



Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of North Macedonia – MANU
International Slavic University *Gavrilo Romanovich Derzavin*
Faculty of Philosophy – Skopje
Philosophical Society of Macedonia

Sixth International Philosophical Dialogue "East-West" **PHILOSOPHY OF MEMORY**

FIRST SESSION

MANU, Skopje, October 6, 2021 (Wednesday), 11⁰⁰-14⁰⁰

(This session will be held with physical presence, however, for all interested, also there will be an opportunity to follow the session online through Zoom)

Dragan Prole, PhD, Professor, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy,
University of Novi Sad, Serbia

POLITICAL CULTURE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

As a phenomenon of modification, memory harbors an ambiguity. The origin of the ambiguity is certainly linked to the variability of the circumstances in which memory is formed. Changes in the person who remembers result in changes in what he/she remembers that are almost identical at the individual and collective levels. The maturation of the individual also means the processing, selection and diversification of memories in a way that the historical experience of the community under changing circumstances dictates in a different way what it perceives to be crucial in its past.

Konstantin Shevcov, PhD, Professor of the Department of Philosophy and Social Communications, Faculty of Humanities,
Saint Petersburg State University of Civil Aviation, Russia

THE PRESENCE DISTRIBUTED IN THE WORLD. ABOUT THE TRUTH OF MEMORY

An attempt to distinguish specific subjectivity of memory is faced with obvious difficulty, because the past to which it turns is something devoid of its own substance, real and fictitious at the same time. As a result, the memory is often considered only as an addition to the basic cognitive processes necessary for storing, processing and timely providing data. In this case, the philosophy of memory comes down to coordination of various studies in the fields of psychology and neurophysiology, and the question of the truth of memory is either removed or reduced to the judgment formulated by Hume about the complete similarity of the past and present. However, thereby debating about the past, about different temporal rhythms of living, about the duration of the experience cannot lose its significance, therefore there will always be a place for a philosophy of memory that focuses on understanding the nature and structure of specific mnemonic subjectivities. Obviously, in the framework of this task, we will have to rethink the nature of meaning and truth, as well as what should be understood as the present, if we believe that only the present is real and therefore it should be the substance of memory. Let us consider a simple example. The person with whom I just spoke remains in the next room, but his presence is significant for me and it forms the true depth of time-space. Strictly speaking, this is the

simplest evidence of memory in the present, and this evidence is given by the instant of breakage, loss, gap between us. This loss makes us mobilize all the attention to what is “here” in order to keep in touch with what has remained “there”. The constant reproduction of what is being completed, of the effort paid is the paradoxical evidence of memory as loss and replenishment, the continuous retention of each present as the moment of loss, the past for the future. The mobilization of memory gives not a simple association of one with another, but leads to the fact that each moment is seen through another, as if it were inserted in it and received its articulation through it. Thus, our own vision also receives the quality of inclusion and distribution in the space of the present, in its landscape, in the texture of things and in the internal rhythm of events.

It is worth paying attention to the paradox of the judgment “I was”, which shows the whole strangeness of the experience of the past, since it does not allow phenomenological clarification. The “I” here is not the subject of consciousness, but of memory, because the action of consciousness here is not affirmed in the form of presence, it is initially lost or, more precisely, embedded in the world, so that we can find ourselves by collecting our reflections in the things around us (“I am ‘in this sense always implies’ I was”). This form of objectivity of memory traditionally corresponds to the concept of a world shared with others, whether it be dead ancestors, previous generations, a nation, a state, etc. And, on the contrary, an attempt to bring memory under the control of the present, to make it a matter of full accountability and responsibility leads to the fact that memory loses its subjectivity, retreating into the field of metaphors or a kind of paradox of consciousness of time. In this regard, it is significant that in the history of philosophical thought, since Plato, the appeal to memory is often associated with attempts to understand the internal paradoxes of philosophical conceptual constructions. The past is redundant because it is connected with the initial openness of the world and its presence in it, but it is this inclusion in the world that means for us the experience of loss, loss of control. But since this loss gives the ground to location in the world, the opposite side of it is the persistent and self-explanatory demand for self-recognition, which leads to the constant renewal of the struggle for memory – personal, tribal, historical.

