

Prime Time Nationalism | The Role of Television Broadcasts/Archives in the Aftermath of the Yugoslav Wars

A conference and workshop organized by the Donald and Vera Blinken Open Society Archives (OSA) at Central European University (CEU) with support from CEU Conferences and Academic Events Fund (CAEF)

May 13-14, 2016 | Budapest

The manipulative role of state television during both the outbreak and duration of the Yugoslav wars has been widely explored in academia and acknowledged in numerous cases before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). In the hands of political leaders, who understood the influence and importance of propaganda, wartime television set the national agenda and framed the events, strengthened own identity while creating the image of and instigating against an enemy, silenced dissenting voices and masked own crimes committed during the conflict. Instead of being a powerful tool serving the public, it served the political powers of the establishment.



The role of television broadcasts in the years immediately succeeding the Dayton Agreement deserve a careful examination and in this context, OSA now invites participants to a conference and workshop to assess its media monitoring collection, which includes state television broadcasts from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and FR Yugoslavia from 1996 to 1999, and some Serbian independent television programs from 1993 to 1996. With the help of media studies professionals, social and cultural anthropologists, historians, sociologists, archivists, and visual artists, as well as graduate students across CEU, we will discuss how television influenced and shaped the postwar national identity, recovery and development of the signatory states, as well as the lasting effect on their contemporary evolution in the light of a regional reconciliation. Simultaneously, we will seek to understand and offer up new meanings to the broadcast archives by examining OSA's recently introduced, self-reflexive (re)archiving method and the problems it brought up.

The workshop aims at finding new and innovative ways of using the broadcast archives in historical and political science research, education and arts. During the half-day, interactive group-work, we will strive to come up with concrete, implementable project proposals that can be realized by participants upon their returning home. We will publish and follow up on the project proposals online.

Agenda

Friday | May 13, 2016

12:00 – 13:00 Registration of participants | Buffet lunch

13:00 – 13:15 Opening remarks by the

Yugoslavia Archive Project (YAP) team | **Katarina Kosmina** (MA International Relations, CEU), **Ana Čuković** (MA Nationalism Studies, CEU), **Nikola Kosović** (MA Political Science, CEU), **Perica Jovchevski** (MA Philosophy, CEU), **Csaba Szilágyi** (Project leader, Blinken OSA)

13:15 – 14:45 **Television broadcasts as a historical and social science research source**

Ildikó Erdei (Associate Professor, Belgrade University, Serbia) | Ethnography of TV communication: what we have learnt from the nineties experience

Sabina Mihelj (Professor, Loughborough University, UK) | Approaches to television and nationalism: cross-country comparison, longitudinal analysis, popular culture and audience research

Amer Džihana (Executive Director, Media Watchdog Platform, Bosnia and Herzegovina) | The importance of researching TV programs in the ex-YU region

Isidora Ilić (Video artist and writer, Serbia) | In search of the repressed images

Chair: **Oksana Sarkisova** (Research Fellow, Blinken OSA, CEU)

14:45 – 15:15 Coffee break

15:15 – 16:45 **Archiving, (re)using and ‘performing’ the archives of television broadcasts**

Ivica Đorđević (Author and editor, Media Archaeology Group, Serbia) | Media Archaeology

Mila Turajlić (Documentary filmmaker, Serbia) | History on trial: the role of TV documentary series in post-Yugoslav memory wars

Šejla Kamerić (Artist, Bosnia and Herzegovina) | Ab uno disce omnes

Iva Kontić (Artist and curator, Serbia, Italy) | Mechanical dream catching in dormitory, 25 May & I whistle, you whistle, we whistle: reenactment of collective flashbacks

Chair: **Csaba Szilágyi** (Project leader, Blinken OSA)

16:45 – 17:00 Coffee break

17:00 – 18:00 Film screening | Discussion

Room without a view: inside the processing of former Yugoslav television broadcasts | A film produced by the YAP team

Saturday | May 14, 2016

9:00 – 10:30 **(Re)producing narratives of identity and victimhood, and memory**

Novak Vučo (Assistant Prosecutor, Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor, Serbia) | Reporting after the arrest of the first ICTY indictees and at the beginning of the armed conflict in Kosovo in 1998 and early 1999

Katarina Ristić (Research Associate, Helmut Schmidt University, Germany) | War crime trials and nationalism in the Balkans

Hariz Halilovich (Associate Professor, RMIT University, Australia) | Reimaging and reimagining the war: the role of visual records in constructing memory and identity in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina

Elissa Helms (Associate Professor, CEU) | Gendered nationalism and narratives of victimhood after the Bosnian war

Chair: **Nenad Dimitrijević** (Professor, CEU)

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee break

11:00 – 12:30 **The lasting effects of television propaganda on national discourses and reconciliation**

Nidžara Ahmetasević (Journalist and independent scholar, Bosnia and Herzegovina) | Speaking the language of hate

Sven Milekić (Journalist, Balkan Investigative Report Network, Croatia) | Broadcasting petrified Croatian national narratives

Lazar Lalić (Journalist and film producer, ARHITEL, Serbia) | Consequences of media abuse

Chair: **Endre Bojtár B.** (Editor-in-chief, Magyar Narancs [Hungarian Orange])

12:30 – 14:00 Buffet lunch | Guided tour of OSA

14:00 – 15:30 Workshop | Part I

15:30 – 16:00 Coffee break

16:00 – 17:30 Workshop | Part II

Workshop

The conference will conclude with a moderated workshop in which we will try to answer the following question: How can media scholars, archivists, artists, journalists and researchers working on the former Yugoslavia use/reuse OSA's television broadcast archives?

