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My research at the OSA Archives sped into multiple angles: the main purpose described in my research proposal was centered on the Balkan wars; more specifically, I had been drawn to David Rohde's Collection on Srebrenica (HU OSA 377-0-1; boxes 1 to 13; 377-0-1:1 to 377-0-1:13). The box that eventually attracted my attention included the Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladzić indictment material from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia 1995-1996 (377-0-1 Box 3), listing the facts collected by Prosecutor in support of the indictment, including the background of the war criminals' activities and following with the seizure of power in several parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its consequences. In the same box, the Médecins Sans Frontières' file entitled "Situation psychologique d'un groupe d'ex detenus bosniaques libérés des camps de detention serbes situés en republique fédérale de Jugoslavie", dated fevrier/mars 1996, provided unique insight into the psychological assessment of the survivors, who, having been affected by the bombardment, the maltreatment in the camps, and isolation, were recognized as "vulnerable population."

Several books provided context for my research, beginning with *The Content and Context of Hate Speech: Rethinking Regulation and Responses*, edited by Michael Herz and Peter Molnar, Cambridge University Press, 2012. As I see it, the OSA's temporary residency on the premises of the CEU Library was a lucky coincidence; the contextual books were easily accessible and provided both the philosophical backbone and historical timeline for the OSA files.

Some other books I found particularly useful are as follows:

Anzulovic, Branimir, *Heavenly Serbia: from Myth to Genocide*, New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Draculić, Slavenka, *The Balkan Express: Fragments from the Other Side of War*; London: Hutchinson, 1993.

Helms, Elissa, *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2013.

MacDonald, David Bruce, *Balkan holocausts? Serbian and Croatian victim-centred propaganda and the war in Yugoslavia*, Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Mojzes, Paul, *Balkan Genocides: Holocaust and Ethnic Cleansing in the Twentieth Century*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, c2011.

Kečmanović, Dusan, *The Mass Psychology of Ethnonationalism*, New York: Plenum Press, 1996.

Kranjc, Gregor Joseph, *To walk with the devil: Slovene collaboration and Axis occupation, 1941-1945*, Toronto; Buffalo [N.Y.] : University of Toronto Press, [2013]

Ramet, Sabrina P., *Balkan babel: the Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2002.

Stefanović, Vidoslav and Zlata Filipović, *Milošević: the People's Tyrant*, St Martin's Press, 2004.

Concurrently, I appreciated the access to Digital Materials via OSA Research Cloud from 350-1-1 Balkan Archive; namely,

350-1-1:310/1 *Larry King Live with Slobodan Milošević*

350-1-1:473/1; 350-1-1:474/1 *Tudman, Karadžić, Milošević, Čosić, Boban, Izetbegović*

350-1-1:1/1 *ABC Nightline Bosnia: The Hidden Horrors* [1/2; 2/2]

350-1-1593/1 *60 Minutes: Interview with Mira Marković, Mrs. Slobodan Milošević*

350-1-1:620/1 *Panorama: The Mind of Milošević*

350-1-1:725/1 *Milošević's Rise to Power*

350-1-1:826/1 *ICTY: First Appearance of Milošević in Court*

Coincidentally, I was able to watch some video material on social issues, such as:

