



Photo reproductions of artwork from the Muzej novejše in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. Courtesy of National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.

PARTISAN ECOLOGY IN YUGOSLAV LIBERATION AND ANTIFASCIST ART

by Gal Kirn

abstract

Partisan and decolonial ecology is a notion addressed by Andreas Malm and Malcom Ferdinand respectively, in their texts on the Caribbean maroon partisans – the emancipated slaves – who moved to the more mountainous parts of the islands that were still covered by dense vegetation. This concept is here taken to another historical context, that of Yugoslav partisans' fight against the fascist occupation in the Second World War. I engage in reading an array of partisan artworks that point to fascist domination/war over nature juxtaposed to emerging solidarity among humans and animals/nature. From poems and

short stories to drawings and graphic art material, the subject matter of forest as a site of resistance and political subjectivity emerges. Diverse animals, pack of wolves, birds that continue to sing despite the thorny branches, the figure of the snail as the affect and attitude of resilience – these become "comrades" in the struggle, mobilizing nature in their fight against fascism.

KEYWORDS: Partisan ecology, antifascism of non-human world, partisan aesthetics, becoming, "human animal", poems, graphic art, figure of resistance.

A few theoretical notes on *partisan ecology*

The figure of the partisan is often associated with (party) politics, with clearly – even blindly – taking a side. One of the major partisan statements that encompasses a wide range of fields can be found in Karl Marx’s famous 11th *Thesis on Feuerbach*: “The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it”.¹ This visionary statement, not without irony, prompted many new (philosophical) interpretations; however, its initial challenge has remained unresolved: How to change the world, and with what means? Oscillation between different standpoints and practices only pointed out that neither activity nor praxis can give the answer to these questions, and most notably cannot be isolated from one another. The eminent partisan question asks then how heterogenous practices – political, theoretical and artistic – contribute to the struggle of liberation, to changing the world.

It is precisely such a heterogeneous and transformative struggle that took place in the forests of partisan Yugoslavia, on the liberated territories that built alternative political and cultural organizations and succeeded in mobilizing masses of illiterate peasants, youth and women into the partisan struggle against the fascist occupation from 1941 to 1945.² Partisan activities cannot be reduced to military guerrilla tactics – even if Yugoslavian resistance was one of the few in Europe that succeeded in liberating itself on its own; there were political, and most notably cultural and artistic activities that became the most important weapons of mass creation. In four years of liberation struggle masses of anonymous poets – most of them self-educated, and many of whom had just learnt to read and write – produced 40,000 poems. In the almost impossible circumstances of scarce material and non-existent artistic infrastructure, partisan artists created thousands of drawings, novels, graphic works, sculptures, photos, even symphonies and films.³ War, then, was not merely a dark period of horrific deeds but also a process of cultural revolution that entailed emancipation of those that had been most exploited before the war in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Thus, the negative aspect of the struggle, the fight against the fascist occupation, was connected from the very beginning to the utopian and transformative aspect: to build a new partisan Yugoslavia.

FINALLY, HOW, AND WHY can Yugoslav partisan – liberation art be connected to the topic of *ecology*? While at that time concern over environment was not high on the theoretical-political agenda, today we speak of theoretical and political urgency: If one is invested in the world and changing the world, then thinking and acting in the light of climate transformation and ecological challenges would be high on a partisan agenda set against corporate greenwashing or climate denialism. Global capitalism is clearly,

according to scientific research, political actions and our changing reality, hitting the limits of the environment and its delicate ecosystems. These alterations have brought dramatic changes in how we imagine the future. It is not that a large part of science fiction and fantasy has already had turned from a utopian to a dystopian future imaginary,⁴ and that the demise of socialism intensified this process is old news. However, the imagery of the apocalyptic future, of the unpredictable and uncontrollable force of nature, has been evoked in the very name of neo-partisan ecological groups: “extinction” rebellion, “last” generation, etc. Scenario building and imagination of apocalypse has then been very often presented as a restriction to thinking about a different and alternative future that would drive us beyond the religious trope of Last Judgment and sins for which humanity will finally need to pay.

