the government officially came the freedom for historical revisionism and the abandonment of the Yugoslavian historiography.

The third article that came out on April 7 is in regards to the National Library and its bombing. It is found in a special section dedicated to culture, arts, and sciences with the title “Excavations from the Burnt National Library”²²⁴, written by Gordana Tomašević. It is a critical text and a story about the conducted projects of excavation of the bombed National Library while the text at the same time raises the question of what to do with the space in Kosančićev venac where the National library used to be. Tomašević writes in the first paragraph how in the year 1976, she did the excavation of the National Library with a team of people, adding that they found hundreds of charred books, and were inspired to make a memorial exhibition of the remaining walls and these books that year, and went further with it as a planned project. It was sent to the respectful ministry through the Republic Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments, and at one point, according to the author, this project did not even start and went into oblivion. Kovačević expresses how unfortunately the

²²² Ibid

²²³ In Serbian “bauk komunizma” Ibid

²²⁴ In Serbian "Iskopine spaljene Narodne biblioteke." Trans by the author. Tomašević, Gordana. "Iskopine spaljene Narodne biblioteke." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2001, Kultura-umetnost-nauka sec.: III. Print.

sight of the National Library was untouched and covered in weeds, criticizing politicians whom she does not name for not doing anything with the space in Kosančićev venac.²²⁵

Tomašević reminds us that, besides the excavations of the National Library, her research team also discovered the remains of the Roman bath near the library at a depth of three to four meters in the ground, and the planned project for the Roman bath was to cover the hole and make some sort of the underground museum, which would be separated from the memorial site of the National Library. The author adds that there were many other projects for the creation of memorials, commenting that failing to create them and not inventing the best solution is nothing short of a crime.

This critical article teaches us about plans to make a memorial at the sight where the National Library was, and how it never happened not just until the year of the Tomašević's writing but also until the year 2015; in which I write this research. The plans for the empty space in Kosančićev venac is still a discussion that appears in the public discourse, usually in the days of the commemoration of the Nazi bombings. There are still ongoing plans to make a memorial center, but there were also speculations that the land would be given to the church and that the Patriarchal library would be built, which was received with divided criticism.²²⁶ Concluding from the discourse from 2013, the plan to make a memorial site seemed almost certain, but still nothing occurred.²²⁷

This critical text regarding the memorial of the National library is different than the previous articles written on the National Library, which means that 2001 might be the year that the National Library event for the most read book of the year changed the date and moved to the day of the National Library now considered to be February 27.²²⁸ My chronological analysis led me to realize that after the 5 October Overthrow the Day of the National Library changed in 2001, which is confirmed by the other sources I encountered.²²⁹ This change in the day of the National Library shows us one of the main switches in commemorative traditions of the Nazi bombings, and is an important change that should be emphasized as one of the main conclusions for this year's analysis.

²²⁵ Ibid

²²⁶ Kikić, Jelena. "Ko se seli sa Kosančićev venac?" *B92.*, 06 Apr. 2013. Web. 23 Mar. 2015. <http://www.b92.net/kultura/vesti.php?nav_category=272&yyyy=2013&mm=04&dd=06&nav_id=702555>.

²²⁷ Belić, N. "Kosancicev venac pod teretom patine." *Politika Online*. N.p., 21 Jan. 2013. Web. 23 Mar. 2015. <<http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Beograd/Kosancicev-venac-pod-teretom-patine.lt.html>>.

²²⁸ Šafar, Ž. "Dan Narodne biblioteke: Nikolić dodeljuje priznanje za najčitaniju knjigu." *Blic.rs*. 25 Feb. 2015. Web. 23 Mar. 2015. <<http://www.blic.rs/Kultura/Vesti/537750/Dan-Narodne-biblioteke-Nikolić-dodeljuje-priznanje-za-najcitaniju-knjigu>>.

²²⁹ "Valjarevićev "Komo" najbolji od najčitanijih." *Danas*. 29 Feb. 2008. Web. 23 Mar. 2015.

There is no connection with the NATO intervention pointed out in this article either.



Figure 5 – Empty space in Kosača venac where National Library was bombed in 1941
Photograph is a screenshot from www.google.rs/maps saved in April 2015

The last group of articles that we encounter this year is divided into sixteen parts published every day from April 7 until 24.²³⁰ It is written by writer and professor Budimir Potočan under the title “Achievements of the Yugoslavian Pilots in the April War”.²³¹ It is an in-depth saga on the pilot defenders in the April War, and it tells stories that are already familiar to the reader, largely concentrated on the air defense in Zemun where eleven pilots lost their lives in the air, one of whom was captain Milan Žunjić. The author also narrates the first April 6 attack and therefore gives us the story of the air battle in Rezanovačka Kosa with emphasis on the heroic air ramming of Milorad Tanasić, all along with the apparent betrayal of the commanders Franjo Džal and Drago Brzovšek. The author continues with the motif of the betrayal and disobedience in the Yugoslavian Army in WWII with the story of Zdenko Gorjup and how he gave the order to take the bombs out of the plane before the attack in Skopje.²³² We learn that there was an air battle above Indija in which Yugoslavian pilots had the means to stop the Nazis from reaching Belgrade, where many of the Yugoslavian pilots died, though not after tearing down some German bombers. Potočan also gives the narrative of the apparent defense battle happening above Pančevo never stopping to emphasize the fact that the Yugoslavian bombers were far inferior to the German ones and that they fought heroically.²³³ There is also a story describing how Yugoslavian pilots bombed enemy military zones

²³⁰Potočan, Budimir. "Podvizi jugoslovenskih vazduhoplovaca u Aprilskom ratu: Naizgled obicna mirna subota." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2001, Feljton (1) sec.: 31. Print. -----, Budimir. "Podvizi jugoslovenskih vazduhoplovaca u Aprilskom ratu: Jezgro nove avijacije." *Politika* 24 Apr. 2001, Feljton (16) sec.: 25. Print.

²³¹ In Serbian “Podvizi jugoslovenskih vazduhoplovaca u Aprilskom ratu” Ibid

²³² Ibid

²³³ Ibid

in Bulgaria, Romania, and areas near Vienna and Skadar on the same day. Potočan dedicates a great part of his story to the pilot Živica Mitrović who died heroically in the air battle above Belgrade, and tells that he was buried in Krčedin under a different name, and that it took years to find that out.²³⁴ The interesting information we can gather from these articles is that apparently the head of government Dušan Simović was preparing the wedding for his daughter, which was supposed to happen exactly on April 6. When giving the narrative of the bombings of April 6, it is not surprising that in his depictions as well the author mentions the Radio Belgrade announcement. He continues with the familiar numbers and statistics in regards to the casualties adding that Hermann Göring himself came to Bačka to observe the attack, and that supposedly the bombs inside the planes used to be called “Göring’s secret weapons”.²³⁵ The author also mentions how the articles in “Politika” looked in the days before the bombings, adding that one day, Dušan Simović published the article in which he forbade the public to leave their places and that they should not listen to the warnings that come from abroad since the government believed them to be false. I checked “Politika” myself in the digitalized library and I actually encountered exactly this article, which makes it verifiable.²³⁶ Potočan gave us the atmosphere before the bombings to show how the government did not take the warnings of the attacks that came from the British seriously - or maybe they did but did not want to warn the public to avoid a large panic in the city.²³⁷

When reading this story on the Yugoslavian Air defense in the April War, we can guess that the author Potočan is a talented writer based on his style and the fluency of his text. He gathered all the different stories using the personal remembrances of the surviving pilots and secondary literature, which he used to create quite an epic and romanticized narrative on the pilot-defenders of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. When I say epic and romanticized, I mean so due to the fact that Potočan has a gift for writing does not merely pass on the factual information but creates a story that seems like an exciting documentary or a blockbuster Hollywood film.²³⁸ The facts in the story seem similar to the ones I encountered in secondary literature except for the many individual remembrances that I could not find myself, and a few other details that did not make it in the major studies of the April War.

²³⁴ Ibid

²³⁵ Ibid

²³⁶ Simović, Dušan T. "Naredba Br 1 predsednika kraljevske vlade za 31 mart." *Politika* 01 Apr. 1941: 1. Web. 06 Apr 2015 <<http://scc.digital.bkp.nb.rs/document/P-2484-1941>>.

²³⁷ Potočan, B. op. cit.