*Victory Day* (Alina Rudnitskaya, 2014) HU\_OSA\_00005747

*My Babushka* (Barbara Hammer) HU\_OSA\_00004104

*Ne s nami* (Svetlana Sigaeleva) HU\_OSA\_00005314

*Fine Dead Girls* (Dalibor Matalic) HU\_OSA\_00002292

*Butterflies* (Dmitry Kubasov) HU\_OSA\_00006198

Alongside that, I came across the part of the collection that dealt with the issue of alcoholism in the Soviet Union; specifically, in the Baltic republics: HU OSA 300-5-130 Box 2, as well as in Poland in 1950s: HU OSA 300-50-1: 1761. This content made me wonder if alcoholism could be interpreted as an act of sabotage, in a manner of making oneself socially useless, executed by masses of people who had no other valid means to challenge the state. Although this mode of rebellion (indeed, self-sabotage) comes at a terrible cost to a person and to his or her family, it is also stunningly affective. A totalitarian state is helpless when confronted with a drunk. Nothing can be done to a person who gave up on himself. Although the Soviet Union kept about two million people in camps designated specifically for alcoholics, these camps proved futile; close to 90% of those released promptly returned to drinking. This is because an alcoholic is fearless; if you lock him up, he will find solace in fantasizing about his first drink once his incarceration ends; in addition, an alcoholic doesn't hold his life or life in general in high esteem; he will not kill himself as long as there is a promise of another drink tomorrow, but he doesn't mind dying if

it comes to that, either. Poland, less punitive than the Soviet Union, tried persuasion, which did not deliver any satisfactory solution, either. And yet the Poles, traumatized after WWII, were more forgiving towards alcoholics who, as it was assumed, had their own tragic reasons (forced relocation, affiliation with military organizations banned after the WWII, concentration camps, forced labor, etc.). It may be noticeable from today's perspective that, apart from the lack of psychotherapy, the Poles and other Eastern Europeans had very few entertainment opportunities to choose from, and their rulers were not keen on inventing healthy alternatives.

All throughout the 1950s up to 1980s, the newspapers in Poland were brimming with cautionary tales (enumerating the tragic effects of alcoholism on individuals and their families). This is what we draw from HU OSA 300-50-1 Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Polish Unit: Old Code Subject Files #1760 and 1761; the year 1979 brought significant changes: the Council for Family Affairs was created, and a ban on the sale of alcohol on paydays was introduced. It could be wagered that this very prohibition contributed to the August 1980 strikes: people sobered up, looked around, and rebelled.

The idea of the Council for Family Affairs had one purely instrumental purpose: the party apparatchiks noticed that Polish women were not having children, in which case there would be no one to support them when they retired. The same motion was then supported by the Church, strengthened by the Pope's visits and accompanied by a shift in language, the foreshadowing of which appeared in newspapers as early as 1984 ("unborn child" in lieu of a fetus). Despite the imposition of martial law and many social frictions, in this respect the Party and the Church acted not at cross purposes but conjointly; at least this is the conclusion one is bound to draw from press discussions, reviews, and commentaries.

At first, I treated the reading of the Polish Unit: Old Code Subject Files HU OSA 300-50-1 as a diversion from the main subject of my research; soon, however, I realized that this topic (Polish family and its perils), too, was serious, and that I can make use of this material in the future.

My Visegrad Scholarship at OSA" presentation took place at 2.00 pm on Wednesday, July 27, 2022, and was titled "The Balkans: an ongoing clash between modernity and national myths."

In my research proposal I wrote: "I hope to have a closer look at the public discourse justifying a plethora of crimes against humanity by means of clichés specifically aiming at dehumanization and animalization of victims." I had not yet realized at the time – and this is what I learned during my OSA research – that a simple act or even a series of acts of dehumanization or animalization would not suffice; what is needed for all kinds of mass violence to unravel is demonization of the victim. As Branimir Anzulović argues in *Heavenly Serbia*, most people who become involved in various acts of mass violence "believe they are following their conscience" (4); it follows that, first and foremost, "the victim must be seen as a demon, and his killing as a universally beneficial act. Even at his worst, man likes to think that he is doing good" (4). The attacker perceives himself as a regulator: in his view, something is out of balance; in effect, an attack is meant to bring the situation back to balance (Snyder 2018). Consequently, both the clear conscience of the attacker and the demonization of the victim are necessary ingredients. The rest is sheer opportunism.

In conclusion, the experience in the OSA Archives allowed me to open paths of understanding the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s; in effect, all I can do now is to keep adding new readings to this foundation; in addition, it has opened new paths in my understanding of the social history of Poland and elucidate some issues concerning the Baltic republics in the years of reconstruction and creation of independent state structures. For this I will remain forever grateful.

Sincerely,



Izabela Morska