IN THIS ARTICLE I would like to contribute some preliminary research on the Yugoslav *partisan ecology* that could be of help both for thinking about the artistic lineage and heritage of the oppressed of World War II, and also for giving a clear – partisan – position that is engaged in our present. I will be examine those

**“PARTISAN ARTISTS
CREATED THOUSANDS
OF DRAWINGS, NOVELS,
GRAPHIC WORKS,
SCULPTURES, PHOTOS,
EVEN SYMPHONIES
AND FILMS.”**

practices of partisan ecology that were able to rupture from the ongoing state of “primitive accumulation of capital”.⁵ These practices imagine and already materialize a world where community-in-resistance develops a coexisting and non-extractivistic relation to nature. The term partisan, and decolonial, ecology is also influenced by the work of two authors; Andreas Malm’s short text on the maroon partisans and wilderness, and Malcom

Ferdinand’s book on decolonial ecology that gives a fascinating reading of Caribbean modernity in the light of resistance to colonial and environmental fractures.⁶ Both authors present us with a compelling emancipatory trajectory of the former slaves who built alternative communities from the 16th to the mid-20th century. Former/emancipated slaves received the name maroon⁷ and escaped from plantations deep into the mountains, marshlands and forests, where living conditions were difficult. Their lives were endangered: previously as slaves, and later too their fight for freedom in the dense vegetation was continuous. Nevertheless, maroon communities expanded and constituted a different, autonomous form of living that among other things relied on a more organic relationship with nature. Maroons remained militarily vigilant guerrilla fighters who occasionally intensified raids on the plantations and freed other slaves. In this respect they kept fighting against the oppressive forms of the plantation system, and against the most violent side of the primitive accumulation of capital. For Malm, the transition to fossil capitalism is internally linked to colonialism, and is most heavily felt by the colonized peoples and on the peripheries of the world system; while for Ferdinand it is also vital to see that maroon transformative resistance offered a utopian horizon, and he takes this

as an epistemological departure point in rethinking Caribbean histories.

Neither of these two mentioned works focused on the artistic dimension of the partisan maroon struggles, but their theoretical frame informs my ongoing research. In my research I will first need to align the Yugoslav partisan case into the general transhistorical solidarity/lineage, which Walter Benjamin already called for as a recovery of the “tradition of the oppressed”.⁸ Having in mind a very different historical context (from the Caribbean), I analyze the resistance to the fascist occupation in Yugoslavia during World War II. There are a few immediate similarities in partisan practices and sensibility to their environments. In a similar vein to the maroons, Yugoslav partisans – in order to survive and become/remain free – were forced to take refuge in the dense forests and mountains of the Balkans. These sites of refuge turned into veritable sites of resistance and constituent power. The Communist Party, along the partisan self-organization with people, developed alternative political and cultural counter-institutions in the liberated areas. Partisan art played a vital role in creating this imaginary of a different world. What also needs to be taken into account is that their *modus operandi* was very mobile since liberated territories disappeared, were expanded, or partisans needed to move in entirely different regions, sometime in a matter of weeks. The whole liberation struggle can be seen as a long reterritorializing movement and guerrilla warfare. Yugoslav antifascist resistance did not merely oppose the fascist occupation but was designed as a fight against the prewar Kingdom of Yugoslavia; that is, it targeted the exploitation and domination of people, and war itself as domination over nature.

IT IS NOT SURPRISING that within the partisan struggle, the “people’s liberation struggle” in Yugoslavia, nature, forest, animals, and plants played a vital part in the partisan way of life and imaginary, as is here claimed, forming a sort of partisan ecology. What is perhaps more surprising is that even in the most recent scholarship on partisan struggle and partisan art, there has been no serious study on this dimension and relation. One will find Marija Stanonik’s short analyses on nature in partisan poems; Lojze Gostiša analyzed some allegorical motifs of animals in graphic art; and in an appendix to his book, Miklavž Komelj gives a short overview of “becoming animal” in some poetic-literary partisan works.⁹ However, the broader analysis of partisan art and symbolic politics, the relationship of partisans to nature, and the role of nature in art, has been hitherto missing in analyses.