The intention of the workshop is also to inform the public about the availability of these invaluable broadcast archives and about various forms of its potential use. Therefore, with the consent of the authors, the proposals discussed and presented during the workshops will be published online.

Working in several groups, conference participants and guests invited specifically for the workshop will discuss the relevance and practical significance for researchers and the general public of the reusing of OSA's television monitoring material. The expected outcome would be the development of concrete, feasible projects ranging from incorporating the collection into course syllabi, digital learning tools, educational films, artistic projects and empirical research. Ideas and comments on how to continue the archiving process will also be much appreciated.

In order for all participants to come prepared to the workshop, OSA will send out in advance a more detailed description of the previous archiving work and digital samples from the collections.

Collection information

OSA has over 26,000 records pertaining to the post-WW II history of (the former) Yugoslavia. Audiovisual materials make up 36% and there 2,100 analog videotapes that contain television broadcasts (mostly, but not exclusively news programs) from seven television stations from [Bosnia and Herzegovina](#) (Radio Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina [TV BiH], Serbian Radio Television [SRT], and independent stations Studio 99 and Hayat), [Croatia](#) (Croatian Radio Television [HRT]) and Serbia (Radio Television of Serbia [RTS], and Studio B's [Weekly Independent News](#)) from 1993 to 1999. Around 20% of these tapes have to date been described in-depth, although still not digitized.

About the film

The documentary film entitled *Room without a view: inside the processing of former Yugoslav television broadcasts* is an experimental video documentation of the ongoing (re)archiving project. It is also a unique research guide to OSA's former Yugoslav television broadcast collection. It offers an insight into this newly introduced, alternative, self-reflexing and transparent cataloging method, which aims at revealing epistemic questions and methodological dilemmas emerging during the work, as well as relevant curatorial answers and decisions resulting from the contemplations of the project staff members. Using archival footage from the collection to illustrate some of the cataloging issues, cutaway shots on a contemporary archival environment and innovatively edited interviews, the film reflects the internal pace, the fragmented, often disrupted and deliberative-iterative nature of the project.



Conference sections

Television broadcasts as a historical and social science research source | May 13, 13:15–14:45

This section will look at using television broadcasts of the former Yugoslav republics as primary source materials in historical and social science research. With due criticism, we will assess their reliability and worthiness, completeness, biases, gaps and 'silences' in conveying the image of distant historical events to the contemporary viewer. We will also attempt to offer ways of distinguishing between historical facts, manipulation and propaganda, and examine the causes and consequences of visually presenting information in different ways. What are the advantages and disadvantages of using audio-visual materials in history and social science? What are the potentials of television monitoring in explaining political and social phenomena from a significant temporal distance? What kind of insights into the complex and quickly changing environment of the mid-1990s are obtained by observing events merely through the lens of mainstream broadcast media?



Ildikó Erdei | Ethnography of TV communication: what we have learnt from the nineties experience

Conflicts with television – both with the institution itself and its programming – marked the battles for democratization in Serbia during the nineties. After the first large protest organized by the political opposition in front of the state TV building in March 1991, it became clear that television was a vehicle of political power and would be defended by all means. It was named the “TV Bastille”, and survived as the project of “defining the day” for Milošević’s regime until the end of the decade. The final phase of Milošević’s demise and the triumph of the Serbian people’s electoral will in October 2000, also included the TV, only this time the “TV Bastille” was overtaken by the people and symbolically “demolished” by a man nicknamed Joe the Bulldozer (Džo bagerista). Between these two events and points in time, a dynamic field of various public spheres emerged, all of them defined to some extent by their relation to the “TV-reality” – provoking it, denying it, challenging it, answering to it, or presenting an altogether different interpretation of the events. As a result, television took on ritual properties and offered a hegemonic interpretation in accord with actual political goals of the ruling elite. On the other side, different political, social, and cultural groups took off to the streets, created alternative political events/rituals and used them as means of communication, opposed, though closely connected to the work of television. In order to understand the complex web of events, actors, relations, connections and the ways meanings are produced, circulated and appropriated, the ethnography of communication perspective has been proved as highly useful.

