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mands further alignment of fiscal policies and transfer of funds from core countries (northern Europe) of the EU to the periphery (southern Europe) in order to facilitate further convergence. Furthermore, Simitis explains the inability of the mentioned Troika to come up with more permanent solutions to the Greek debt crisis under political pressure from the different European member states. The European Council refused to provide debt relief in fear of losses for private banks that could potentially destabilise their own respective economies further than the global financial crisis already had. These are commonly held insights, but the focus on 'the Greek case' does make the policy-making and the relation between the EU institutions and national governments more tangible. As the book progresses, Simitis eventually showcases his vision for a more balanced EU framework.

Simitis was a third-way social democrat during the 1990s, however in this book he first and foremost presents himself as a European minded politician, as is evident from the scarceness of ideologically coloured statements. He understands the limits of EU policy-makers; however he has enough political insight to criticise the EU technocrats. The first memorandum, which the Troika and Greece signed on 7 May 2010, was 'a medicine with dangerous side effects' according to Simitis (53). It imposed austerity without lightening the burden of public debt, thereby aggravating the crisis in Greece as well as in the EU. The crisis spread to Portugal, Ireland, Spain, and Italy, only emphasising the need for a European solution. Simitis argues that 'despite the idiosyncratic qualities of the Greek problem, it did not constitute an isolated case' (73). Rather, it resulted from the more basic shortcomings of the EMU.

The first chapter of the final part of the book concludes the analysis of the Greek crisis, the second that of the European crisis. He synthesises his argument as: 'Greece triggered the crisis in the Eurozone, but was not the cause of it. [...] The cause is inherent in the fact that the Eurozone is a full monetary union but an imperfect economic and fiscal union [...] the mature economies of the European North differ significantly from the less mature economies of the South' (322). In the final chapter, Simitis shows his true colours. He denounces the constrictive technocratic vision of conservative Europeans who have dominated the European Council and Commission since the referenda in 2005, when France and the Netherlands rejected the adoption of the European constitution.

With this book, Simitis joins the call for 'escaping forwards', which means that the crisis should be used to advance 'economic governance' and 'political union' in the EU (338). The book is a consistent analysis of the Greek debt crisis and presents a progressive European perspective. A perspective that all too often seems to be lost amid the Euroscepticism and resulting conservatism surrounding the EU these days.

Geert Luteijn (Amsterdam)

Tanja Zimmermann, *Der Balkan zwischen Ost und West. Mediale Bilder und kulturpolitische Prägungen*, Köln et al.: Böhlau, 2014 (Osteuropa medial, 6). 504 pp., 120 ill., ISBN 978-3-412-22163-8, €59,90

Readers interested in the imaginary of the Balkans, as transmitted through the media, and in the reception of these in the Balkans themselves will find Tanja Zimmermann's book *Der Balkan zwischen Ost*

und West. Mediale Bilder und kulturpolitische Prägungen well suited. From the beginning, the author points out that 'one misses the inner and outer tension of the term "Balkan" if one understands it only as a projection, all the more as a purely Western projection' (1). In fact, as Zimmermann shows, beside Western images of the Balkans their Eastern counterparts have to be included analytically in order to present a complete picture. Zimmermann points out that previous studies dealing with the Balkan imaginary—'from Maria Todorova to Slavoj Žižek' (437)—have mostly failed to do this and have thus remained limited to Western projections onto this region. Zimmermann identifies her bilateral analysis as making an important difference. She includes Yugoslavia and several of its successor states in her study, as well as Greece, Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria, although the last three are taken up only in passing. The analysis covers the time period from the 19th to the beginning of the 21st century.