Partisan birch/art: between propaganda and modernism?

The material presented will not be used in order to canonize and elevate nature and landscape in partisan art. Rather, my initial hypothesis is to show how selected artworks that worked with the non-human – such as plants, forests and animals – became not only allegories of the partisan struggle, but also took sides in the struggle and were touched by liberation. I am not look-

ing (just) for documentation of fascist terror on the animals killed and scorched earth, but on those images and poems that grasped nature dialectically, as both traces of horrific violence and promises of emancipation. In times of fascist danger there is no innocent nature, or trees, which evokes a contemporaneous trope of Walter Benjamin putting forward “politicization of aesthetics” against the fascist “aestheticization of politics” – or Brecht’s poetic remark that it has become almost a crime to speak of trees in the times of fascism.¹⁰

IN THE YUGOSLAV and most notably in the Slovenian liberation context the controversy about what role to ascribe to partisan art was sharpened in 1944 following a public call for drawings/paintings. The controversy is known by the name “partisan birch” (in Slovenian *partizanska breza*), since the call carried the following political directive: If someone wants to paint a tree such as a birch, then it needs to be clear that “a well-drawn birch tree cannot be a work of art if there is no rifle leaning against it or if it is not pierced by a burst shot.”¹¹ Nature would need to carry a direct representation of (military) struggle, and this is why the call was deemed propagandist, and carrying a decree/directive. The text was immediately challenged by many communists and diverse partisan artists in the public debate that articulated an autonomist position (that also prevailed). Many retroactive interpretations of this controversy – which were sustained throughout socialist times – claimed that we were dealing with a typical dichotomy between a socialist realist / propagandist side and an autonomist, modernist side that supported the autonomy of artists.

However, a close reading shows that both sides were not so far apart: the autonomist (later modernist) perspective never argued that there is such a thing as value-free, unpolitical art. Even more within the liberation struggle will any work of art become political; while also, what was deemed propagandistic neither excluded any particular art form from partisan art, nor could we claim that socialist realism was a predominant frame of liberation art. The retrospective dichotomy was overcome by the partisan art practice itself: to follow neither propaganda nor partisan modernism/avant-gardism as the guide for practice. Rather, as I tried to show in my book,¹² in the rich artistic material, from graphic or written to oral and music formats, we will find a mixture of modernist, expressionist, avant-gardist, but also propagandistic, vernacular, and folkloric tendencies and legacies. There were no pure partisan forms; what one witnessed was rather a dramatic reversal of who is a producer of art, of what is produced for whom. Those in the struggle were producing for those in the struggle, while the forms were rather a hybrid of amateurish and elitist, produced by new and some established leftist artists, who used scarce material in very inventive ways. Within graphic art we could for example find very expressionist, surrealist, but also social realist and propagandistic drawings, posters, and engravings. Elsewhere I claimed there was no singular tendency that was hegemonic, but a multiplicity of styles and forms that expressed partisan politicization of aesthetics, the drive, affect and imaginary of people’s liberation.



France Mihelič, Ožgana tepka/Scorched pear tree, 1944, črna kreda/black chalk, 38 cm x 27,5 cm, RI-11964.

Case studies: nature becomes partisan?

Departing from the controversy of partisan birch let me give one striking example of a partisan tree, a drawing that became a famous partisan graphic, called *Scorched Pear Tree* (ožgana tepka).

Scorched pear tree

This work was by France Mihelič, who was one of the more famous expressionist graphic artists and produced quite a vast graphic portfolio where (dead) nature and burned trees have an important place. I would like to suggest that the scorched pear tree does not only represent an emblem of fascist war. It is true, as Tina Fortič Jakopič argued, that the scorched tree can be seen as a victim of fascist war, but perhaps there are two further moments to stress: rather than victims, scorched trees are “material witnesses” of war. In a move that isolates and makes the tree autonomous from the landscape, – we not only embellish a trace of violence, but also underline a sign of resisting landscape. Komelj highlighted Mihelič’s rather antimilitaristic stance:

Mihelič maintains that trees are important precisely in their concreteness and foreignness and that the very standpoint from which we become aware of their

importance is also the standpoint from which we can resist the attempt at any aestheticization of war devastation [...] antimilitarist.¹³

Although part of the wood is dead, its horrific form persists and can be a striking exemplification of partisan resilience and resilience of the struggle: an emblem of partisan ecology.