Sabina Mihelj | Approaches to television and nationalism: Cross-country comparison, longitudinal analysis, popular culture and audience research

This presentation will draw on the experience gained in the context of three different research projects conducted over the course of 15 years, all partly relying on television broadcasts from the former Yugoslavia and its successor states. The first project examined the changing media discourses of nation and migration by focusing on selected case studies of the media coverage of migration in Slovenia between 1990 and 2001. By using a comparative analysis of television broadcasts in Slovenia and Serbia, the second project studied the reframing of national belonging during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. The third, ongoing project investigates the trajectories of television cultures in five communist states, including Yugoslavia, paying particular attention to popular entertainment genres and audience perspectives. Reflecting on the main conclusions reached and the theoretical and methodological frameworks used in these projects, the presentation will discuss fruitful approaches to the study of television and nationalism: cross-country comparison, longitudinal analysis, the analysis of popular genres, and the inclusion of audience research and so-called ‘para-texts’. In addition, particular attention will be given to the challenges faced in the process of research, including accessibility, case selection, and contextualization.

Amer Džihana | The importance of researching TV programs in the ex-YU region

Starting from the premise that comprehending the present is incomplete without understanding of the past, this presentation will point to the importance of archival audiovisual research for policy analysis and debates, as well as for deconstructing broader social relations. Focus on media messages allows the researcher to make different judgments between the attitudes of journalists and editors and media messages, as well as the nature of mediated realities. Singular approach and results deriving from television monitoring are rarely sufficient to explain political and social phenomena. Therefore, a study of media content is often the starting point followed by a more complex social research explaining either effects of the media on society or vice versa. This presentation will demonstrate the importance of authentic audiovisual materials and their research as ways to create a better-informed regional public debates which have been filled with propaganda messages in the recent decades.

Isidora Ilić (Video artist and writer, Serbia) | In search of the repressed images

This presentation focuses on *Fragments Untitled*, an ongoing art-and-research project by artist duo called, Doplgenger. Doplgenger has been working on *Fragments Untitled* since 2011, which is a series of works in various formats such as videos, installations, lecture-performances, and texts. The politics of media images that participated the creation of the historical narratives of Yugoslavia during 1980-2000, are explored. The project addresses our collective and personal memories concerning the last decades of Yugoslav history, mainly constructed through TV images; while simultaneously pointing to the concept of media machinery and the manipulation it undertook. Interested in confronting the process of remembering, according to which something remains forgotten, Doplgenger relies on Agamben’s concept of “the unforgettable” in developing the project’s methodology. What is it that we remember and why do we remember it, and what is (un)forgotten? *Fragments Untitled* re-performs the context and environment of media content, but now stresses what has previously been made invisible and repressed and that has in the media flux become marginalized and regarded as ephemeral. Appropriated, analyzed and deconstructed today, these sets of images and sounds are juxtaposed and actualized.

“The archivization produces as much as it records the event.” (Derrida)

This section deals with methodological problems that arise in the current archiving of television broadcasts and the contemporary reuse of such archives, specifically in the context of artistic performances. Notwithstanding the development of contemporary, technologically infused, (counter)archiving methodologies and practices, epistemic and hermeneutic difficulties connected to the description of archival material reemerge in new shapes during the creation of television broadcast archives. They question classical archival standards and call for a reevaluation of curatorial approaches and decisions. To what extent is an archival description of a television broadcast an objective representation of the recorded material? Should the personal beliefs and prejudices or the cultural-educational background of the curator inform the process of archiving? Does the archivist only preserve these sources for the study of the past through the descriptive practice? In which sense can archiving be a performative activity? How do informed descriptions shape the investigation of the archive by its users? How television broadcast archives can be creatively used in artistic-performative contexts and projects, especially in those dealing with historical memory, war, or national identity?



Ivica Đorđević | Media Archaeology

For the past couple of decades, we have been witnessing something that can be called “archive fever”. New digital technology enables mass storage of data and the internet enables easy access to them. Archives and databases are multiplying, as well as different tools for browsing and searching. Moreover, this archive fever is not limited only to the expected official institutions, but it has spread to include a huge number of self-organized artistic, cultural, and activist archiving projects. Nevertheless, we are not quite sure of the exact purpose for such pools of information, documents, images, texts etc. Recording and storing is not at all an innocent and self-evident activity as it may seem at a first glance. The very fact that those activities seem quite ordinary tells us that the making of archives is something that represents part of our social actuality. Archiving activity and archives are always deeply interwoven with power and politics. The project *Media Archaeology* was started by a group of people in the “Student’s City” Cultural Center in 2006. Initially it had nothing to do with aforementioned sophistries of media archeology, since it stemmed out of a purely contingent interest to “dig” into different, mainly private and amateur VHS archives. Browsing through the old advertising clips proved to be much more than amusing and funny, since they revealed the persistent undercurrent of a consumerist society that was already growing strong even in socialist Yugoslavia in the 1970s. All in all, the practice of *Media Archaeology* proved to be a critical one and exceptionally important for the young people attending it, since it countered the longstanding media tradition in Serbia.