Gašper Pirc, PhD, Assistant Professor, AMEU - Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis, Ljubljana, Slovenia

MEMORY AND SOCIAL RECOGNITION IN THE CURRENT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CLIMATE

In Kant’s critical epistemology, memory functions as a critical element in the synthesis of recognition. And yet, memory and its correlate, the faculty of imagination, have often been overlooked in both Kant’s later philosophy of history and much of post-Kantian philosophy. In my paper, I will emphasize that both individual and collective memory do not only affect recognition in its epistemological function of object-assessment but also has a key role in the production of justifiable normative claims that can be inferred from the structure of social recognition, which has been a major feature in the philosophy of the authors such as Axel Honneth and Paul Ricoeur. In his final works, Ricoeur made meaningful insights into the question of correlation between memory and recollection, (social) pathology, and mutual recognition.

In my paper, I express the importance of social recognition, imagination, and narrativity, based on (historical) memory as the means of the forming of self-identity and the image of society. I intend to research the narratives, embedded in social practices, through which both normativity and the diagnostics of social distortions can be inferred. I will also hint at the question of how social and cultural imaginaries, intersubjectivity, and social and political recognition affect the development of the personality and (narrative) identity in the relation to the ethical and moral awareness of the agents in the social world and the correlation between memory and responsible social action.

In addition, I will try to emphasize the role of memory in the assessment of the state of social pathology and normativity by interpreting the state of society in recent years – the years of medical crisis during which in many ways outlook of social values, political communication, and ethical standards have been radically changed.

HOLOCAUST MEMORY BETWEEN REVISION AND CULTURE OF REMEMBERING

We witness today (attempts of) revision of Holocaust history, even though forgetting is grave sin of the Holocaust tragedy. It is 'double genocide', dangerous effort to erase from the public memory the genocide of Holocaust, monstrous system of insane Nazi ideology and politics for a 'final solution to the Jewish question in Europe'!? The origin of Anti-Semitism might be found in Christian teachings (The New Testament): 'Jews have killed our Lord, Jesus Christ'!

When the stepping stone of Macedonian Memorial Center of Holocaust was laid (April 16 1996, Skopje), there were no representatives of Macedonian Orthodox Church, MANU, UKIM and City of Skopje!?

When I have started my new research, reading and thinking on Holocaust (for this conference) I am finally aware that Holocaust is as well problem of psychiatry not only of ethics and politics. I had realized originally this idea during my research stay in US Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, DC ,1995) as the preparation of building the first European Holocaust Museum, the great vision of Dr. Ivan Dejanov, MANU member.

What we need now is Holocaust education globally. It isn't just about stopping Anti-Semitism and racism. It might help in healing sick, corrupt societies! It's the culture of ethics, humanity, empathy, 'kindness, goodness, love for others'." It would certainly narrow the distance between different ethnic and ethic traditions. Since in Macedonia unfortunately we live in at least, two parallel societies, Macedonian and Albanian! They call it proudly 'multiculturalism'! It is Ignorance: multiculturalism means coexistence, divided society, living next to each other, not together. Not in united, stable and prosperous community.

The idea of global Holocaust education perhaps is idealistic, utopian vision. We have to go further anyway for better world only if we are bold as 1968 Paris students massge: be realist - demand the impossible!



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Sixth International Philosophical Dialogue "East-West" **PHILOSOPHY OF MEMORY**

SECOND SESSION

International Slavic University *G.R. Derzhavin*, Sveti Nikole, October 7, 2021 (Thursday), 10⁰⁰-13⁰⁰

(The mode of this session is hybrid, during which some will be physically present at the session, whereas most of the participants will participate through Zoom)

Cultures and Politics of Memory in Southeast Europe: National and Transnational Perspectives - Book Panel -

Naum Trajanovski, PhD Candidate, Graduate School for Social Research, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology,
Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (N. Macedonia, Poland)

MODERATION, INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK AND THE BOOK PROJECT

Ksenia Trofimova, PhD, Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology,
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia

SPIRITUAL CONTINUITY AND THE WAY OF THINGS:

DISCUSSING THE PAST WHILE CREATING MUSLIM NETWORKS IN ROMANI COMMUNITIES

The paper aims to trace and explore the timely memory discourse that shapes self-representation strategies of new religious actors in the narratives about spiritual continuity, transmission of religious traditions and establishment of institutional network. Basing on the stories by early generation religious leaders, who directly took part in spreading the Sufi tradition among Roma Muslims and its institutionalization in North Macedonia, several narrative templates used for self-representation, - exclusion, social distance, mistrust and autonomy, - are revealed. The first ones refer to the limited access for Roma Muslims to local official Muslim infrastructure and knowledge due to social distance. Being separated from common Sufi communities, Roma Muslims were regarded with mistrust due to atomization of the local communities, lack of official approval of their religious authority, and inter-ethnic issues. Finally, the concept of freedom becomes the discursive variable, depending of situational interpretations, mostly addressing to the possibility to teach/serve officially.