²³⁸ Perhaps a film should be made on the pilot defenders of the April War?

4.7.1. Conclusion

This year's article and usage of memory of the WWII bombings is in many ways different than in the last two years. First of all, there was no article that made direct reference to the Nazi or Allied bombings in terms of the NATO Air Strikes, which is completely different than the years 1999 and 2000, in which almost every article had this direct comparison. We can draw a conclusion that the memory of the NATO bombings became less present generally as well as the usage of the memory from WWII. The second biggest change is that the Day of the National library stopped being April 6 and since this year it became February 28, which might have been an adjustment influenced by the change in government structure. It is an important change because we are able to witness a certain rupture in commemorative traditions. Moreover, in some articles, we can find the word Serbian used where it would have been Yugoslavian before, which is in a way the appropriation of history into a Serbian context. However, we can encounter a long and monumental narrative on the pilot defenders of the April War, which is the theme that received much attention in the times before the NATO Air Strikes, which might have been a novelty at the time yet now reaches a culmination with Potočan's saga; the story on the pilot defenders does not repeat until the end of the research frame.

4.8. Year 2002 or Back to the 90's Year

This year is the third year of the post-Milošević government with Vojislav Koštunica as president of the country, and Zoran Djindjić as Prime Minister. The two were constantly going through disagreements and it was a regular theme in the public discourse in the month of April, 2002. We encounter three articles mentioning the Nazi bombings, and also three that mention the Allied bombings, which is a large discrepancy from the last year, which had no articles whatsoever. It is the first time we see the same number of articles on the two bombings, though this might be due to the fact that April 6 stopped being the Day of the National Library and therefore takes less space in the public discourse.

The first article we encounter is just one sentence long, accompanied by a larger picture of a bombed building in Belgrade from April 6, 1941. It is under the simple title "Belgrade Bombed"²³⁹ with an upper heading reading "This Day in 1941", and it does not have a signed author. It gives a very brief narrative of the bombing of an open city, with the inclusion of a common inconsistency by adding that it happened on the Easter morning, while it was not such a case. This article is much smaller than the ones from the previous years, and serves as a formal reminder of the past historical

²³⁹ "Bombardovan Beograd." *Politika* 06 Apr. 2002: 7. Print.

events. Needless to say that no connection was made to the NATO bombings, and it was the only article that came out on April 6.

In the "Politika" issue from April 7, the first article we encounter is under the name "In the Memory of the Ones Who Lost Lives"²⁴⁰ written by D. Telesković on page seven. It is a report from the commemorative events that took place at six different locations. The first one being the fountain "Vrelo života" in front of the "Beogradjanka" building, the second was in the garden of the



Figure 6 - Fountain "Vrelo života"

Photograph from the official website on Belgrade

<http://www.beograd.rs/cms/view.php?id=1547479>, saved in April 2015

Vaznesenjska Church in front of the granite cross; the third shows the collective tomb of the victims in Novo Groblje cemetery; the fourth the monument to the fallen pilots next to the hotel Yugoslavia; the fifth location was St. Mark's Church where the dirge for the victims of the

bombings was held, and the sixth was the memorial plaque in Karadjordje Park where a shelter used to be in 1941.²⁴¹ Wreaths were laid down at five of these locations by various groups such as the delegation of the City Hall, the Union of the War Invalids, the Citizens' Association April 6, and the Delegation of the Air Force and Air Defense. Interestingly enough, it was the first time since the year 2000 that the NATO bombings were mentioned in an article referencing the Nazi ones. Apparently, at the monument for the fallen pilots of the April War, wreaths were also laid down to commemorate the fallen pilots of the NATO Air Strikes.²⁴²

Given the fact that Telesković shares a report from commemorative events held at six different locations, we can conclude that it is the most covered report of the Nazi bombings commemorations until now. The only place of memory that is missing in this article is the ruins of the National

²⁴⁰ In Serbian "U spomen postradalima." Telesković, D. trans by the author. "U spomen postradalima." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2002: 7. Print.

²⁴¹ Ibid

²⁴² Ibid

Library. However, the article merely reports on the aforementioned locations without any additional comments, quotations, or narratives as was the case before, and it contains no nuances in regards to nationalist ideas. It is a professionally done report that gives us the basic “who, what, where, why, and when.” It is accompanied by a picture taken in front of the monument to the fallen pilots of the April War. This article shows that no real ruptures occurred in the commemorative traditions of the Nazi bombings after the fall of Milošević.

The third article that mentions the Nazi bombings can be found in the April 7 edition on page forty in the section “Last Night in the City”.²⁴³ It is a report entitled “Memory and Warning of the Bombing”²⁴⁴ written by authors under the initials D. T.²⁴⁵ and S. I. The authors report on the concert held by the choir “Mojsije Petrović” the night before in the National Library. The occasion was the memory of April 6, the Nazi bombings, and destruction of the National Library. I shall remind the reader at this moment that April 6 used to be the Day of the National Library, which stopped being the case in 2001, but there was an event held to commemorate the bombing, so the transition of the day did not immediately change all the traditions of the library. The article also reports the speech given by the director of the library in which he read the telegram of then Minister of Culture, Branislav Lečić, who supported the initiative for the creation of the memorial site at the location in Kosačićev venac. In the same article, we learn from the director Ugričić that wreaths were laid down in the empty space in Kosačićev venac the day before, which marks the 7th commemorative location reported in 2002, and therefore makes it the highest number ever of commemorative events reported in “Politika” since 1995. This article brings to light the discussion on what should be with the empty space in Kosačićev venac, which seems to have become a theme in the public discourse after the fall of Milošević, and is still active due to the fact that the place remains untouched and surrounded with locked gates.

The articles that mentioned the Nazi bombings prove the dominance of this memory not just because of the quantity of the articles, which I already showed in chapter 3 but also due to the content of the articles showing that the commemorative traditions of the Nazi bombings in different locations neither stopped nor changed despite the fact that the National Library changed its day in the calendar. Such a phenomenon can be seen as a certain appropriation of a Yugoslavian commemorative tradition continued after the fall of Milošević.

²⁴³ In Serbian “Sinoć u gradu” trans by the author.

²⁴⁴ In Serbian “Secanje i opomena na bombardovanje.” Trans by the author. T., D., and I. S. “Secanje i opomena na bombardovanje.” *Politika* 07 Apr. 2002, Sinoc u gradu sec.: 40. Print.

²⁴⁵ Most probably D. Telesković the author of the report of the commemorative events from the same day; Telesković, D. “U spomen postradalima.” *Politika* 07 Apr. 2002: 7. Print.

The next series of articles that we can find in the year 2002 are those mentioning the Allied bombings. Two of them can be found on page eleven of the edition from the April 16. The first one is under the title “Bombs with the Easter Greetings”²⁴⁶ written by Mirjana Kuburović. It is the same author who already wrote articles on the Allied bombings before under the initials M. K. The title is alluding to the Allied bombing that occurred on Easter and a story that does not have a confirmed source, and is, in my opinion, most likely false, but is used nonetheless as an example of ruthlessness of the Allies. It tells the story of how one of the fallen bombs that did not explode had “Happy Easter” on it written in Serbian Cyrillic. The myth of the “Happy Easter bomb” most probably comes from the agitating, biased, and enmifying article that I already mentioned in the historiographical chapter written by Petar Aleksić with the sensationalist title “It Was Written Happy Easter on the Bombs”.²⁴⁷ I am confident that Kuburović used Aleksić’s article as a source due to the style of her writing, which is similar to Aleksić’s. The author gives the emotional narrative of the bombings constantly emphasizing the fact that it happened on Easter and calling it “bloody Belgrade Easter”.²⁴⁸ The other notion that Kuburović gives to the public without any confirmed sources is her statement that the bombings were specifically targeting civilians and not German positions throughout the city.²⁴⁹ Such an unconfirmed statement is additionally made to emphasize the dramatic narrative. Kuburović adds that the Allies also bombed other Serbian and Montenegrin cities (which is true) and how devastated Belgrade was afterwards.