Furthermore, if Mihelič became famous through a joint venture during the struggle – he made a fascinating graphic map, *Our Struggle*, with Nikolaj Pirnat – his most visionary and inspiring graphic work can be found in his series of drawings *Apocalypse*. He captured the dimensions of destruction of villages, people, nature; signs of violence, rape and torture form an apocalyptic landscape not easily captured by photo or film lenses. There is one striking drawing – which also later became a graphic artwork, a linoleum cut, called *Traces* (*sledovi*).

Traces (Blood's brotherhood)

Tina Fortič Jakopič argues that this particular drawing “encapsulates the stage of total ruin, while at the same time it shows the moment where everything calms down and silences ... the only surviving beings are two crows”.¹⁴ The only surviving beings: animals. This slowing down is symptomatic, since most other images and graphic art from Mihelič represent movement, of people, partisans, fascists, and other figures. In contrast to those, both *Scorched Pear Tree* and *Traces* seem to become standstills of war, where life becomes still, and can be seen as a temporary result of the movements of war.



France Mihelič, Sledovi (Krvava bratovščina) /Traces (Blood's brotherhood), linorez/linoleum cut, 1945, 17 x 14,80 cm, GR-63.

The next groups of examples deal with forest, which as mentioned was not only the primary site of refuge for partisans, but also a primary site of political organization and resistance, a laboratory of people’s power. Animals, and the forest itself, became a major part of partisan and artistic sensibility. Despite Marija Stanonik’s suggestion that within partisan poetry the representation of nature is not as predominant as one would expect, we still have a multiplicity of visual and written material that highlights forest as new political space. Even more, forest becomes a direct allusion to the partisan struggle itself (cf., Komelj 2008). I would like to quote one section from Zoran Hudales’ Senoviški poem that holds a fascinating transition turning partisan fortresses into partisan choirs – choirs being the most popular and mass poetic form and praxis of the partisan struggle:

[...] forests, green fortresses,
murmur of struggles, heroes and victory
Murmur/rustle over the ground where dear ones have
fallen.
Murmur proud, bud and stand!
With the wind mighty to the far distances
Sing especially a song of freedom.¹⁵

The transition from immobile fortress of nature to those choirs given a voice is accompanied by a small shift from murmuring and mourning of the fallen to singing songs of freedom that become extremely mobile and spread to far distances, even to the occupied cities. A similar rhythm and resilience can be traced in various inscriptions of the caged, bruised, and battered birds, and also those birds that cannot be caged, or those that get free. A partisan bird continues to sing despite the impossible circumstances, despite not being heard because of fascist bombs or restrictions to speaking in non-German languages. Despite restrictions and thorns, the partisan bird keeps singing and awakening the people (see another strong poem from Radajev, 1944, *Sing birds*). Birds thus became a strong visual trope; one of the most famous examples was a nightingale singing on a branch of thorns.

Nightingale

The image was included in some printed partisan poem collections. One could even say, emphatically, that such emblems from nature helped to substitute the typical figurative heroic representation of male or female partisans. This bird stands as the index and symbol of the partisan resistance as such.