Mariglen Demiri, MA, Professor of Philosophy and Scientific Researcher, N. Macedonia

**ASNOM AND SELF-DETERMINATION:
NATIONALISM AND POPULISM THROUGH A LEFT-WING PERSPECTIVE**

This research will endeavor to give an answer to the application of the Anti-fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) as a memorial and historical trope in the Macedonian political context following the Prespa Agreement (2018) and the Agreement with Bulgaria (2017). Moreover, this analysis will map out the political and discursive contradictions regarding self-determination in relation to ASNOM. The text will also analyze the most significant moments of the left-wing political rhetoric in post-Yugoslav Macedonia, with the aim to point out the political representation's ethnocentric and ethnonationalist implications. The premise of this text is that the populist creation of enemy subjects (Bulgaria, Greece, international institutions) leads to the antagonization of other internal contributors, such as the Albanians of Macedonia.

Zrinka Blažević, PhD, Professor, History Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia

**TEARS AND MEMORIES OF THE NATION:
POETICS OF MEMORY AND AESTHETICS OF MOURNING IN THE FIRST CROATIAN NATIONAL EPOS**

This paper aims at scrutinizing poetic strategies and aesthetic dimensions of the culture of memory in the first Croatian national epos *Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo /Two Centuries of Croatia Mournful* written by Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713) and published in Zagreb in 1703. Due to its inherent ability to employ various forms of aesthetic mediation, the first national epos creates not only imaginative and affective conditions for its own receptivity but also gains “prosthetic quality” as a crucial factor of the cultural dynamics of remembrance.

Vjeran Pavlaković, PhD, Professor, Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Rijeka, Croatia

**“MIXING THE DOUGH FOR THE BREAD OF RECONCILIATION”:
CROAT-SERB RELATIONS AND CROATIA’S COMMEMORATIVE CULTURE**

For years, the anniversary of Operation Storm (August 1995) was the trigger that would torpedo any efforts at improving relations between Croatia and Serbia, even after progress had been made in the months prior to the commemoration/celebration. Inevitably, however, the weeks leading up to 5 August would be filled with media speculation and political maneuvering that always boiled over on the unbearably hot streets of Knin. Due to these diametrically opposed official commemorations there seemed to be little hope for a reconciliatory breakthrough in memory politics. However, the Croatian government, which included members of the largest Croatian Serb political party in its ruling coalition, initiated the most reconciliatory commemorative policies in the summer of 2020 since the war ended twenty-five years ago. This contribution analyses the role of the Operation Storm commemoration in Croatia’s collective remembrance and its potential for long-term symbolic reparations, both within Croatia and regarding bilateral relations with neighbouring countries.

THE EFFECTS OF EUROPEANISATION ON MEMORY POLITICS IN THE BALKANS

In the Western Balkans, dealing with the past remains a formal-informal condition for EU membership. However, divergent interpretations of history, including the Second World War and the Yugoslav wars, continue to trigger confrontations between neighbouring countries and hinder their EU perspective. Regional “memory wars” also have a European dimension and have become a tool to either support or oppose Europeanisation. Politics of memory is thus used not only to foster an EU identity and endorse so-called EU values, but also to support nation- and state-building agendas. The tensions that derive from the past, however, continue to persist even after achieving the strategic goal of entering the European Union, making the Europeanisation of memory politics more performative than fundamentally progressive.



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Sixth International Philosophical Dialogue "East-West" **PHILOSOPHY OF MEMORY**

THIRD SESSION

International Slavic University *G.R. Derzhavin*, Sveti Nikole, October 7, 2021 (Thursday), 16⁰⁰-19⁰⁰

(This session will be held with physical presence, however, for all interested, also there will be an opportunity to follow the session online through Zoom)

Evangelos D. Protopapadakis, PhD, Associate Professor of Applied Ethics,
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

MESSING WITH AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORY: RECONSOLIDATION, IDENTITY, AND MORAL STATUS

The role of autobiographical memory is not just to relate us to our past self, but also to shape the future self of ours by helping us navigate the complex world we encounter in our every-day lives on a stable basis: some more or less vivid idea of who we really are as persons, as individual beings with distinct selves and unique identities. In this sense memory has also to do with *being* and *becoming*, and not just with *having been*. The advances in the field of memory neuroscience have resulted in what is called memory reconsolidation, that is, techniques to suppress, modify, or enhance certain memories that have to do with our moral identity and moral status. In this presentation I will discuss certain potential implications of memory reconsolidation that are in my view of key importance for neuroethics, and especially for the debate concerning moral identity, agency and status in the brand new landscape that has been shaped by the novel capabilities neuroscience has made available.