This article might be one of the most agitating to have come out in all of the years. It is interesting to realize that the first article to be published after both the NATO intervention and 5 October uprising in 2000 and write on the Allied bombings is of such an agitating nature. Even though some aspects in the article might be accurate, most of the statements are pure myth, and it seems that the memory of the Allied bombings develops through myths of “Bloody Easter” and the bomb with “Happy Easter” written on it. The article also contains a motif that was dominant in 1999, which is the event of the birth center and its casualties. The most interesting thing about this article is the year of publishing which is after the Milošević regime, and yet is so agitating, which proves my hypothesis that agitating and nationalist articles were not only typical during the times of Milošević but also present and encouraged by then Prime minister Vojislav Koštunica.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ In Serbian "Bombe sa vaskršnjom čestitkom." Kuburović, Mirjana. "Bombe sa vaskršnjom čestitkom." *Politika* 16 Apr. 2002: 11. Print.

²⁴⁷ In Serbian "Na Bombama je pisalo srećan Uskrs." Aleksić, Petar. "Na Bombama je pisalo srećan Uskrs." *Srpsko Nasledje* 15,16,17 (1999). *Srpsko Nasledje*. June 1999. Web. 21 May 2014. <<http://www.srpsko-nasledje.co.rs/sr-1/1999/06-ratno/article-06.html>>.

²⁴⁸ In Serbian “krvavi beogradski Vaskrs”

²⁴⁹ Ibid

²⁵⁰ Koštunica was famous for his strong Serbian nationalist beliefs.

The other article on the same page is the first time a commemorative event is announced since 1999, and it announces a dirge that was going to be held in St. Mark's church under the simple title "The Dirge to the Victims". It is very short and merely announces the dirge, which seems to have remained the one way to commemorate the victims of the Allied bombings.

The last article on the Allied bombings that came out in 2002 is also written by Kuburović, published on April 17 on page eleven. Its title is "The Truth as a Sign-post"²⁵¹ and it is a report from the dirge that was announced the day before and held in St Mark's church. For the first time, we see a photo accompanied by the articles that mention Allied bombings, and it is a photo from the dirge. In the text, we can find quotations from Patriarch Pavle, similar to ones he was expressing before in the other articles that mention the dirge. We are also able to find twice the usage of the expression "Bloody Easter", which seems to be a catch phrase used by the author Kuburović. From this article we can realize that only one commemorative tradition maintained itself after 1999, which started happening in 1994, and as it seems, without any official involvement of City Hall. There is no mention of the Student Clinic commemorations, which means that the commemoration occurred only in 1999 during my research period, therefore we can conclude that the three years after the NATO bombings, the Student Clinic commemoration did not occur, which is one of the changes in commemorative traditions which I shall present in one of the following chapters.

4.8.1. Conclusion

In this year we encounter the consistency of the commemorative traditions of the Nazi bombings as it was in the times before the NATO intervention, which shows that no major rupture occurred in the chronology. It shows in a way, how the Yugoslavian culture of memory becomes post-Yugoslavian. The memory of the Allied bombing is merely used in a sensationalist manner with the usage of the myths of the Easter greetings, and dramatic terms such as "bloody Easter" which makes us conclude that in the public opinion, the real story of the Allied bombings was never elaborated on, as was the case with the research on the defense pilots of the April War. It is important to notice that no connection was made to the NATO intervention, which is the opposite case from the articles in the years 1999 and 2000. The discussion on creating the memorial site at Kosančićev venac was mentioned again.

²⁵¹ In Serbian "Istina kao putokaz." Trans by the author. Kuburović, M. "Istina kao putokaz." *Politika* 17 Apr. 2002: 11. Print.

4.9. Analysis for the Year 2003 or the Serbia and Montenegro Year

This year marks the third of the post-October 5th government. In February 2003, the name of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia officially changed to Serbian and Montenegro, and with that change died the name Yugoslavia and the epithet Yugoslavian. In March 2003, Prime Minister Zoran Djindjić was assassinated, and much of the public discourse was dedicated to the issue. When it comes to the WWII bombings, we can count three articles on the Nazi bombings, and two on the Allied ones.

The first article that we can encounter is the short announcement of the commemorative event that was going to be held on that day, the 6th of April, under the title “Commemoration to the Victims and the Defenders”²⁵² and written by Tanjug. It gives a short narrative of the April 6 bombings, and announces the commemoration at five different locations that shall be visited by the delegation of the City Hall, which are the granite cross in Vaznesenjska church, the monument to the fallen pilots, Novo groblje cemetery, the memorial plaque in Karadjordje park, and the fountain “Vrelo života”. The only commemorative place that is missing is the space in Kosančićev venac, and it might be the case because it is not an official memorial spot, which it might become some time in the future, however it was usually frequented by officials from the National Library. This announcement does not differ from the commemorative event that occurred the year before, and we can therefore conclude the consistency in commemorative traditions of the Nazi bombings in six different places in the city.

The other two articles can be found in the issue from the April 7. The first one is a report from the commemorative events announced the day before, under the title “Wreaths and Flowers for the Dead”²⁵³ written by an author under the initials V.V. The following report is similar to the one from the previous year, the only novelty being the unveiling of the plaque to the memory of the aviators who fought in the April War, and the plaque was put in the building where used to be the military Zemun Airport and with it 6th hunter regiment, which marks the 7th commemorative spot for the memory of the Nazi bombings,²⁵⁴ whereas there are only two for the Allied ones, the tomb in Novo groblje cemetery and Student Clinic entrance, which does not however, have a memorial plaque. There is one photo accompanying the report and it is from Novo Groblje cemetery.

²⁵² In Serbian “Pomen žrtvama i braniocima “ trans by the author. Tanjug. "Pomen žrtvama i braniocima." *Politika* 06 Apr. 2003: A6. Print.

²⁵³ In Serbian "Venci i cveće za poginule." V., V. "Venci i cveće za poginule." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2003: A5. Print

²⁵⁴ The destiny of the plaque is unknown since the building where the headquarters were in Tošin Bunar 130 has been for sale since recently. Source: google street view

The second article from April 7 is about the National Library (as we have come to expect by now, as there was not a year without an article on National Library coming out - even after the day of the institution changed.) However, the article from this year is much smaller in size. It is written by the agency Tanjug and has the title "Three April 6's of the National Library"²⁵⁵ and is on the same page - A5 - as the previously analyzed article. It gives a short narrative of the April 6, and according to the text, the plan to buy the building in Kosančićev venac was sent on April 6, 1921, the same day it was bombed in 1941, and the same day the new building was reopened in 1973, hence the title "three April 6's". The article informs us that the delegation of the National Library visited the empty space at Kosančićev venac, which yet again marks eighth commemorative location in this year.²⁵⁶

The first article that mentions the Allied bombings is the one announcing the dirge in the church; it is two sentences long, written by Tanjug, on the page A12, under the title "The Dirge to the Victims of the Allied Bombings of 1944".²⁵⁷ It announces the event that the event shall be held that same day in St. Mark's Church just as it was the case the previous year.

The second article on the Allied bombings can be found in the issue of April 17 on page A12 under the title "Serbian Cities also Bombed by the Allies"²⁵⁸ written by Mirjana Kuburović, the author of the last year's articles on the Allied bombings. The title itself implies that it was not only the Nazis that bombed Serbian cities but also the Allies, and the sub head line again gives us the mythical narrative of a bomb with "Happy Easter" written on it.²⁵⁹ The first paragraph was a report from the commemorative dirge held in St. Mark's church mentioning that it was happening for the tenth time. Kuburović once more uses the denominator "Bloody Easter" which seems to be typical for her writing. In the rest of the text she gives the same Allied bombings narrative as in the previous years, emphasizing the fact that it happened on Easter, how it was carpet bombing and that it repeated in more series after April 16, and that other Serbian cities were bombed so as Podgorica in Montenegro.²⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly, the motif of the birth center appears, and the article finishes by mentioning once again the unexploded bomb with "Happy Easter" on it.

²⁵⁵ In Serbian "Tri 6. Aprila Narodne Biblioteke." Tanjug. "Tri 6. Aprila Narodne Biblioteke." *Politika* 07 Apr. 2003: A5. Print.

²⁵⁶ Ibid

²⁵⁷ In Serbian "Parastos žrtvama Saveznickog bombardovanja 1944." Tanjug. "Parastos žrtvama Saveznickog bombardovanja 1944." *Politika* 16 Apr. 2003: A12. Print.

²⁵⁸ In Serbian "I Saveznici bombardovali srpske gradove." Kuburović, M. "I Saveznici bombardovali srpske gradove." *Politika* 17 Apr. 2003: A12. Print.