Upon presenting, in the introduction, the most important concepts pertaining to imaginaries and mental maps (not only of the Balkans), Zimmermann proceeds, in Chapter 2 ('Searched for Hellas—Found "Balkan". From Philhellenism to Orientalism'), to present the thesis that, ironically, it was the end of Ottoman rule in the region that made Greece to be no longer perceived as a part of 'Old Europe' but as a part of the Balkans. As she shows, Russian writers, including Aleksandr Puškin, Lev Tolstoj, and Ivan Turgenev, as well as the German historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, saw this perceptual shift as a debasement. The earlier enthusiasm for the Greek struggle of independence dissolved both in the West and the East, to be replaced by a derogatory, orientализing discourse. Zimmermann identifies the ideological issues underlying this: Fallmerayer feared that an

independent Greece could be included in panslavic projects. In the Russian Empire, on the other hand, it was precisely the perceived rejection, as the 'protecting power of Orthodoxy', that led to 'disenchantment with [Greece's] struggle for freedom' (47). In Chapter 3 ('Panslavism and Orientalism: the Formation of National Stereotypes'), Zimmermann raises the question of why the Balkanist discourse proved more powerful than panslavic ideas. Again looking at Russian writers she concludes, in a manner similar to the Greek topos, that 'Panslavism transformed with the rise of South Slav nation states in 1878—as was the case with the Philhellenism of the 1830s—into a Balkanist discourse' (96).

With this ground prepared, from Chapter 4 ('From Stereotype to Phantasm') onwards Zimmermann engages in showing how the stereotypes increasingly consolidate, yet later transform into phantasms, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Here, she focuses on various travelogues and other eyewitness accounts, for example of medical doctors. Moving on chronologically, Zimmermann then identifies the media reports on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the 1990s as the climax of thanatological phantasms regarding the Balkans. She detects the origins of this development as much earlier, for example in Sigmund Freud's anecdotes 'based on popular Austrian travel literature' (122), affirming that, despite intensive research on the founder of modern psychoanalysis, his stereotypical image of the Balkans remains a 'blind spot of the entire research on Freud' (122). Then she draws a convincing mental bridge between the Freudian stereotypizations and the ways in which current artists and writers, such as Slavoj Žižek and Tanja Ostojić, in their work consciously and often ironically make use of analogous stereotypical images.

From Chapter 5 ('Tito's "Third Way"'), the most extensive at 140 pages, the author limits her focus to Yugoslavia and several of its successor states. Upon the break between Tito's Yugoslavia and Stalin's Soviet Union in 1948, in the Soviet Union the Balkan discourse was revived, while in Yugoslavia the 'Asian-ization' of Russia became part of official doctrine. As in the previous chapters, Zimmermann presents various works of artists from the Balkans. However, her analysis of the media is limited by the fact that Soviet media reflected Soviet doctrine while Yugoslav media reflected Yugoslav doctrine. While this is explicable, as deviations from the official view were rarely published in the Soviet Union, and were at least as difficult to publish in Yugoslavia, this chapter still leaves a somewhat selective impression in bypassing the artistic discourse of the non-official media. Propaganda politics in Yugoslavia aimed at communicating independence from both East and West, and at finding a position between its communist ideals and the 'touristic projections of Yugoslavia's capitalist neighbours' (280). Moreover, there was considerable effort to overcome the 'national [...] with folklore' (268). As a result, Zimmermann argues, 'Yugoslavia was suited [...] as a blank sheet for both East and West European projections with their different civilizational missions' (289).

The last two chapters ('The Revival of Myths: Politics of Remembrance' and 'Thanatological Phantasms of the Balkan Wars') deal with the imagery surrounding the Yugoslav wars of dissolution in the 1990s. While Zimmermann makes clear that in the Western discourse the 'persistence of mythical historical narratives' (295) was seen as one of the reasons for the erupting violence, she then focuses on the role of myths in Serbian nationalism, without legitimizing this selective choice.

She focuses on the Kosovo battle of 1389 and its remembrance, including an analysis of how this myth, as well as others, was integrated and ironically reflected upon in the work of the Serbian performance artist Marina Abramović. Zimmermann convincingly shows that, in 1915, the Kosovo myth had been 'a myth of synthesis and not of disintegration' (328). Another unexpected result of her analysis is that 'Europe, and especially Britain, did their bit to intensify and internationalize the mythification of the Kosovo battle' (328).