Luka Trebežnik, PhD, Research Assistant, Institute for Philosophical Studies,
Science and Research Centre, Koper, Slovenia

DECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANAMNESTIC PHILOSOPHY

The function of memory and remembering plays an important role in philosophical systems, in some cases even more than that – it constitutes a kind of *via eminentiae* of epistemological endeavors. This is certainly the case for Plato's conception of true knowledge as memory (*anamnesis*), which has had an extraordinary influence on Western thought; it is the basis of all subsequent metaphysical reasoning and formulations. This is the reason why the question of memory appears as a crucial theme in Jacques Derrida's early writings on the relationship between speech and writing. There he argues that while tradition clearly favors speech (the *logos* as the vitality of the soul) and writing appears as a »dangerous supplement« (a mere copy of speech), this binary opposition does not work well when it comes to the question of memory. Derrida points out the unusual fact that while

memory traditionally appears as the privileged way of accessing truth, at the same time the tools of memory, mnemonics (i.e. the written) function as an undesirable element. This revelation of the discrepancy at the heart of metaphysics offers a new way of thinking about the materiality of memory and the act of remembering as an innovation.

Boško Karadžov, PhD, Professor of Philosophy and Scientific Researcher, N. Macedonia

FORBIDDEN MEMORY AND HAUNTOLOGY OF THE PAST

In this paper we will focus on cultural memory as an objectified remembrance and institutionalized recollection that can be transmitted and reincorporated across generations. Every cultural or collective memory is composed by the symbolic order of the heritage of symbols, mythological and historical narratives, meaningful monuments, collective experiences of the past, ceremonial celebrations, sacred objects, texts and other semantic points of identity. But not every collective and cultural memory goes through unprecedented processes of its denial and prohibition, as is the case with the collective and cultural memory of the Macedonians. Because of this, we will talk about the processes and consequences from forbidding remembrance and collective memories by the negatory international politics of extortion by our EU neighbors.

Cultural memory allows us to build a narrative picture of the past and image for ourselves. Cultural memory is institutionalized act of remembrance that involves normative aspects and symbolic order. This objectified remembrance is a narrative field in which cultural subjectivity builds, realizes and understands itself. Therefore, memory makes the contours of cultural subjectivity visible. Simply put, objectified remembrance and institutionalized recollection determines identity, and identity exists only in the mnemonic timeliness of the past. Because of this, the act of remembrance is as important as the act of narration (transmission of mnemonic loci). Hence, the prohibition of remembrance is prohibition of cultural existence in the sense of so-called collective self-actualization.

By indicate the root and circumstances of this denials, as well as pointing out different and possible strategies for resisting such bully-politics, we will talk, using Derrida's analysis, about one relevant and significant cultural and identity new phenomenon which we can call - *hauntology of the past*. This phenomenon is a consequence of the contemporary process of grinding our identity glossographs and rubbing symbolic petrification of our cultural and collective memory. But also, *hauntology of the past* fractures all conceptions of imposed temporality, rejects all induced forgetting methods, shows legitimate nostalgia for a lost future and evokes the art of *not giving up* like a form of political resistance.

Darko Đogo, PhD, Protopresbyter, Associate Professor, "St Basil of Ostrog" Orthodox Theological Faculty, University of Eastern Sarajevo, Bosnia and Hercegovina

DO WE REMEMBER THE WORLD BEFORE:

POST-MODERNISM OF ONE DISEASE: ANTHROPOS, COSMOS, POLIS AND PANDEMIC

When Covid-19 first appeared on the horizon of our lives in the winter of 2020, none of us could have guessed that the newly discovered disease would have lasting consequences on our lives. Not only did we all had to face a new challenge for our personal health, - but also we were facing a reality which eludes our capabilities to complete one experience of disease, to understand its phenomenology and to find a teleological place for it in our concept of life. Yet, if Covid-19 still eludes us from the possibility of restraint, it is impossible not to notice that some of its aspects coincide with the post-modernist experience of reality. This, for the modern sense of man somewhat counterintuitively, leads us to ask ourselves again about the unity of the human being, spiritual

experiences, and physical and biological reality. Hence, arises the question: are we witnessing one “brave new world” and would it be allowed to even remember the state of arts before the pandemic?