²⁵⁹ Ibid

²⁶⁰ Ibid

While finishing the analysis of this article that reminds us of the one from the previous year also written by Kuburović proves that ever since its appearance, the articles on the Allied bombings never really dealt with the subject in an objective and investigative manner, i.e. with proved facts resurfacing, but was rather always used in a mythical manner for the purposes of enmification and victimization by using hyperboles and emotional tone. This was not the case with the articles on the Nazi bombings because on numerous occasions, we were able to encounter research based works and their results, such as the reports from scientific conferences, etc.

4.9.1. Conclusion

This year is very similar to the year before, marking a certain continuity and consistency in commemorative traditions for the first time after 1999. Consistency is seen in commemorative traditions for the Nazi bombings that established themselves in a similar way as before 1999, mentioning many of the commemorative spaces, and the memory of the Allied bombings being used in the sensationalist manner that consists of merely one event commemorating it, with a dirge in a church. No exploitation of the motif of the individual memory comes up as was the case in the years before 1999 - especially in 1998 -and the articles are more dedicated to the reports of the commemorative events. No article compared the WWII bombings to the NATO ones.

Chapter 5: Overview of the Analysis divided in Main Themes

After the extensive and detailed analysis of the gathered articles in the period of nine years that covers one collectively traumatic event, namely the NATO Air Strikes, and a change of the government structure - the Overthrow of the Milošević regime, I find it appropriate to dedicate one chapter to the dominant themes that I was able to identify and comprehend as such. The themes are the commemorative traditions of both bombings and how they have changes over time, NATO Air strikes rupture and enmification, as well as the use of the individual memory and pilot stories.

5.1. Commemorative Traditions Through Time

Given the fact that so many articles reported on various commemorative events, it is quite possible to identify a certain pattern in the development of commemorative traditions and to extrapolate from it one level of analysis with the finality to reach and support my main conclusions.

In regards to the Nazi bombings, we have been able to enumerate the various places of commemoration featured in “Politika”. These are the collective tomb of the victims of the Nazi bombings in Novo groblje cemetery, the individual tombs of the fallen pilots like the one of Miloš Žunjić, the granite cross in Vaznesenjska church, the memorial plaque in Karadjordje park, the fountain “Vrelo života” in front of “Beogradjanka”, the monument to the fallen pilots next to the hotel Yugoslavia, the ruins of the old National library in Kosančićev venac, and finally the memorial plaque in the building where Zemun military airport stood during the April war. These total seven different locations for the commemoration, and if we count the dirge in St Mark’s church

Nazi bombings places of memory	Allied bombings - places of memory
Granite Cross - Vaznesenjska Church	Novo groblje cemetery collective tomb
Memorial Plaque - Karadjordje Park	Entrance to the Student Clinic - Old birth center (Only 1999)
Monument to Fallen Pilots	St Mark's church
Fountain "Vrelo života"	
Novo groblje Cemetery - collective tomb and individual tombs for pilots	
Kosančićev venac - space of the previous Nat. Library	
New building of the National Library	
St Mark's church	
Cemetery of the Liberators (Only 1999)	
Plaque in old Zemun Airport building	
RATIO	
10	3

Table 2 Places of memory for both of the bombings from WWII in Belgrade

that commemorated the victims of the Nazi bombings and the Day of the National Library that happened in the new building, plus the usage of the Cemetery of the Liberators in 1999, we could say that there are ten different places of commemoration that we encounter from 1995 until 2003. As it turns out, this number is much higher than the places of memory for the victims of the Allied bombings.

The places of memory for the Allied bombings consist of the collective tomb of the victims in Novo groblje cemetery, and the entrance of the Student clinic that used to be the birth center that was bombed in 1944, which however does not have any memorial plaque in front on the facade. This makes two places of memory for the victims of the Allied bombings, and if we count the dirges that started taking place since, most probably, 1994, we can count three places of commemoration for the Allied bombings. Therefore, the ratio between the places of memory between the two bombings is 10:3 (as seen on the table 2) and it shows clear dominance toward the memory of the Nazi bombings throughout the whole research period in regards to the quantity of places of memory. However, it is important to notice that the space in Kosančićev venac is not officially a place of memory since it is encircled by a fence and is closed to the public, which is the same case with the entrance to the Student Clinic.

Nevertheless, merely naming these places of memory is not enough because it is also important to notice the changes in the commemorative traditions over time. First among the novelties occurring before 1999 was the unveiling of the monument to the fallen pilots, and it made a change in commemorative traditions because until then commemorating the pilot defenders was done exclusively either in the buildings of the Air Force Command or on the graves of the pilots who died in the April War in Novo groblje. After it was unveiled, when following the articles that were published, we can conclude that it had become the official memorial location for the fallen pilots of the April War. The reason for unveiling the monument might have been because there was much dedication to the April War pilots in the 90's, as my own research can confirm. I cannot claim with certainty that the pilot stories were a novelty in the 90's because my research does not cover the time period before 1995, but it seems it might be the case. It might be because the memory of the April War and its pilots belongs more to the history of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which is highly glorified by present time Serbian nationalists.

In regards to the NATO Air Strikes in 1999, one of the most extensive commemorations occurred that year, covering almost every place of memory for both of the bombings, Nazi and Allied. However, there was one more location where a commemorative event occurred in 1999. The location is the Cemetery of the Liberators of Belgrade in 1944. The choice of such a place is quite

symbolic because it is a purely partisan monument; the event was organized by the military and the speeches given were colored with the Yugoslavian partisan rhetorics. This particular event shows us the resolve of the Yugoslavian partisan ideology, supported by the military, to survive until the last breathe of the country's existence, even though in 1999, we cannot speak of the Yugoslavia that existed twenty years earlier. Needless to say, this commemorative event was never repeated afterwards and was a one-time occurrence.

After the NATO Air Strikes and the fall of Milošević, we can follow the commemorative tradition of the Nazi bombings to be just as similar as before, which marks a certain consistency in the memory of the Nazi bombing and shows a kind of appropriation of the previously Yugoslavian memory into the memory of the Serbian nation. The only difference that can be found in the commemorative traditions of the Nazi bombing occurring after the fall of Milošević is the National Library changing its day from April 6 to February 28 in the year 2001. However, taking all the information from the research, the memory of the Nazi bombings in regards to its commemorative traditions showed no real ruptures even during the major events in the country. Its memory remains more dominant. It might be due to the importance of the beginnings or because of the memory of the April War and its pilots, or the strength of the Yugoslavian ideology that maintains itself.

When it comes to the commemorative traditions of the Allied bombings, the story is quite different. The first commemorative event started happening in 1994 and was of a religious character,¹ the dirge held in the St Mark's church. That is only one commemoration that we knew of before the NATO bombings, when exactly in April 1999, during the Air Strikes, City Hall commemorated 55 years of the Allied bombings at the entrance of the Student Clinic. This is a typical example of the Halbwachsian approach to memory where emphasis is put on the needs of present society. The event in the Student Clinic did not repeat itself until the end of my research time frame, which shows that it did not happen in the years that followed the NATO air strikes.² We can conclusively observe a certain inconsistency and instability in establishing the commemorative traditions for the Allied bombings in the time frame from 1995 until 2003, and it shows its inferiority to the commemorative traditions of the Nazi bombing. My opinion on why the commemorative tradition of the Nazi bombings remained more consistent and dominant is due to the fact that it marks the beginning of the War, whereas the Allied bombings do not mark a particular moment in the chronology of the Second World War, which is again a clash between the Absolutist and Relativist

¹ Even though the first coverage of the dirge happened in 1997

² When checking briefly the public discourse after 2003, it seems that commemoration at Student Clinic happened in every five year interval or so

theory that Schwartz mentions in his study,³ where in this particular case, we are able to witness the importance of beginnings therefore once again the appropriation of traditionally Yugoslavian memory to the Serbian one, or the mixture of the two, in the times after the fall of Milošević.

5.2. NATO Air Strikes, Myth Making and Enmification

Throughout the analysis of the articles, we encountered several times the usage of a historical event or information that is not accurate or merely never proven to be true. The most famous inaccuracy that was often presented as truth is the story that April 6, 1941 was Easter day, whereas Easter day in 1941 was actually on April 20. Using the misconception that it happened on Easter day, it creates a mythological value. The same goes with the usage of unconfirmed numbers of victims that are presented as a truthful fact, especially in the articles that came out in the year 1999.