Tree, forest, and a bird are perhaps too handy examples of partisan – liberation art. Let me

turn now to the more horrific representation, or representation of beasts that have always served to cement the border between human/civilization, and animal, or in a more propagandistic genre, the other side: Fascists would be then expected to be seen as beasts/wolves that prey on »our« people/innocent sheep. However, in various poems, stories, and visual arts one can trace positive references to wolves, and wolf-partisans. From the first partisan reportage made by partisan poet Matej Bor, and his partisan drama from 1942 *Torn/Ragged (Raztrganci)*, Bor used wolves in a clear connection to partisan subjectivity, to becoming partisan-wolves. Also, strikingly, the very first partisan poem printed in Delo in December 1941, *Sing after me (Pojte za menoj)*, not signed but written by the major Slovenian poet Oton Župančič, also ended with a reference to wolves. The song calls



Ive Šubic, Ilustracija za Pesmi Simona Gregorčiča. Illustration for Poems of Simon Gregorčič, linoleum cut, 8 cm x 5 cm, inv. nr. GR-632.

people to arms against the fascist occupation and collaboration, and concludes:

then the wolf assembly
goes to slaughter the hunters.

The assembly of wolves, a “pack of wolves” can be found as becoming a force of fierce resistance, some of whose positive legacy comes from the broader Balkan imaginary (see also Komelj 2008). I suggest here not to take this as a mere metaphor, but rather as an imaginary that sets a political process in motion, what Deleuze and Guattari call “becoming animal”.¹⁶ The latter is defined by a movement from major/the constant to minor/the variable, where deterritorialization marks a nomadic modality of becoming: Partisan struggle, due to its intensity and specific site of struggle, overcoming the border between human and animal. Importantly, such a political reading goes against a retrospective and relativizing liberal-humanist trope that insists on holding to the distinction between humans and animals. Such a trope ascribes horrors of war to humans that became animals (circular argument: because of the war). Such argumentation exculpates humans from horrific deeds: fascist deeds, but also the antifascist struggle for revisionists; these were so inhuman because of the war ideology, because of them departing from human/civilized nature. This presupposes that war is foreign to human nature, or that human beings in times of peace and stability are somehow innocent, civilized, and do not do anything so horrific as preparing grounds for annihilation. It is only war that makes humans into beasts. The metaphor and distinction contributes to the decontextualization of war, here the struggle against fascism, while it is also not factually correct. Biologically and environmentally, the non-human world evidently has no human morality, but follows its own dynamic, laws, selections, adaptations and symbioses that balance ecosystems, while no animal species or beasts exterminate within their own or other species, or build concentration camps with the most perfect industrialist precision. The alternative partisan poetic-literary-political trajectory puts forward a new identification that partisans needed to become the beasts in order to beat the fascists, that it sometimes takes the whole existential engagement to win the struggle. The process of overcoming the binary separation between human and animal is thus highly critical towards the moralizing humanist trope and can be traced in many artworks of that time.

Yet again one of the most emblematic form of visual representation of the beast will be found in France Mihelič’s cycle *Apocalypse*. Some authors entitled the image a screaming dog, but I would like to suggest reading this image as a howling wolf (or even a partisan or a dog becoming a wolf?). Tina Fortič Jakopič analyzed this image as the depiction of a wandering dog as the last one left (besides the two crows already mentioned), who can only howl to the sky in despair. But again, adding a small dialectical twist, this howling wolf can be seen as calling for vengeance, as calling others to arms, to join the emerging assembly and pack of partisan-wolves.



France Mihelič, Tuleči pes (Cikel Apokalipsa)/Howling dog (cylce Apocalypse), tuš s čopičem / ink with brush, 1944, 21 x 17 cm, RI-15148.

Howling dog

Partisan printing contributed a range of poetry and literature for children – there were partisan hospitals in the liberated areas – and within this poetry for children I found a little cartoon that accompanied a poem called *Animals Help* (*Živali pomagajo*), published in 1944.

**That night at full moon
The animals of the forest gathered
They came together in unison:
“We will help the Partisans!”¹⁷**

Cartoon accompanying the poem *Animals Help*. Some animals become couriers, others patrol, again all are partaking in the partisan struggle against fascist occupation. Also importantly, many partisans took animal names when they entered detachments. One of the last key animals present in various stories, poems, graphic maps, photos, and drawings is undoubtedly a mule, or a horse. These were essentially partisans’ most vital means of transport, also a symbol of victimhood and resistance, and a strong part of the constant partisan marching columns.



Animals help / *Živali pomagajo*. Source: Slovenski pionir, april 1944, pp. 9–10. Comic that accompanies a poem.