Mila Turajlić | History on trial: the role of TV documentary series in post-Yugoslav memory wars

This presentation looks at the continued ‘truth claims’ of the archival image as used in the quest by filmmakers for establishing a “real and complete picture” of President Tito’s legacy and the socialist period of Yugoslav history. As various authors across the former Yugoslav republics vie to pass the historical verdict on Tito’s political legacy, conflict has emerged between rival claims on ‘historical truth’. These processes illuminate Stephen Greenblatt’s distinction between doctrinal formalism and the historical narrative, and the continued way these narratives manifest the doctrinal design. The particular focus of the paper is the professed perception of the validity of the archival material used by these filmmakers, which is essentially a positivist view treating the image as a source of evidence, in contrast to anthropological approaches that see archival images as “vectors of thought”.

Šejla Kamerić | Ab uno disce omnes

The work *Ab uno disce omnes* (commissioned by the *Wellcome Collection* as part of the exhibition *Forensics: The anatomy of crime*) centers on Kamerić’s acute interest in forensic medicine’s integral role in Bosnian society in the wake of the 1992–95 war and addresses the brutal legacy of an all too recent past.

Attesting to the absence of countless family members across the region and the painstaking forensic process of recovering and identifying massacre victims, *Ab uno disce omnes* seeks to reconcile the cultural, political and historical void between the proliferation of statistical information and the enduring human consequences of war. The project began as an academic, data-gathering mission; a meticulous process much like the methodology of medical research, where information is comprehensively collected, cross-checked, analyzed, and systematically categorized. With each new contribution, the process grew in complexity,

raising important questions regarding the nature of information that has been filtered through bureaucratic barriers and how it is subsequently perceived when juxtaposed with other sets of documents and images from a diverse range of sources, ultimately asking: What are the consequences of imposing a single viewpoint onto an assemblage of interconnected information? Taking the form of a vast repository of data stored on a continually evolving open server database, Kamerić has amassed an extraordinary accumulation of individual cases, photographs, film footage, legal documents, forensic reports and activity, testimony transcripts, and press coverage, as well as video clips filmed by the artist in field research processes. This constantly expanding archive exists both as a multimedia installation and an ongoing web project – a living memorial in the form of data.

Iva Kantić | Mechanical dream catching in dormitory, 25 May & I whistle, you whistle, we whistle: reenactment of collective flashbacks

In my work, I explore ideas related to the geo-historical context of the country I come from. The context which is hard to define since it changed from the Yugoslavia—where I was born—, reduced to Yugoslavia as a consequence of Yugoslav wars—which I left—and then was subsequently renamed Serbia and Montenegro, becoming the current Serbia. A chapter from an anthropology book dealing with ethnic, national, and racial identities in relation to the contemporary geopolitics, addresses the unique phenomena of confused identity experienced by the people from the former Yugoslavia. It argued that a big portion of the population has been stripped of the ownership of their country and left to choose between several new states which cannot offer a unified idea of belonging, in terms of their citizenship, nationality, residence, or religion. They've become emigrants without even leaving their houses. My own feeling of being a foreigner has become more entangled as I moved abroad in the early 2000s, making me a “classical” migrant - one of many in today's globalizing, post-Cold War, post-colonial social landscape, yet not really fitting into either of those major contemporary narratives.

I had to deal with various aspects of that non-existing “country of mine”, entangled by the shifts of historical, social, and political frames impacting the individual mindset and psychological space. The language of performance and the archive material has become a perfect means to bond this deep personal attachment with anthropology, politics, social engagement, collective vs. individual memory, public vs. personal space, etc. I use physical gesture as an instrument for the reenactment of historical narratives, ideas and ideals, thus becoming ironic by the process of de-contextualization. Yet, it is inevitably a self-ironic act, since in the performing of archives, my body is a medium that becomes instrumentalized, exploited by the very subject of its reenactment.

(Re)producing narratives of identity and victimhood, and memory | May 14, 9:00–10:30

This section investigates how postwar television broadcasts influenced the (re)framing and (re)constructing narratives of national and ethnic identity and memory. We will discuss the formation and interpretation of self-identity and the image of the other through mainstream national televisions, and how narratives of victims and perpetrators, defenders and aggressors, and the bipolar images of “us” and “them” were presented to the viewers. We will also examine how collective and individual stories of war experiences are featured vis-à-vis the official state politics. What are the ways by which a researcher can discern between propaganda and information in studying collective narratives? How can we measure, quantitatively or qualitatively, the extent of influence television holds in shaping post-war narratives? How has the coupling of (identity) politics and media hindered the development of independent media in the former Yugoslavia and consequently, an alternative to the mainstream narrative?



Novak Vučo | Reporting after the arrest of the first ICTY indictees and at the beginning of the armed conflict in Kosovo in 1998 and early 1999

The first part of the presentation will follow TV reporting related to the arrest of the first ICTY indictees who were arrested mostly by international peacekeeping forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1996 and 1998. Those persons were mostly middle ranking perpetrators such as Milan Kovačević, who was in charge for prison camps in the town of Prijedor, Bosnia and Herzegovina; Slavko Dokmanović, who was a Serb war-mayor of Vukovar; and Simo Drljača, who was camp commander in Prijedor. Special attention of media was focused on the facts that Simo Drljača was killed during the arrest and that Slavko Dokmanović committed suicide in the United Nations Detention Unit prison cell in The Hague. The resulting narratives reproduced a victimhood identity entirely focused on a ‘sad destiny’ and not on the serious allegations that they were charged with.