When it comes to further myth making, in the case of the two bombings from the Second World War, those myths mostly derived from non-proven, probably inaccurate historical events. The main example is the case of the supposed undetonated bomb with “Happy Easter” written in Cyrillic that was lying on the ground in Belgrade during the Allied bombings in 1944. This assumption probably emerged from Aleksić’s article to the post-Milošević media.⁴ The other motifs that were used in the creation of myth are the event of the Birth Center mentioned in almost every article referencing the 1944 Air Strikes, as well as the fact that it happened on Easter, using such an occurrence to make a dramatic picture when narrating it in the newspapers. We were able to witness the creation of the new term for the Allied bombings, which is “Bloody Easter”. The motif of “Bloody Easter” can be interpreted as an Orthodox Christian religious symbol of the Serbian national myth in which it is considered cruel to fight a war during the religious holidays. Using such a term “Bloody Easter” goes hand in hand with the purpose of dramatization of the past events in order to replenish the Serbian identity that was built up by the media during and after the time of Milošević, but most exceptionally during the NATO Air strikes.

The mythical value of the encountered narratives of both of the bombings from the Second World War were also the emphasized dichotomies between the “good and bad guys” done through the process of object dehumanization when the human values of the “enemy” are stripped and, through self-inflation, the good values of a group in question are emphasized. The examples of this

³ Schwartz, Barry. "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory." *Social Forces* 61.2 (1982): p. 376

⁴ Aleksić, Petar. "Na Bombama je pisalo srećan Uskrs." *Srpsko Nasledje* 15,16,17 (1999). *Srpsko Nasledje*. June 1999. Web. 21 May 2014. <<http://www.srpsko-nasledje.co.rs/sr-1/1999/06-ratno/article-06.html>>.

dichotomy are largely found in the narratives of the Allied bombings through the Easter and Birth Center motif, as well as through the narrative of the Nazi bombings with the pilot stories and the emphasis on the pilots' heroism and the treason of certain non-Serbian Yugoslavian Commanders.⁵ However, we can conclude that the memory of the Allied bombings was merely used as a mythological tool during my research period, and there was no academic dedication towards the event in the media.

The NATO Air Strikes are the most important rupture during the nine years research frame in regards to the changing images of the bombings and their usage. It was already stated various times that in 1999, every article that mentioned the WWII bombings also made reference to the current situation, which is quite a logical outcome and is a unique example of the usage of historical memory being connected to the present times due to certain similarities. The most effective change is that in 1999 the images of the Nazi bombing stopped being exploited in a dedicated manner through the authors publishing their research, or through the heroic stories of Yugoslavian Air Defense pilots, but was rather used to give the final product of the narrative, in order for the public to conjure the image of the present "enemy" in the image of the "enemy from the past". That is the moment when we encountered numerous times the usage of the term "contemporary fascist" which is a pure representative case of the contemporized past. The image of the enemy in 1999, with the usage of the memory of the Nazi bombings, was being built through direct comparison of present "culprits" with the "culprits" from the past. This being the case shows us the strength and utilization of the Yugoslavian partisan ideology that lasted until the end of the 90's, also through the usage of the partisan rhetorics such as "Liberating Wars" and "peoples of Yugoslavia", but mostly in the usage of the term "fascist" as an ultimate Other that remained most dominant, and that might be the reason why the memory of the Allied bombings was not as exploited as the memory of the Nazi ones. The curious occurrence was the usage of the partisan place of memory for the commemoration of the victims of the Nazi bombings in 1999. The traditional "Other" simply remained more prevalent in the collective memory, which shows the certain power of the Yugoslavian WWII rhetorics.

After 1999, we encounter the usage of the memories from WWII, but in this case, also the memory of the NATO Air Strikes given that it became an event from the past, hence creating three memories in total. Absolutely every article in the year 2000 compared the WWII bombings with the NATO Air Strikes, most probably due to the fact that the memory of it remained fresh in the minds of the public, but interestingly enough, every reference to the NATO Air strikes stops all of a

⁵ examples of Franjo Džal, Drago Brezovšek, and Zdenko Gorjup

sudden in 2001, after the fall of Milošević, and the parallel was not drawn again.⁶ This might be because the memory of the NATO Air Strikes started fading away due merely to the passage of time, or due to the switch in government structure that showed great willingness to cooperate with the Western countries in a friendly manner and did not wish to exploit the memory. Nevertheless, we could conclude that this drawing of parallels between 1941 and 1944 on one side and 1999 stopping after one year is quite a curious phenomenon, and worthy of further analysis.

5.3. The Usage of the Individual Memory

After the article analysis that I conducted, I realized that the dominant motif present in many of the articles is the form of the individual memory or testimony. However, it stops being the dominant form in 1999, and is not present as much thereafter. Understanding this dominance of the individual memory shows us its importance in creating the collective memory, and vice-versa. Up until 1999, we were able to count ten articles that used the motif of the individual remembrance. In many of these cases, we can observe certain inaccuracies, which proves how much the individual memory can be deceiving, given that it is constantly under the subconscious influence of somebody else's memory. In the end the narrator cannot even recall which of the memories are his, and which are somebody else's - the most exemplary case could be Milorad Nikolić's testimony in which he describes the day of the bombings in a hyperbolized manner due to the shock and certain inaccuracies driven by somebody else's memory.⁷

When it comes to further analysis of the individual memory we were able to encounter, many of them being flashbulb memories, and one of the main motifs present in regards to the individual memory of the Nazi bombings is the announcement on the Radio Belgrade informing that the city was being attacked. We were able to identify the motif of the Radio Belgrade announcement on several occasions, which is once again an example of the individual remembrance becoming a collective one with mere sharing to the public. The announcement of Radio Belgrade deriving from individual memories and becoming incorporated in the master narrative has the capacity to make the newer generations imagine it happening and it therefore enters the field of collective memory. The motif of the Radio Belgrade announcement could be considered as an equivalent phenomenon to the one in which famous TV speaker Miodrag Zdravković announced that President Tito died, which was an event that became integral part of the narrative of Tito's death and was largely exploited in the films and media.

⁶ It was only once mentioned again in 2002

⁷ Nikolić, Milorad. "Šestoaprilsko... op. cit.

Conclusion

The main conclusion that comes out of this research is mainly the downright dominance of the memory of the Nazi bombings over the memory of the Allied ones, and it can be proven on three different levels of analysis. The first level is through the quantitative research of the articles appearing in “Politika” that I gathered and such dominance is clearly visible on table 1 represented in the third chapter. The following two levels of study were both conducted through the qualitative research of the gathered articles. Therefore, the second level of analysis was conducted while breaking down the commemorative traditions followed during the nine years of research time frame. It becomes apparent that the Nazi bombings demonstrate dominance through the greater number of places of commemoration, through the consistency in the tradition of commemoration, and through the fact that there is no real rupture affected by either the NATO Air Strikes or the fall of the Milošević government. However, the places of memory of the Allied bombings were fewer and its tradition certainly showed certain ruptures, mostly affected by the NATO Air Strikes.

The third and final level of analysis that proves my main conclusion is the research of how the images of the bombings were actually used, which shows that there was much more space dedicated to the memory of the Nazi bombings through the motifs of individual memory and through the stories of the pilot defenders which, seems to have been a popular topic in the 90’s, whereas the memory of the Allied bombings never received as much dedication, and especially no academic dedication. This lack of academic dedication is mostly due to the fact that all the revisionist articles started to be published in the year 2003,¹ which marks the end of my research frame. The fact that the major works on the Allied bombings were published from 2003 is quite important because it can be one more reason why the memory of the Nazi bombings remained dominant in my time frame from 1995 until 2003. It also explains the usage of only one article as an historical source in the narratives appearing in “Politika”. The motif of the individual memory was found only once in the articles on the Allied bombings, and the usage of these remembrances was mostly used with the intention of creating the myth. Nevertheless, even though the memory of the Allied bombings was used in a mythical way, the memory of the Nazi bombings remained stronger in the times of the NATO Air Strikes, most probably through the usage of the strong partisan narrative supported by the state, and the Othering process that relied on the Yugoslavian WWII memory.