Column in snow

Some of the most striking figures that represented a mule and a horse are those of Ive Šubic, who refers to the mule by name, or to a horse as a “comrade”, which points not only to overcoming the distinction between human and animal, but to the animal belonging to the political camp. This very much evokes the thought that Oxana Timofeeva – closely reading Platonov whose concern and utopia implied the whole planet – suggested: “In his writings, not only humans, but all living creatures, including plants, are overwhelmed by the *desire for communism*”.¹⁸ In the case of Platonov, the horse’s comradely back; in the case of Šubic his comradely face and never ending support in their joint quest for liberation.



Ive Šubic, Kolona v snegu/Column in snow, linorez/linoleum cut, 1944, 18,5 x 14,3 cm, GR-66b.

Partisan mule Jaka

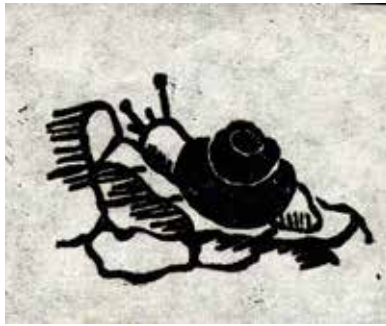
Finally, I would like to mention the image of an animal that might not be seen as struggling in the first lines of partisan struggle: a snail. A snail might be seen as moving too slowly compared to horses, wolves, birds, neither being fierce, nor really able to form assemblies like wolves, not really able to sing a song that would mobilize nature and masses to the joint struggle, or transport the wounded and food for the whole detachment. However, a snail represents the most central feature, attitude and affect of the partisan struggle itself. The snail embodies resilience and a painstaking, long, enduring walk of resistance and liberation of the partisans. A snail also always carries its house, portraying a certain detachment from property and state and pointing to the deterritorializing movement of partisan troops. This feature was also evoked by Che Guevara and different anticolonial struggles.



Ive Šubic, Partizanska mula “Jaka”/ Partisan mule Jaka, svinčnik/pencil 1944, 24,5 x 19,4 cm, RI-676.

Snail

The snail is thus a fitting embodiment of deterritorializing logic that performs constant movement. The snail is a figure that can be juxtaposed to the telluric dimension of belonging eternally to one “homeland”. Let us remember that precisely the attachment to soil was so important in Carl Schmitt’s definition of the partisan figure. For him, partisan formation is distinguished by mobility and irregularity and overdetermined by the telluric attachment. Partisans love and fight for the soil, which we can read as an echo of fascist *Blut und Boden* ideology.¹⁹ For the partisan snail, like the old mole that digs, over and under the soil, it is all about redefining and transforming what the land/country is. For partisan snails, land is not part of a predefined organic national substance, where blood from soil defines its past and future (of a chosen nation) but will transform the land itself and identities in the course of the struggle.²⁰



Alenka Gerlovič, Polž /Snail (Ilustracije za Slovenski pionir, 1945, št. 1), linorez/lino-
leum cut, 1945, 5 x 6,2 cm, GR-24.

TO CONCLUDE, I argued that the Yugoslav partisan struggle and their artistic activities, among other things, produced a strong ecological sensibility, a non-extractivist relationality with the non-human world. We find different depictions, caricatures, allegorical motifs, narrative and representative power invested in the forest, animals and plants. Partisan autonomy and liberated territories were enabled by the deep forests, while they turned refuge into political spaces, and mobilized the non-human world in their struggle against fascism. In the short selection and analysis of some poems, short stories, drawings, and graphic art, animals are not a simple allegory; rather the partisan struggle is marked by a process of becoming (human) animal, by overcoming of distinction between animal and human, enlisting animals as comrades in arms in the fight against fascism. Partisan ecology thus acts and imagines a world without arms or wars, but also a world that challenges and develops beyond growth and profit. ✖

Gal Kirn is Assistant Professor and Research Associate at the department of sociology, Faculty of Arts (University of Ljubljana). He is also affiliated with Södertörn University (Sweden) and part of international research group Partisan Resistances (University of Grenoble).