Achilleas Kleisouras, PhD Candidate, Special Technical Laboratory Staff,
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

REMEMBERING THROUGH COMICS: THE QUEST FOR PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY IN ART SPIEGELMAN’S GRAPHIC NOVEL *MAUS*

The study of memory in comics focuses primarily on the intersection of comics with memory culture and the ability of the medium of comics to simulate or transmit memory. Special emphasis is given to the intricate relationship between witnessing, testimony and memory; the way in which this relationship is realized through narrative is examined more closely in Art Spiegelman’s graphic novel *Maus*, first published as a complete volume in 1991. In the story of *Maus*, Spiegelman’s family photographs comprise a raw post-memory material that investigates the role memory plays in the representation of history. Even more, this biographic/autobiographic story deals with the issue of transgenerational trauma as well as the ambiguity and tension that may arise between personal and collective memories. The past and the search for truth become the cornerstones of a narrative structure which is based on representational modes or styles of drawing. By such means, narrative memory functions as a vessel in the formation of Spiegelman’s identity, in a familial but also broader, social context.



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Sixth International Philosophical Dialogue "East-West" **PHILOSOPHY OF MEMORY**

FOURTH SESSION

International Slavic University *G.R. Derzhavin*, Sveti Nikole, October 8, 2021 (Friday), 11⁰⁰-14⁰⁰

(The mode of this session is hybrid, during which some will be physically present at the session, whereas most of the participants will participate through Zoom)

Memory Politics and Populism in Southeastern Europe

(2021 Routledge, ed. Jody Jensen)

- **Book Panel** -

Jody Jensen, PhD, Director of the Polányi Centre, Institute for Advanced Studies Koszeg, Hungary (USA, Hungary)

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE VOLUME. LOGIC, MESSAGES AND OVERVIEW OF THE PROCESS

Igor Stipić, PhD Candidate, Regensburg University, Germany

Research Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies Koszeg, Hungary (Bosna and Hercegovina)

WHOSE IS HERCEG KOSAČA? POPULIST MEMORY POLITICS OF CONSTRUCTING “HISTORICAL PEOPLE” IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The chapter investigates practices of ‘populist memory politics’ conducted around the medieval vassal Herceg Kosačain present day BiH. This highly contested and problematic figure represents a ‘polysemic symbol’ and ambiguous ‘container of symbolism’ with regards to the political construction of ‘collective memory’ in present day BiH. By examining how main political actors attempt to rewrite Herceg’s historical trajectory, this chapter discusses how bringing the past into the present in order to debate defines the specific character of ‘historic people’, and rearticulates current visions and divisions. While examining the usage of myths in the construction of social objectivity, this chapter intertwines notions of memory and populism by examining how present day ethno-national projects employ discourses of the past for articulation of historically embedded ‘collective wills’. Considering the practices of ‘selective memory’ and ‘historical silencing’ of alternative accounts, this chapter examines the implications of ‘ethnicizing the past’ for historical interpretations based on an inter-ethnic or non-ethnic paradigm. The chapter concludes that dominant ethno-national Kosača myths essentially serve as fuel for the maintenance of the ethno-national historical bloc and its associated logic of (di)vision as they simultaneously facilitate political homogenization inside the ethnic communities.

Marija Ivanović, MA, Academic Tutor, Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies,
University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Hercegovina

OF (ANTI)FASCISTS AND (ANTI)COMMUNISTS: CONSTRUCTING THE PEOPLE AND ITS ENEMIES AT THE PARTISAN MEMORIAL CEMETERY IN MOSTAR

The partisan cemetery in Mostar is a monument dedicated to those who died fighting fascism. It represents a reflection of the official memory and identity politics of the former Yugoslavia. Today, more than 50 later, the memorial has been abandoned to time. However, although being in the state of decay, the cemetery has not lost its potency for inciting emotions and commanding political mobilization, as several commemorations were accompanied with attacks and the destruction of the monument. In the current post-socialist BiH environment, the site has emerged as a place of contested interpretations of the Yugoslav past and concomitantly the BiH present. Reflecting the emptiness left by the dissolution of the old state, the cemetery becomes a lieu de memoire around which different discourses levitate, each offering a specific reading of the memorial and the past associated with it. Through interviews with mnemonic entrepreneurs – three political parties, representatives of the minority group, and local activists – this chapter reveals the different discourses of the Partisan memorial thus revealing how various social actors, through their engagement with the monument, construct populist articulations while intertwining in their narratives the politics of identity, memory and imaginary BiH statehood..