It is very interesting and actually surprising to realize that the main rhetoric used during the NATO intervention was part of a partisan ideology employing terms like “liberating Wars”, “contemporary

¹ This information is clearly visible in historiography chapter on page 8 of this research

fascists”, and “peoples of Yugoslavia”, and it culminates as such especially with the use of the Cemetery for the Liberators of Belgrade as a place of memory for the commemoration of the Nazi bombings of April 6 in 1999. This phenomenon shows us that the state was promoting its nationalist ideology while in a way recycling the Yugoslavian one in a country that was not the Yugoslavia that had been known before, and we can see this Yugoslavian ideology trying to survive until the last breath of the existence of what remained of the country after the civil wars until the fall of Milošević.

The memory of the Allied bombings was merely used for the mythical purposes with constructed terms such as “Bloody Easter”, and with the usage of the motifs such as the Birth center, and the unconfirmed story of the bomb with “Happy Easter” written on it in Cyrillic. Only one commemorative event was consistent, this being the church dirge, which was a relatively new tradition dating from 1994 without my registering certain involvement of City Hall. The main rupture in the commemorative traditions of the Allied bombing was an event that happened only once on April 16, 1999 during the NATO intervention organized by the delegation of the City Hall and did not repeat in the following years. The outcome of my research shows a great incongruence in the usage of the memory of the Allied bombings, both in the commemorative traditions and in the qualitative analysis that we can encounter in “Politika”. It truly never reached the stability that the memory of April 6 had within the public sphere until the year 2003. It was an historical event that did not establish itself academically or in any different way in the times of the NATO Air Strikes as much as my initial hypothesis predicted, but rather developed in that sense only after NATO Air Strikes and the Milošević regime, which is a phenomenon I explored in the historiography chapter. That is one of the reasons why the images of the Allied bombings remained quite static in the research time period.

The outcome of my research offers us an opportunity to witness a certain culture of memory of WWII during the 90’s, before and after the fall of Milošević and Yugoslavia itself. It shows how even the matters of commemorating and utilizing an historical events can be quite a complex process, particularly in a country where major turbulent events were happening that marked the dissolution of one big socialist country and the birth of a small nation-state. This complex process is almost always connected with a certain national ideology that makes us as a reader perplexed by the fact that the old Yugoslavian WWII ideology was emphasized just at the same time that there was much Serbian national agitation present. We were able to witness the clash of the two, the state recycling the Yugoslavian rhetorics in 1999, and in the end the memory of the Nazi bombings always remaining most memorable.

The dominance of the memory of the Nazi bombings can be explained for several reasons that I outlined as possible ones even though I do not dare to claim that any of them is actually right. The reasons that I give are just my observations that came to me during the analysis. The dominance of the memory of the Nazi bombings could be explained by the fact that it marked the start of WWII in Yugoslavia and is symbolically remembered as such. The other reason might have been through the usage of the pilot stories along with it the stories of the treason in the April War that was a highly explored topic in the 90's and marked the heroism of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, hence the existence of a non-communist state never glorified by the partisan ideology. The third reason might have been the state-supported usage of the Yugoslavian partisan ideology that culminates in the process of Othering during the NATO Air Strikes in 1999, which due to its strength maintained itself as a dominant memory afterwards. The other reason might have been that the memory of the Allied bombings never held such attention due to the fact that the Serbian national ideology preferred to exploit the memory of the Great War and the great accompanying Serbian loss, as well as to put an emphasis on Chetnik movement that finally culminated just one day before I write these lines with the rehabilitation of Draža Mihailović in Serbian court.²

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the Allied bombings from 1944 received certain academic attention, however this began in 2003, when my research period finished. This timing can make us conclude that even though the memory of the Allied bombings emerged on the public scene in the 90's, the event of the NATO Air Strikes is actually not the one that awakened this memory, but rather that this happened four years after the end of the Air Strikes, and the fall of the Milošević regime. The resurgence of the memory was not affected in a momentary manner inspired by the NATO Air Strikes. The "recovery of history" as Smith tends to call it³ was mostly part of the revisionism that took place after all the turbulent events in the country, therefore after my research period, even though we witnessed the new commemorative tradition in the framework of my research.

This case study I conducted for the purposes of the TEMA master's thesis unravels the processes of the memory usage in a complicated period of a country that was on the verge of its previous existence and under the Air Strikes. We were able to witness the intense process of enmification during the 1999 attacks and therefore it gives us a good insight in the process of Othering of the contemporary history. Particularly the process of Othering with the usage of history through recycling the past enemy of Socialist Yugoslavia. I will be bold in arguing that this type of Othering

² B92. "Court Rehabilitates WW2-era Chetnik Leader Draza Mihailovic." *B92*. N.p., 14 May 2015. Web. 15 May 2015. <http://www.b92.net/eng/news/society.php?yyyy=2015&mm=05&dd=14&nav_id=94116>.

³ Smith, Anthony D.: "State-Making and Nation-Building", in: John A. Hall (ed.): *States in History*, Basil Blackwell, 1986, p. 228

is different from the rest of the Othering processes that we can encounter in the global public discourse. I am quite sure that this kind of enmification with its use of the past Other as the new Other might have occurred in other countries, but I tend to think that mostly the process of Othering is conducted through the usage of stereotypical images of the enemy that show values that could be considered backward and unacceptable to the group in question. In our case, it was the usage of the words “fascist” and “nazi” with much of the redundant partisan Yugoslavian rhetoric of the heroic past supported by the state and military. Having unraveled this particular process of Othering, we are left with one of the examples of this process that is useful for further analysis.

Finally, I wish to point out that this master thesis does not only offer us insight into the culture of memory of the bombings from WWII in the turbulent times of the 90’s and early 2000’s in Yugoslavia, but also insight into the complex process of Othering that occurred during the moments of largely traumatic events, which in itself gave us a small opportunity to partially experience the public agitation of the time that could also be interesting for further analysis for sociologists and nation study historians.

If I were asked why this research is relevant, I would answer that it is quite important to tackle the processes of cultural memory, commemorative symbols and traditions as well as enmification during this particular time because we can then grasp them better, and it is useful particularly because these phenomena are not merely unique to the Yugoslavian territory at a particular time. Enmification is a process that is, unfortunately, occurring even nowadays in other parts of the world although for different reasons and purposes. However, a Yugoslavian case of enmification is quite particular because after the Fall of Milošević, NATO and the USA officially ceased to be considered an enemy by the new government structures, which constitutes a major switch in the stand point of a state and can make us realize that all these changes in the standings of governments during the time might have had a confusing effect on the masses. Maybe we can even speak of some sort of crisis of identity in which an individual belonging to the Serbian national community might feel the need to ask himself “is the West a friend or not?”, and it might still remain enigmatic especially because nowadays there are discussions of Serbia joining NATO.

In order to understand the ambivalent feelings present in the contemporary Serbian identity, it is important to go back in time and analyze the public discourse in all its forms in order to understand how this ambivalence was triggered, and that is the reason why I mostly believe my research should be seen as relevant. In this particular case, it was research conducted in regards to the past and remembrances, which makes a small contribution to the field of cultural memory during the last years of Yugoslavia, before and after the fall of Milošević.

Considering that I started this thesis by explaining what it is about in one sentence, I wish to finish it in the same manner, therefore I dare to present the conclusive remarks in only one (but very long) sentence since I believe it is a good exercise for complete grasping of the presented material. The sentence is as follows: In the turbulent times of a country in which two major events occurred, namely the NATO Air Strikes followed by the fall of Milošević hence the final fall of Yugoslavia, we are able to witness the emergence of the longstanding taboo of the memory of the Allied bombings, however the memory of the Nazi bombings remains more dominant through the pilot stories of the April War, the usage of individual testimonies, its stable commemorative traditions and its use of the partisan ideology supported by the state, whereas the memory of the Allied bombings was mostly used in a mythical manner and was never as exploited either through commemorations or academic dedications in the public sphere.