In the final chapter, Zimmermann turns to the media in the Bosnian war of 1992–1995, arguing that these failed completely because they 'departed from their documentary assignment and instead lost themselves in thanatological phantasms' (361). Her criticism amounts to the reproach that the victims of the Bosnian war 'were reduced to bodiless copies that could be reproduced and commented on randomly' (392). She shows how certain photographs became iconic during the war, how they were produced and received, reproduced, and decontextualized. To be sure, her argument, that 'media and arts in exceptional circumstances are not able to report about the exception as such' (414), is convincing. But still I wonder if the Bosnian case is not just one example among many others.

The book includes a great number of quotations from the work of writers, journalists, and academics, and is also rich in illustrations taken from the fine arts, photography, propaganda posters, and screenshots of films. On the one hand, this gives the reader a very vivid flow in reading and pursuing the author's argument; on the other hand, these multiply explicit sources enable the reader to draw their own conclusions, to think further, and, maybe, to come to a different assessment. As an art historian and literary scholar, Zimmer-

mann manages to combine her expertise from two disciplines into an impressively broad contextualization. A little less convincing is her sensitivity regarding terminology. She often simply copies the modes of expression of her sources, for example when discussing the role of the Ottoman Empire. She uses 'Turk', 'Turkish yoke', 'Russian-Turkish War' (82, 295, 413, etc.) without marking these terms as non-exact. Perhaps most crucially, she herself falls into one of the bleakest traps of Balkanization when she labels the Yugoslav wars of dissolution as 'Balkan wars', even in a chapter heading (see above).

However, these are among the few items of criticism to be put forth in reviewing this very interesting book. Zimmermann succeeds not only in integrating Western and Eastern imaginaries of the Balkans but also shows how these projections have influenced people and politics, not least in the Balkans themselves. She has analysed and decoded an impressive amount of literature and artistic work, and empirically shows how national identities were constructed also as a response to projections from outside. Last but not least, she establishes the mental ties between (stereotypical) images of the Balkans between the 19th and the 21st centuries. The book thus is highly recommended.

Johanna Fiedler (Graz)

Martin Upchurch / Darko Marinković,
Workers and Revolution in Serbia.
From Tito to Milošević, Manchester:
 Manchester University Press, 2013,
 160 pp., ISBN 978-071-908-508-6, £65.00

Manchester University Press places this book within the generic BIC standard subject categories of 'Political Science / Gen-

eral, Society & Social Sciences', and in the more specific one 'Revolutionary Groups & Movements'. The 'revolution' referred to is the overthrow of Slobodan Milošević's regime in Serbia in October 2000, and the 'movement' behind it one consisting of 'the workers'. In assessing these workers' role in Yugoslavia's / Serbia's late socialist period and the subsequent transition, the authors take the reader chronologically from 'The Tito Years' (Chapter Two) to an assessment of 'Serbia's New Period of Crisis' (Chapter Six)—the crisis experienced during the time of the global economic downturn between 2008 and 2010)—, covering on the way 'Serbia in the World Economy' (Chapter Three), 'Neoliberalism imposed' (Chapter Four), and 'The Workers' Movement' (Chapter Five).

The overthrow of Milošević's regime in October 2000 was indeed a revolutionary event, and the core movement *Otpor!* (Resistance!) inspired the countries that embarked on the 'Arab Spring'. The authors argue that Serbian workers were 'the most crucial element of the revolution's success' (4). Yet, ten years later, 'things have got worse not better for the majority of ordinary people' (3). The flaw in the 'revolution' seems to have been a failure in aspiration: rather than 'return to the classical socialism of Marx' (9), it sought to embrace 'a turn to the West and its "values" of liberal democracy and prosperity through the market economy' (9).

To my mind, the book provides a vivid lesson in how important it is to pay attention to changes in semantic concepts. The authors struggle with the diachronical dimensions of their terms—the political 'left' and 'right', 'revolution', 'social movement', 'protest', 'class'. They try to apply a semi-Marxist vocabulary in a context where it does not really seem helpful in any explanatory sense. Not least, the reader is left to