Funding bodies: The article was written in the context of the research project “Protests, artistic practices and culture of memory in the post-Yugoslav context” supported by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS, J6-3144) and the research project “Distrusting Monuments. War and Art in Former Yugoslavia” supported by the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies (21-PR2-0015).

references

- 1 Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich MECW 5, 1975, 8.
- 2 I detailed this process in my book: Gal Kirn, *Partisan Counter-Archive* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).
- 3 For the most detailed account of partisan art, focused on poetry during World War II, see Miklavž Komelj 2008. *Kako misliti partizansko umetnost?* Ljubljana: založba cf/*.
- 4 Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Duke University, 1991).
- 5 I develop this notion from Marx and elaborate it in the context of memory politics and transition in the (post)Yugoslav context elsewhere; Gal Kirn, “‘The Primitive Accumulation of Capital and Memory’: Mnemonic Wars As National Reconciliation Discourse in (Post-)Yugoslavia.” *Memory Studies* (2022): 1470–1483.
- 6 See Andreas Malm, “In Wildness Is the Liberation of the World: On Maroon Ecology and Partisan Nature”, *Historical Materialism* vol. 26 no. 3 (2018):3–37; and Malcolm Ferdinand, *A Decolonial Ecology: Thinking from the Caribbean World* (Polity Press, 2019).
- 7 Maroon comes from French/Spanish (cimaron); maroon means feral cattle, but also already indigenous slaves, and African slaves that escaped slavery.
- 8 Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (Fontana/Collins, 1973), 255–266.
- 9 Marija Stanonik, *Iz kaosa v kozmos: Kontekstualnost in žanrski sistem slovenskega odporiškega pesništva 1941–1945* [From Chaos to Cosmos: Contextuality and Genre System of Slovenian Resistance Poetry 1941–1945] (Ljubljana: Society for the Study of History, Literature and Anthropology, 1995); Miklavž Komelj, *Kako misliti; Mihelič France and Gostiša Lojze. 1994. Franceta Miheliča Balada o Drevesu : 1941–1945*. [How to think; Mihelič France and Gostiša Lojze. 1994. France Mihelič’s Ballad of a Tree: 1941–1945] (Ljubljana: Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2008).
- 10 Bertolt Brecht, *An die Nachgeborenen* first published in *Svendborger Gedichte* (1939) in: *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 4 (1967): 722–25.
- 11 Rastko Močnik, “A Further Note on the Partisan Cultural Politics” *Yugoslav Partisan Art* eds., Jernej Habjan, and Gal Kirn, special issue of *Slavica Tergestina*, vol. 16–17 (2016): 32. For a longer discussion on political engagement and the modernist, realist and avant-gardist tendencies within left and partisan art, see also the discussion between Komelj and Močnik in the same journal.
- 12 Gal Kirn, *Partisan Counter-Archive*.
- 13 Miklavž Komelj, “The Partisan Art Revisited.” *Yugoslav Partisan Art* eds., Jernej Habjan, and Gal Kirn. Special issue of *Slavica Tergestina*, vol. 16–17 (2016): 60.
- 14 Tina Fortič Jakopič “Apokaliptična Videnja Franceta Miheliča V Podobah Cikla Apokalipsa” [Apocalyptic Visions of France Mihelič in the Images of the Apocalypse Cycle] *Umetnostna Kronika* no. 69 (2020): 22–31.
- 15 Published in Paternu Boris, Marija Stanonik and Irena Novak-Popov, *Slovensko Pesništvo Upora : 1941–1945* [Slovenian Poetry of the Rebellion: 1941–1945], (Novo mesto: Novo mesto Printing House Dolenjska Založba: Scientific Institute of the Faculty of Arts, 1998).
- 16 Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1986).
- 17 Published in *Slovenski pionir*, April 1944, 9–10.
- 18 Oxana Timofeeva, *History of Animals* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 168.
- 19 For my criticism of Schmitt, again Kirn Gal, *Partisan ruptures*.
- 20 Snail is also one of the most important figures of Zapatista movement and their walking into alternative future.