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¹ For the chronological order of the articles, see Appendix, Table 4, page 119

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9. Appendix

Year	bombings and commemoration dates	number of articles	headline
1995	Nazi - April 6	3	/
	Allied - April 16, 17	0	/
1996	Nazi - April 6	4	/
	Allied - April 16, 17	0	/
1997	Nazi - April 6	4 + 1 testimony (10 parts)	/
	Allied - April 16, 17	1	/
1998	Nazi - April 6	8 + 1 testimony (18 parts)	yes 3x
	Allied - April 16, 17	3 + testimony	/
1999 (NATO Intervention)	Nazi - April 6	10	yes
	Allied - April 16, 17	4 + 2 from the April 6	/
2000	Nazi - April 6	4	/
	Allied - April 16, 17	1	/
2001	Nazi - April 6	5 + 1 testimony (16	/

		parts)	
	Allied - April 16, 17	0	/
2002	Nazi - April 6	3	/
	Allied - April 16, 17	3	/
2003	Nazi - April 6	3	/
	Allied - April 16, 17	2	/

Table 3 Quantitative research table of “Politika” articles

YEAR 1995						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
Tanjug	06.04.1995	U napadu na Beograd učestvovalo 484 bombardera	There were 484 Bombers Participating in the Attack	Descriptive	Nazi	Narrative of the Nazi bombings
Tanjug	06.04.1995	Svečanost u čast vazduhoplovaca - branilaca Beograda	Ceremony in the Honor to the Aviators – Defenders of Belgrade	Report	Nazi	Report from a commemorative event for the pilots
M. Djordjević	07.04.1995	Priznanje Slobodanu Seleniću	The Recognition to Slobodan Selenić	Report	Nazi	Report from a commemorative event in the Nat Lib
YEAR 1996						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
A. Benčević	06.04.1996	Svedok iz Skoplja	Witness from Skoplje	Research, Individual memory	Nazi	research on finding the lost pilot, published testimony
Petar Bosnić	06.04.1996	Jugoslovenski bombarderi iznad Sofije	Yugoslavian bombers above Sofia	Report, Academic	Nazi	Report from scientific conference
D. Stevanović	06.04.1996	Sećanje na patriotizam	Memory of Patriotism	Report, Academic	Nazi	Report from a conference

Tanjug	07.04.1996	Komemoracija žrtvama bombardovanja 6. Aprila 1941	Commemoration of the Victims of the Bombings from April 6 1941	Report	Nazi	Report from a commemorative event
YEAR 1997						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
Vera Jocić	05.04. - 14.04.1997	Aprilski rat iz donjeg rakursa	April War From a Lower Angle	Individual memory, testimony	Nazi	testimony of a woman who witnessed the April War
Mihailo Milošević	06.04.1997	Štrudla s makom	Poppysed Strudle	Individual memory, testimony	Nazi	testimony of a man who witnessed 6th April bombing
Tanjug	06.04.1997	Venci na grob pilota branioca Beograda	Wreaths on the Tomb of the Pilot Defenders of Belgrade	Report	Nazi	Report from a commemorative event for the fallen pilots
Nikola Trklja	06.04.1997	Dan kad je rušen Beograd	The Day Belgrade Was Getting Destroyed	Descriptive	Nazi	Narrative of the Nazi bombings
/	06.04.1997	Uništena srpska kulturalna riznica	Serbian Cultural Treasure Destroyed	Descriptive	Nazi	Summary of the lost in the Nat Lib during the bombing
M.K.	17.04.1997	Patrijarh Pavle: Stradanje za istinu nije uzaludno.	Patriarch Pavle: Dying for the truth is not in vain	Report	Allied	Report from a commemorative event in the church
YEAR 1998						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
Petar Bosnic	06.04.1998.	Sudbina Bombardera "blenhajm" Br. 3528.	The Destiny of the Bombardier "Blenhaim" number 3528.	Descriptive article, research	Nazi bombings	Story of Bristol Blenheim bomber number 3528
Tihomir Nešić	06.04.1998.	Rat je počeo dva sata ranije	The War Started Two Hours Earlier	Descriptive article, research	Nazi bombings	Interpretation of the testimony of the first Nazi attack happened on the 6th of April
/	06.04.1998.	Priznanje i zahvalnost hrabrim vazduhoplovcima	Recognition and Gratitude to the Brave Aviators	Announcement	Nazi bombings	Giving gratitude to the fallen Yugoslav pilots in the April War

Tanjug	06.04.1998.	Brutalan napad na otvoreni, nebranjeni grad	Brutal Attack on the Open and Undefended City	Descriptive article	Nazi bombings	Narrative of the bombings
/	06.04.1998.	Čovek koji je bombardovao Beograd	The Man Who Bombed Belgrade	TV Announcement	Nazi bombings	Announcing the TV movie about the trials of the culprits for the April War
Jelena Arsenović	07.04.1998	"Kaplari" Aprilskog Rata	"Corporals" of the April War	Descriptive article	Nazi bombings	Story of highschoolers fighting in the April War
Radovan Kovačević	07.04.1998	Hrabri prodor skadarskog odreda.	Brave Breach of the Skadar Squad	Descriptive article	Nazi	April War defensive on Skadar against the Italians
Tanjug	07.04.1998	Obeležen 6. April - Dan civilnih invalida rata.	6th of April Commemorated – as the Day of the Civilian War Invalids	Report	Nazi	Report from a commemorative event
Milorad Nikolić	05.04. - 22.04.1998	Šestoaprilsko bombardovanje Beograda	April 6 Bombing of Belgrade	Descriptive article, Individual memory	Nazi bombings	Testimony of the Nazi bombings in Belgrade through the eyes of a fireman
Danilo Šipetić	16.04.1998	Neće se valjda ponoviti.	Hopefully, It Will Not Be Repeated	Individual memory	Allied bombings	testimony of the Allied bombings
K.M.	16.04.1998	Podsećanje na "krvavi beogradski Vaskrs"	Recollection of "the Bloody Belgrade Easter"	Announcement	Allied bombibgs	Announcement of the dirge that will be held in a church
YEAR 1999						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
D. Stevanović	06.04.1999.	I ovog aprila fašisti bacaju bombe na Beograd	This April as Well the Fascists are Throwing Bombs on Belgrade	Descriptive article	Nazi and Allied bombings	Hyperbolized description of both of the WWII bombings used to be compared with the present NATO intervention

Harald Naubauer	06.04.1999.	Nemačka opet u ratu	Germany at War again	Political critical article	Nazi bombings	Criticism of the German government in regards to the NATO intervention
G. Popović	06.04.1999.	Knjige u plamenu	Books in Flames	Descriptive article, a report	Nazi bombings	Announcement of the event and history of the National Library
Dj. M.	06.04.1999.	Mi gradimo, oni ruše	We build, they destroy	report	Nazi and Allied bombings	Report from the Architecture Fair
R.K.	07.04.1999	Simbol stradanja i vaskrsnuća	Symbol of dying and resurrecting	Report	Nazi	Report from a commemorative event in the Nat Lib
G. Novaković	07.04.1999	Ne možete nas pobediti	You Cannot Beat Us	report	Nazi bombings	A report from commemorative event at four different locations
G. N.	07.04.1999	Trn smo im u oku zato sto volimo slobodu	We Are Getting on Their Nerves Because We Love Freedom	Message to the public	Nazi bombings	Parts of the message sent in the memory of the bombings
Lj. M.	07.04.1999	Protestna šetnja Beogradjana	Protest Walk of Belgraders	Report	Nazi bombings	Report from the commemorative walk
Tanjug	07.04.1999	Apel za mir	Appeal for the Peace	Report	Nazi bombings	Report and message to the public
D. Matović	07.04.1999	Napadnut narod koji je prolivao krv za slobodu Evrope	The People That Shed Blood for the Freedom of Europe Are Attacked	Report	Nazi bombings	Report from a commemorative event at the cemetery of Belgrade Liberators
R. Kovačević	16.04.1999	Više od dve hiljade američkih i britanskih pilota spaseno u Jugoslaviji	More than Two Thousands American and British Pilots Were Saved in Yugoslavia	Descriptive article, research	Allied bombings	The story of the saved American pilots in Yugoslavia
A.J.	17.04.1999	Delegacija skupštine grada položila vence	Delegation of the City Hall Laid Down the Wreaths	Report	Allied bombings	Report from a commemorative event