The second part of the presentation will focus on media reporting related to the initial stage of armed conflict in Kosovo between the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's Army and the Serbian police on one side, and Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (“KLA”)

on the other. The first stage of conflict erupted in February 1998, escalated in the summer of the same year, and then ended in March of 1999, when NATO forces launched the bombing campaign that practically introduced the second stage of the conflict that finally ended in June 1999. Due to the constant threat of NATO air strikes, war propaganda in the aforementioned period was much more lenient than in the second stage of the Kosovo armed conflict, but it was, from time to time, fierce and widely used for boosting up the fighting moral among the general population.

Katarina Ristić | War crime trials and nationalism in the Balkans

This paper examines the intersection of memory and war crime trials in former Yugoslavia by analyzing the public portrayal of six ICTY cases in Serbian TV, focusing on presentation of crimes, victims and alleged perpetrators. It draws on the literature of the constructivist notion of nationalism and the role of media and multimodal discourse analysis asking how multiple semiotic resources contribute to the establishment of meaning. Specific visual and language strategies employed by media in the production of meaning, indicate congruence between nationalism and presentation of war crimes trials, whereby all three monitored TV stations (PINK, RTS and B92) tend to reproduce the narrative of Serbian victimhood while relativizing or even normalizing Serbian perpetrators. Rejection of ICTY perpetrators' narrative is most obvious in visual annihilation of victims in media coverage of trials to high ranking officials (Milutinović et al, Perišić and Stanišić/Simatović cases). On the other hand, presentation of trials to non-Serbs (Orić, Gotovina and Haradinaj cases) is filled with footage of victims, inviting the audience to feel compassion and empathy. The division between "them" and "us", produced in nationalist discourse is further objectified in language strategies when dealing with crimes: while crimes committed by Serbian forces are described in legal, abstract and general terms, crimes committed against Serbs are specific, with detailed description of sufferings and individual injuries. The fact that Serbian victimhood is perpetuated by these war crimes trials, points out the ability of the media to select, weigh, and frame events in accordance to ideological assumptions, while obscuring the judgments, evidence and victims' testimonies from the trial.

Hariz Halilovich | Reimagining and reimagining the war: the role of visual records in constructing memory and identity in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina

This paper discusses the interplay between the visual representations of the 1992-95 Bosnian war and the personal and collective memories and narratives of the tragic events taking place across the country at that time. It looks at how memories and narratives are constructed from both directions—from above, through TV broadcasts, and from below, through creation of personal visual records. It focuses on the affective relationship between the visual recordings and the ordinary people who were both protagonists and spectators of the events that profoundly impacted their personal and collective identities.

As widely recognized, TV and other visual media provided a continuous coverage of the Bosnian war, making it one of the most extensively filmed conflicts thus far. The TV imagery created a 'meta reality' of the war not only for the outsiders, but also for the actual protagonists: real events becoming 'more real' as they were documented and broadcast. Parallel to what was officially recorded and reported by local and international professional journalists, ordinary people were creating their own visual records about their life in the war. Filmed on VHS home cameras, they became a widely popular mode of creating and communicating 'war video postcards'. In addition to the personal and sentimental value, these superseded visual media constitute valuable resources about the affective dimension of the 'everyday war' of ordinary people between 1992 and 1995. The personal VHS tapes are especially important for learning about life in besieged towns such as Srebrenica and Žepa, where hardly any TV crews ventured during the four years of conflict. Notwithstanding the technical and ethical challenges involved in obtaining and examining these visual records, for researchers they represent a unique source of documenting the life, pain, longing, and hope of the people in the two safe areas – before they were erased in the 1995 genocide.

Elissa Helms | Gendered nationalism and narratives of victimhood after the Bosnian war

In my presentation, I will discuss the symbolics of gendered victimhood images among Bosniaks and Bosnians (those who support a multi-ethnic unified state). Like most nationalisms, the main narratives of national collectivity coming out of the Bosnian war were based on gendered distinctions of active roles and passive victimhood. This is true as much of nationalist narratives of victimized groups as of those in whose name conservative, xenophobic nationalisms fueled war violence. Perhaps the most ubiquitous has been that of Srebrenica widows and mothers. Slightly more complicated are women survivors of wartime sexual violence, followed by the least discussed category: male victims of sexual violence. What explains the politics of these categories and how they fit into wider notions of Bosniak and Bosnian nationalism is the heteropatriarchal logic upon which dominant notions of both nations and war events are built. Yet a feminist critique that might challenge these frameworks has been difficult to articulate, precisely because of the sensitivity and power of overarching national narratives of victimhood stemming from the war. I base my discussion and analysis on extended ethnographic research among women activists in the Bosniak-majority parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina since just after the end of the war. I observed a variety of approaches towards gender equality and women's roles in society, but the connection between gender and ethno-national identities was the most difficult for local activists to unpack.

The lasting effects of television propaganda on national discourses and reconciliation | May 14, 11:00–12:30

This section brings postwar television broadcasts into the present day to uncover their lasting, direct and indirect impact on the current situation and events in the former Yugoslav republics, with special focus on reconciliation in and stabilization of the region. We will look at recurring patterns of propaganda and the vilification of the other in reporting on, and publicly discussing and assessing the events of the recent past in relation to the present. At the same time, we would like to also explore ways in which inclusive cooperation between the various state televisions could bring about positive changes in the future. To what extent has the reproduction of the 'other' influenced the collective amnesia of the prewar, Yugoslav identity? What are the characteristics of currently prevailing national discourses on the recent wars and how do they compare to those featured in postwar Yugoslav television? What are the effects of the mid-1990s television propaganda on contemporary relations between the former Yugoslav republics? How has the biased media and television content contributed to the outcomes of the regional repatriation and reconciliation processes?



Nidžara Ahmetasević | Speaking the language of hate

This presentation will give a short overview of how hate propaganda is qualified in Karadžić judgment. Furthermore, it will provide current examples demonstrating how the language of hate is still alive and equally damaging in post-war society. For years, hate speech was the predominant language in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was created in the offices of ethno-nationalist politicians and transmitted to the broader audience through media, public events, and school books, thus becoming part of the everyday use. Hate propaganda has its roots in ideas developed by Slobodan Milošević's regime, but was easily transferred throughout Bosnia during the war, having its methods accepted by all warring sides. More than two decades after the war, we are still fighting with the language of hate. Since the Karadžić verdict, for the first time, we have a decision that condemns hate speech propaganda and points to its effects. Unfortunately, this one like other judgments made by the war crimes courts, are hardly read by all people, and the media focuses only on how many years a certain person gets as punished for crimes committed.

Sven Milekić | Broadcasting petrified Croatian national narratives

After the Yugoslav wars, Croatian Radio-Television (HRT) reduced the uncritical and biased reporting, initially utilized as state propaganda and raising the Croatia's fighting spirit, and shifted to a bit more professional approach, but never reshaped its staff nor departed from the nationalistic narrative. During the time of President Franjo Tuđman, HRT was under direct political control, consequently systematically and untruthfully reporting on post-war process of pluralistic democratization, reconciliation, and prosecution of war criminals. The role of HRT's reporting was especially important in forming the public image and supporting the nationalist narrative during the broadcasting of International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY), by focusing on processes where prosecution targeted Serbian suspects, while underplaying activities targeted against Croatian suspects. This culminated in 2011 when Croatian generals, Ante Gotovina and Mladen Markac, received convicting first degree sentences. At this time, HRT placed itself completely as the keeper of the Croatian national myth whereby the state's role was purely defensive, with the war crimes being solely procured by individual, excessive, self-defense tactics. In following state politics, HRT did not open the discussion relating to the 1990s war, whether as offensive or defensive; civil or international. Otherwise, it would have shattered the idealistic national narrative of Croatia's purely defensive war in which it defeated foreign occupiers, triumphing with a brilliant military victory in the Operation Storm in 1995. Along with that narrative, came the role of Serbia and the emergence of Croatian Serbs as 'others', following lines of official state politics, underplaying evident victims, such as the Serb civilians in the Operation Storm. Thus, this presentation will argue that HRT was used to petrify national narratives and freeze existing national/ethnic conflicts throughout post-war period.

Lazar Lalić | Consequences of media abuse

The current programs and content appearing on TV screens bear the inevitable markings of postwar transition, which may also be called its consequences. These consequences are perhaps lasting ones, but are not, or at least should not be, everlasting. They certainly are still present in TV programming and should be explained, rather than suppressed. Notably, the current media representation of those consequences must not be the only compass towards the future. Certain other questions impose themselves: How far have we managed to remove ourselves from the horrific period behind us? How cold-headed should we be when trying to make sense of it (to pass sentence about it)? How capable are we of considering some new directions for the future, of coexisting in the Balkans, and of presenting it all in words and images? Throughout this presentation I will attempt to pose some additional questions and provide some answers. What is the collaboration (communication) like in the region and what should be done to improve it? What is the importance of archives in the aforementioned process? Furthermore, I will focus on the current

state of Serbia and the region with regard to media content and collaboration between media professionals and their contribution to the reconciliation and stabilization of former Yugoslav republics, along with dangers that lurk ahead.

Speaker biographies

Nidžara Ahmetašević, journalist and independent scholar, received her PhD from the University of Graz, Austria. Her fields of interest include democratization and media development in post conflict societies, transitional justice, the process of facing the past, media and political propaganda, and human rights. She has been awarded the AHDA Columbia University Fellowship, Chevening Scholarship, and Ron Brown Fellowship for Young Professionals, as well as UNICEF Keizo Obuchi Award. Nidžara has a long career as a journalist working for various local, regional, and international media on human rights, war crimes, and international affairs. Her work has been published in *The New Yorker*, *Al Jazeera English online*, *The Observer*, *The Independent on Sunday*, *the International Justice Tribune*, *Balkan Insight*, etc. She has been given many awards in Bosnia and internationally for her work. In 2013, together with two colleagues, she established the Open University Sarajevo, a platform for public discussions, social, artistic and political alternatives, and informal education. |

Amer Džihana is Executive Director at Media Watchdog Platform (Analiziraj.ba) He worked for Internews in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2010-2015) and Mediacentar Sarajevo (2005-2010). He was a Visiting Research Fellow at CEU's Center for Media and Communication Studies (2009-2010). He holds a PhD degree in journalism from the University of Sarajevo and an MA in Public Policy from Central European University. Amer is the co-editor of *Media Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Internews, 2012), with Mehmed Halilović, and *Media and National Ideologies: Analysis of reporting on war crime trials in the former Yugoslavia* (Mediacentar Sarajevo, 2011), with Zala Volčič. |

Ivica Đorđević is a Masters candidate in Audio and Video Engineering who works as a film editor, as well as the director and author of numerous short and documentary films, some of them award-winning. Ivica is a member of the organization Media Archaeology and the music band FBD, and co-director of the experimental film festival *The Unforeseen*, at the Center for Cultural Decontamination, Belgrade. |

Ildikó Erdei is an ethnologist and anthropologist. She is an Associate Professor at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, School of Philosophy at Belgrade University. Her research interests range from politics of time and space in contemporary political rituals, relations between media and rituals as symbolic systems and creators of "meaningful universes" to problems related to childhood and growing up during socialism. Her recent research interests include cultural and symbolic dimensions of post-socialist transformation in Serbia and former Yugoslavia. Ildikó published articles and chapters in edited volumes on consumption and consumer culture in socialism and post-socialism and two monographs, "Anthropology of consumption" (Biblioteka XX vek, 2008) and "Waiting for Ikea: consumer culture in postsocialism and before" (Belgrade, School of Philosophy, SGC, 2012). |

Hariz Halilovich, PhD – an award-winning social anthropologist and author – is Associate Professor and Vice-Chancellor's Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Global Research, RMIT University, Melbourne. His main research areas include place-based identity politics, forced migration, politically motivated violence, memory studies, and human rights. As an anthropologist specializing in multi-sited, visual and digital ethnography, he has researched how adults and young people use narratives and digital technologies to build life stories about place, migration, war, reconciliation, and communal identity. Much of his work has an applied focus, and he has conducted research on migration and human rights-related issues for a range of non-governmental and governmental bodies, including the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship (Australia). His award-winning book *Places of Pain: Forced Displacement, Popular Memory and Trans-local Identities in Bosnian War-torn Communities* was published by Berghahn: New York–Oxford (2013hb/2015pb). |

Elissa Helms is a sociocultural anthropologist. She is currently Associate Professor and Head of Department in the Department of Gender Studies at the Central European University. Her publications have covered various aspects of women's activism, gendered nationalism, and post-socialist transformations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia. She is the author of *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (U of Wisconsin Press, 2013) and co-editor with Xavier Bougarel and Ger Duijzings of *The New Bosnian Mosaic: Identities, Memories, and Moral Claims in a Postwar Society* (Ashgate, 2007). |

Isidora Ilić is a video artist, writer and cultural worker based in Belgrade. Ilić studied comparative literature and literary theory at University of Belgrade, and women and gender studies at Belgrade Women's Studies and Gender Research Center. Her core interests are in procedures of art politics, the politics of representation, self-education and 'transdisciplinarily' questioning collectivism. Ilić works with Boško Prostran under the name of artist duo, Doplgenger. Their work deals with the relation between art and politics through exploring the regimes of moving images and modes of its reception. Doplgenger relies on the tradition of experimental film and video; and through some of the actions of these traditions intervenes on existing media products and

products in the film-essay form. Although their main media is moving image, and their work is realized through text, installations, performances, lectures and discussions. Doplgenger's work has been shown worldwide, both at arts venues and film festivals, and has been included in public collections. They received the Politika Award in 2015. |

Šejla Kamerić was born in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. She has received widespread acclaim for the poignant intimacy and social commentary of her work. Based on her own experiences, memories and dreams influenced by the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Šejla's work takes us to spaces of displacement and discrimination, insisting that the delicate and the sublime are not pushed aside during catastrophe or hardship, but that they rather exist simultaneously, revealing a complex, psycho-geographic landscape and the tenacity of the human spirit. The sadness and beauty, hope and pain that shines out of her works are part of the stories we share. The weight of her themes stands in powerful contrast to her individual aesthetics and to her choice of delicate materials. Her work is included in renowned European collections and shown worldwide. Kamerić received The ECF Routes Princess Margriet Award for Cultural Diversity in 2011. |

Iva Kontić graduated from the Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera (Milan) and received an MA degree from Goldsmiths College (London). Currently, she is finishing her PhD at University of Arts in Belgrade. Iva exhibited in over seventy group and solo exhibitions, art and film festivals such as Kassel Documentary Film Festival, European Media Art Festival, MADATAC, CologneOFF, QUEST EUROPE, EspacioEnter, Mikser Festival, FlashArt Event, and Sedecicorto Film Festival. She exhibited in institutions like: Museo Reina Sofia, Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo, Fondazione Cini, CCA Centre of Contemporary Art Tbilisi, TEA Tenerife, FICA Foundation, Museo della Permanente. Her work has been a part of the Luciano Benetton Foundation collection. She won the CAC Trust Special Project Award (London) and Premio Italian Factory (Milan), and was nominated for The School of Happiness Award at the VIENNAFAIR (Vienna), Premio Cairo (Milan), Le Cité des Curiosités (Marseille). Iva also curated several art and culture projects including Festival of Young Serbian Cinema (Madrid, 2014), and is a member of the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia. In 2016, Iva was appointed the coordinator at the Master studies of Video Art and Filmmaking at the ARD&NT Institute in Milan, the joint educational project by Accademia Brera and Politecnico di Milano. |

Lazar Lalić received a BSc in Electric Engineering at the University of Belgrade, Telecommunications and Electronics Department. He worked in the Radio Television of Serbia (RTS), where he was the chief engineer for first program TV transmitters. In spring of 1990, together with RTS journalists, he was one of the founders of the RTS Independent Union, the first independent union founded in Serbia. Since 1992 he has been the chairman of the RTS Independent Union, whose work was "frozen" in 1997 because of its prevention. In a major purge in January 1993, which was carried out to eliminate those that stood up in defense of their profession and against war propaganda, around 1,000 RTS employees were sent on compulsory leave. Since that time, Lazar has been actively involved in documentary journalism, in the area of media abuse. He also founded *The Right to Pictures and Words* video production, which later became the video and film production called *ARHITEL*. |

Sabina Mihelj is Professor of Media and Cultural Analysis at Loughborough University, the UK. Her main areas of expertise include mass communication and cultural identity, comparative media research, television studies, and the cultural Cold War. She sits on the editorial boards of several international media and cultural analysis journals, and has received research funding from a range of bodies in the UK and beyond. Her publications include numerous journal articles and book chapters, as well two books: *Media Nations: Communicating Belonging and Exclusion in the Modern World* (Palgrave, 2013) and *Central and Eastern European Media in Comparative Perspective: Politics, Economy, Culture* (with John Downey, Ashgate, 2012). Taking a comparative, critical, and historically sensitive approach, Sabina's research investigates how the media contribute to the formation of social exclusion and exclusion, and how they are involved in shaping different forms of modern societies. Her most recent project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, offers the first systematic transnational study of media under communist rule. It develops a novel framework for comparative media research by shifting the focus from comparing media systems to comparing media cultures. |

Sven Milekić graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb in 2010. He interned with *Amnesty International* and worked at Zagreb-based *Youth Initiative for Human Rights* as the coordinator of the *Transitional Justice Program*. He advocated for the emergence of the regional fact-finding commission for all Yugoslav war with the *Initiative for RECOM*. Currently, Sven works at the *Balkan Investigative Report Network* as journalist and a free-lance column writer for *Novovrijeme*, *Novosti*, *Queer.hr*, *Identitet* and *Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso*. His interests include transitional justice, dealing with the past, media and the past, and human rights. |

Katarina Ristić is a research associate at the Helmut-Schmidt-University in Hamburg. She graduated from the University of Belgrade, where she obtained BA and MA in Philosophy. With a DAAD doctoral fellowship, she conducted PhD research and defended her dissertation *War Crime Trials and Memory in former Yugoslavia* at the Faculty of History, Arts and Oriental Studies at the University Leipzig in 2013. Her first monograph, *Imaginary Trials* was published in 2014 by Leipziger Universitätsverlag. Since 2015, Katarina has been working on the project "Screening Transitional Justice in Serbia" funded by DFS. Her research interests include transitional justice, human rights, and gender and media studies. |

Mila Turajlić is a documentary filmmaker, best known for her documentary *Cinema Komunisto* which won the top prize at the Chicago Int'l Film Festival in 2011 and the FOCAL Award for Creative Use of Archival Footage. She combined studies at the national cinema school in Belgrade with Political Science and International Relations at the London School of Economics. Mila has been a guest lecturer at several universities including the Sorbonne, University of Michigan, and Harvard University. She is currently shooting a documentary film about Stevan Labudović, President Tito's cameraman who has been called "the cinematic eye of the Algerian revolution" and working on her PhD at SciencesPo, Paris and the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Belgrade. She is the President of DOK.Srbija, the Serbian association of documentary filmmakers. |

Novak Vučo graduated from the Faculty of Law Union University in 2009. He has worked as a YUCOM Legal Adviser and has engaged in cases such as *Lukić & Lukić* and *Stanišić & Simatović* during his time as an intern at the ICTY, Office of the Prosecutor. Novak was a legal officer for the regional project "War Crimes and Justice," enforced by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and OSCE Mission in Serbia. Furthermore, he served as an investigator for the Republic of Serbia Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor and was the liaison prosecutor at the ICTY in The Hague. Presently, he is an assistant prosecutor for the Republic of Serbia Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor. |