Astrea Pejović, PhD Candidate, Central European University, Budapest and Vienna (Serbia)

THE “WAR FOR PEACE”: COMMEMORATION OF THE BOMBING OF DUBROVNIK IN MONTENEGRO

This chapter analyzes how the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro (DPS) constructed and employed memory politics over the period of thirty years of their government. The chapter observes memory politics of DPS as part of their populist strategies in creation of Montenegrin identity after the fall of Yugoslavia. At the center of the analysis is the commemoration of the 1991 attack on Dubrovnik. The chapter analyzes two commemorative events – Montenegro’s official apology to Croatia in 2000 and the posthumous recognition of Admiral Vladimir Barović in 2016. While the main actors of DPS were the warmongers in 1991, they have been commemorating the attack by casting the blame to the Yugoslav People’s Army and Serbia under Slobodan Milošević. By analyzing the two commemorative events of the 1991 attack on Dubrovnik, that is otherwise silenced in Montenegrin society, the chapter aims to understand the logic of transformation of DPS during their long reign, and how enmity and populism contributed to the construction of memory politics in Montenegro.

Dimitar Nikolovski, PhD Candidate, Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, Poland
Research Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies, Hungary
Executive Director, Center for European Strategies “Eurothink”, Skopje, N. Macedonia

INTEGRATION VERSUS IDENTITY: MEMORY POLITICS, POPULISM AND THE GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS AGREEMENT BETWEEN NORTH MACEDONIA AND BULGARIA

The Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation Agreement (2018) between the Republic of North Macedonia and the Republic of Bulgaria provides a framework for the resolution of some of the most burning questions related to their common history and ethno-national identity. Macedonian proponents of the agreements frame it in the direction of Euro-Atlantic integration and the need to close the “big national questions.” However, the chapter illustrates the tension between the implications of Euro-Atlantic integration and the need to preserve current mnemonic

approaches in North Macedonia. Critics contend that the Agreement is asymmetrical, with Macedonia conceding more than Bulgaria. The right-wing sees this treaty as one of national treason and abandonment of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. Radical left critics fear that it will produce a 'watering down' of memory politics towards the anti-fascist struggle. The chapter discusses how the mnemonic implications of this agreement inform and strengthen populist mobilization, i.e. how the opposition to this agreement in Macedonia is a part of a populist left-right coalition. The WW II anti-fascist struggle is one of the pillars of Macedonian nationhood and emphasizes the struggle against the "Bulgarian fascist occupation," as the most pronounced other against whom the national identity is confirmed.

Filip Lyapov, PhD Candidat, Central European University, Budapest and Vienna (Bulgaria)

**LUKOV MARCH AS A "TEMPLATE OF POSSIBILITY" FOR HISTORICAL REVISIONISM:
MEMORY, HISTORY AND POPULISM IN POST-1989 BULGARIA**

The chapter is a case study illuminating the role of events in pushing forward a revisionist historical narrative that aims at legitimizing contemporary Bulgarian national populism. The event, the Lukov March, which started as a marginal commemoration of a pro-fascist interwar leader, has become a major battle in the memory and historical politics of post-socialist Bulgaria. Despite initial support from only a dozen radical nationalists, the event offered a "template of possibility" for the rising Bulgarian far right to revive the interwar roots of Bulgarian nationalism. At its 16th anniversary, the Lukov March symbolizes much more than a mere manifestation of Bulgaria's nationalism – it reveals the danger of leaving memory politics and historical debates in the hands of extreme nationalists who might themselves be pushed aside by the more politically adept national populists. On a larger scale, the chapter gives insights into the memory politics in contemporary Bulgaria, the nature of Bulgarian populism and the strategies that national populists utilize to construct revisionist historical narratives that ultimately call into question and redefine the crucial concepts of national self and identity as well as memory and lessons of Europe's violent 20th century.