D.M.	17.04.1999	Poziv evropskim prestonicama da zaustave razaranje Beograda.	Appeal to the European Capitals to Stop the Devastation of Belgrade	Report	Allied bombings	Report from a City Hall on the Appeal to the European Capitals
J. Antelj	17.04.1999	Obeležena 55-godišnjica od bombardovanja na Uskrs	Commemorated 55 Years of the Easter Bombings in 1944	Report	Allied bombings	Report from a commemorative event
YEAR 2000						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
Petar Bosnić	06.04.2000.	Neizmireni dug otadžbine	Unpaid Debt of the Homeland	Open letter, critical text	Nazi bombings	Asking to give official honor to the pilots of the April War
A. A.	06.04.2000.	U predvečerje 6. aprila bombe su padale na Beograd	At Dusk, on April 6th, Bombs were Falling on Belgrade	retrospective text	Nazi bombings	Mentioning the last year's article on the Nazi bombings
A. A.	07.04.2000	Kobna noć za Aleksinac	Disastrous Night for Aleksinac	retrospective text	Nazi bombings	Mentioning the last year's article on the National Library bombings
G. Popović	07.04.2000	Knjiga vidarica od bombi	Book, the Healer of the Bombs	report	Nazi bombings	Report from a commemorative event in the Library
A. A.	17.04.2000	Ruska Duma izglasala rezoluciju o pristupanju SRJ Savezu Rusije i Belorusije.	Russian Duma Voted for a Resolution of Joining of Yugoslavia to the Union of Russia and Belorussia	retrospective text	Allied bombings	Mentioning last year commemoration of the Allied bombings
YEAR 2001						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
Radovan Kovačević	06.04.2001.	Dan kad je goreo Beograd	The Day When Belgrade Was Burning	Descriptive article	Nazi bombings	Narrative of the April War
Tanjug	06.04.2001.	"Borbeni avioni iznad hotela "Jugoslavija""	Fighter Planes Over the Hotel Yugoslavia	Announcement	Nazi bombings	Announcement of the commemorative event
M.G.	07.04.2001	Sećanje na heroje Aprilskog rata	Memory of the Heroes of the April War	report	Nazi bombings	Report from a commemorative event

R.K.	07.04.2001	Hitler i gašenje "balkanskog žarista"	Hitler and Extinguishing the "Balkan hotbed"	report	Nazi bombings	Report from a conference
Gordana Tomašević	07.04.2001	Iskopine spaljene Narodne biblioteke	Excavations from the Burnt National Library	Critical text	Nazi bombings	Critical text about the projects for the memorial of the bombed National Library
Budimir Potočan	07.04.2001 - 24.04.2001	Podvizi jugoslovenskih vazduhoplovaca u Aprilskom ratu	Achievements of the Yugoslavian Pilots in the April War	Descriptive article	Nazi bombings	In depth narrative of the April War from the eyes of the pilots defenders
YEAR 2002						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
/	06.04.2002.	Bombardovan Beograd	Belgrade bombed	Descriptive article	Nazi bombings	Short narrative
D. Telesković	07.04.2002.	U spomen postradalima	In the Memory of the Ones Who Lost Lives	report	Nazi bombings	Report from a commemorative event at six different locations
D.T., S.I.	07.04.2002.	Sećanje i opomena na bombardovanje	Memory and Warning of the Bombing	report	Nazi bombings	report from a commemorative concert in the National Library
Mirjana Kuburović	16.04.2002.	Bombe sa vaskršnjom čestitkom	Bombs with the Easter Greetings	Descriptive article	Allied bombings	Mythological narrative of the Allied bombings
/	16.04.2002.	Parastos žrtvama	Dirge to the Victims	Announcement	Allied bombings	Announcement of the commemorative event in church
Mirjana Kuburović	17.04.2002.	Istina kao putokaz	The Truth as a Sign-post	report	Allied bombings	report from the church dirge
YEAR 2003						
Author	Date	Original Title	Translated Title	Type of the Article	Bombings	Short Summary
Tanjug	06.04.2003.	Pomen žrtvama i braniocima	Commemoration to the Victims and the Defenders	Announcement	Nazi bombings	Announcement of the commemorative event
V.V.	07.04.2003.	Venci i cveće za poginule	Wreaths and Flowers for the Dead	report	Nazi bombings	Report from a commemorative event

Tanjug	07.04.2003.	Tri 6. Aprila Narodne Biblioteke	Three April 6s of the National Library	Descriptive article, a report	Nazi bombings	Story of National Library
Tanjug	16.04.2003.	Parastos žrtvama Saveznickog bombardovanja 1944	The dirge to the Victims of the Allied Bombings of 1944	Announcement	Allied bombings	Announcement of the commemorative event
Mirjana Kuburović	17.04.2003.	I Saveznici bombardovali srpske gradove	Serbian Cities also Bombed by the Allies	Descriptive article	Allied bombings	Narrative of the Allied bombings

Table 4: All of the gathered and analyzed articles in “Politika” from 1995 until 2003

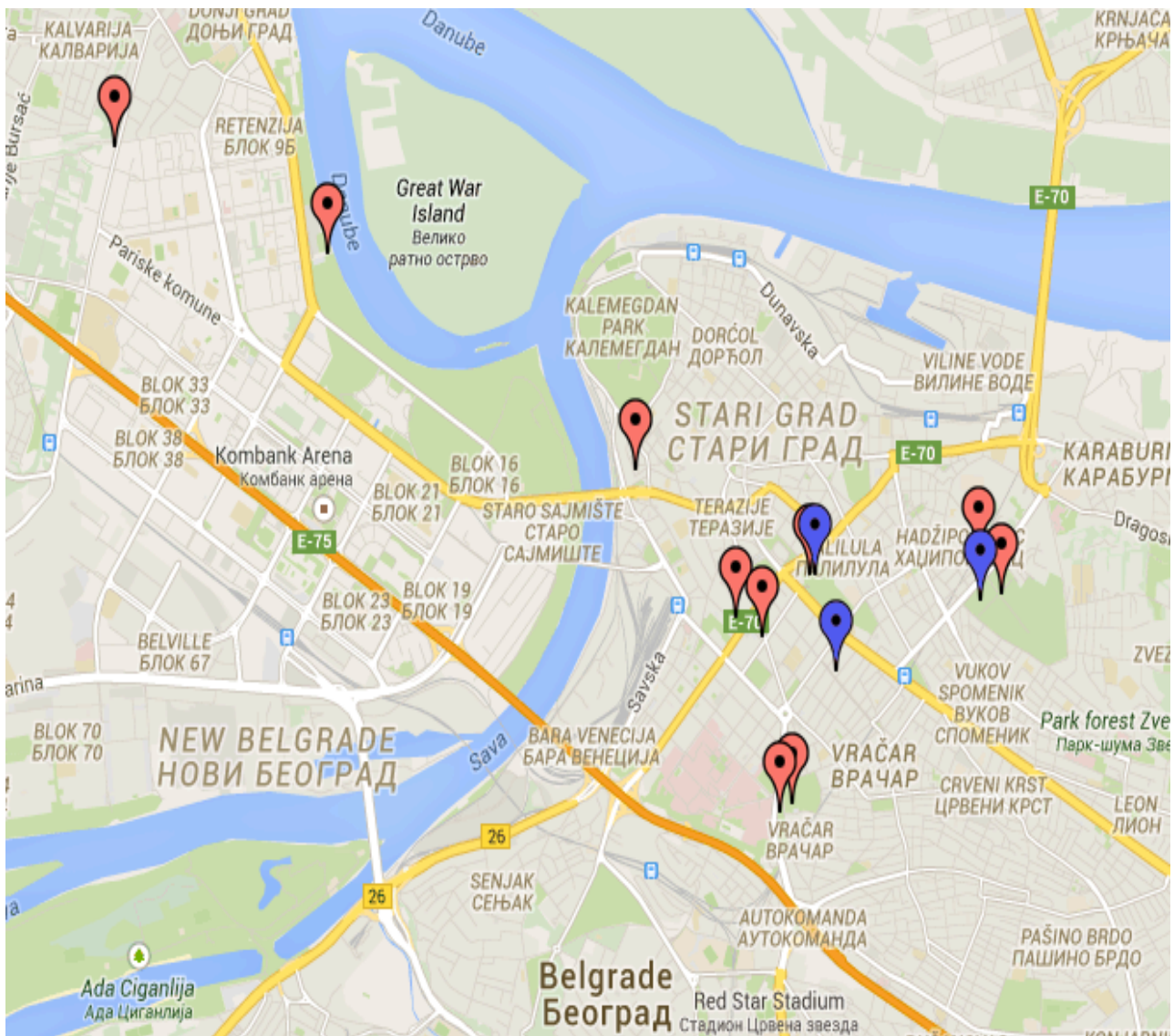


Figure 7 Map of Belgrade with indicated places of commemoration of both of the WWII Bombings: