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ANTHROPOLOGY OF
VUKOVAR: STRATEGI-
CALLY REVEALING
THE 'CIVILIZING
MISSIONS' AND PRAC-
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ANTHROPOLOGY OF VUKOVAR': STRATEGICALLY REVEALING THE 'CIVILIZING MISSIONS' AND PRACTICES OF THE CULTURE OF DEATH

Signatures, handshakes, pacts. Terrors, trials and 'serving justice'. 'Killing missions' and 'Relative' '(G) genocides'(?)!² Monuments of promises and passages of time. Time in which the sovereignty is traded in the name of demonstrating a good will for global justice and truth. Yet justice should not be in a parade. It should be served day in, day out.³ It should be established in the course of providing '*...prosperity for ourselves and our posterity*'. The simulacra corollaries to this American dream ignition are many, multiplied over time in too many places to

1 Up to this date the Vukovar (Croatian) truth has not been properly heard in the International (scientific) community. In fact, according to a number of more thorough international scientists there has been a serious miss-representation (see: Grmek 1992; Ramet 1992; Gutman 1993; Boyle 1996; Meštrović 1993, 1996, 1997; Cushman and Meštrović 1996), as well as a severe relativistic portrayal of all happenings, leading to a dangerous negation stance in the International politics (Cushman 2004; Lambrichs 2005). The anthropology of Vukovar is part of a dedicated long-term approach of the author (1992 onwards) towards re-inverting the manipulatively inverted facts, for which over time one could observe, were fabricated in the course of a practice of shaming, easily adopted by the morally lazy and ignorant (Špoljar-Vržina, 2009). Anthropology of Vukovar should 'shame back' with facts. In total agreeing with Cushman's advice for scientists (especially anthropologists) (2004:24), it should be a medium of producing knowledge, once more, from the stance of a scientific moral integrity that sees beyond boundaries. Thus, strong enough to serve regardless of someone's ethnicity/nationality/descent/identity, and protect the real belittled and weak – victims/survivors of the Republic of Croatia and the whole region.

2 All resemblance to recent high politics statements of capturing Osama bin Laden (May 2nd 2011) is in no way – accidental.

3 If one is still to naively believe in the upholding of the values of a leading world's democracy – '*We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America*' (The Constitution of the United States, Permeable).

count-out. The main idea being that justice is the source of remarkable outcomes. Yet, what to say about 'justice' being built on illusive realities, distorted factography, double-bind schizoid practices or celebratory acts of killing missions? What kind of outcomes can we expect in an age when we are invited to 'celebrate' death? How to still hope for a just world in a time when dying has become a major profitable best-sell, *Osamanesque* body-snatching sea burial, on the market of virtual games. While, simultaneously, counting dead a competitive task of competing (budgeted) Human Rights organizations. When the courts of justice became mockeries of reality, 'Justice' became nothing more than simulacra⁴ fitting nicely into the schizoid scheme of the culture of death.⁵ If we are to be de-personalized as persons, nations and people, our opposite sides are to be the savior gods (?) Those that *serve* today, *serve* simulacra 'justice' and judge over our real lives.⁶

Again and again, the citizens of Croatia were able to test their capacity for this regional type of *justice simulacra standard* on the 4th of November of 2010. To ease the

4 Unfortunately, the space of this paper does not give an adequate opportunity for an in-depth look into the phenomenon of the frequent usage of this old Latin term (simulacrum/simulacra). It was further articulated by the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard, in the course of explaining changed relations of the image to its real-life existence (Simulacra and Simulations, 1981).

5 Unfortunately, the space of this paper does not give an adequate opportunity for an in-depth approach to this syntagm and the dimensions it represents. For an insight into the oppositions one is faced when approaching the topic of 'morality' and 'life' see: John Paul II. *Encyclical Letter, Evangelium Vitae: On the Value and Inviolability of Human Life*. Washington: United States Catholic Conference, 1995. It is our belief that the only meaningful approach towards the Anthropology of Vukovar is to be sought on the grounds of the sanctity of all life and the consciousness of serving in the conduct of truth towards peace (Pope Benedict XVI, *Lecture on Consciousness*, National Theatre in Zagreb, Croatia. June 4th 2011).

6 The time-frame of the cases analyzed in this paper spans from November 2010 (when the paper has been presented) to June 2011 (when it has been finished in its final written version). The entry point and main happening is November, 2010. Meeting of the two presidents on the ground of a Croatian atrocity ground zero site – Vukovar. Some further developments, such as the sentences given to the Croatian Generals, General Ante Gotovina/General Mladen Markač and General Ivan Čermak on the 15th April 2011, by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) are left to be analyzed in the following works. Nonetheless, all the given statements and happenings following the 15th April trial strongly confirm the arguments and foreseen developments discussed in this paper. That of the (inter)national mockery of *justice* serving as a convenient free-market vehicle, regardless of the historical facts and humane responsibilities.

story for unlocals, a plethora of news titles ran, similar to the title in *The Independent* – 'gesture politics'.⁷

'Serbian President Boris Tadic became the first Belgrade official to visit a site where more than 200 Croats were massacred at the beginning of the war that tore the former Yugoslavia apart. Mr. Tadic's visit to the eastern Croatian town of Vukovar was intended to help the process of moving on. "I am here to extend words of apology, express sorrow and open possibilities for Serbs and Croats to start a new page in their history", Mr. Tadic said as he laid a wreath at the graveyard of Ovcara, near Vukovar. That marked the place where Serbs took 300 people from the local hospital and executed them in November 1991. Apart from wounded Croat fighters, the victims included women, the elderly and a prominent local journalist. Mr. Tadic's host, Croatian President Ivo Josipovic, said Ovcara is a place of pain and "victims of senseless politics". Mr. Josipovic added: "We came here to pay respect to the victims, express condolences and promise that no perpetrator will remain unpunished." (*The Independent*)

TWO MONTHS LATER (January, 2011)

...the promise was fulfilled, yet not as one would expect through catching, for well over more than a decade, the uncatchable Serbian War Criminals Mladić and Hadžić for the Hague Tribunal. The process of branding a regional 'villain' was achieved, again as expected, through the well-established successful equation practice and inversion of 'justice', a Croat. Nonetheless, a Croatian Independence War Veteran, Mr. Tihomir Purda, that after the fall of Vukovar under the attack of the great-Serbian Aggression, underwent torture in the Serbian concentration camps,⁸ at which time the false testimony was gath-

7 The Independent/Gesture Politics. Serbian Leader Visits Site of War-time Massacre, 4th November, 2010. <http://search.independent.co.uk/topic/gesture-politics>

8 For a thorough empirical study of the practices (physical and psychological torturing) carried on in the Serbian concentration camps (based on the 1917 testimonials of survivors) see – Milas and Šakić, 2004. According to this study, among the methods of psychological torturing, the practice of taking forced testimonials (32%) was a routine part of torture, fully planned in advance and joined with other forms of torture aimed at a personality breakdown. Among the other psychological methods of torture were those such as – *staging false releases* (58%), *staging false executions* (47%), death threatening (65%), threatening through family members (32%), sleep deprivation (52%), forced singing of Chetnik songs (74%), watching sexual torture (5%), petition writing (32%), forced media exposal (19%), single cell exclusions (36%), communication prohibitions (51%), forced listening to tortured victims

ered under force, for his currently (20 years later) activated War time charges. The fact that his statements were gathered through torture procedures and atrocious acts of violence in 1991, in the Serbian concentration camps, was of little significance and was seldom mentioned. However, this should come as no surprise since the well established *practice* is – not mentioning Serbian camps, thus accordingly, not mentioning the conditions under which Purda's, twenty years later activated, 'confession' was taken. The practices of such silence 'stretches' wider, and one should eagerly yearn for a full-fledged analysis set to 'dissect' the mastermind bestiality of planners and their planned agendas practiced from Guantanamo and AbuGhraib to Stajićevo, Niš and Begejci – all contemporary 21st century genocidal death camps. To this day the Serbian leaders define and address their camps of death, as all of the Serbian concentration camps, euphemistically – 'retention centers'.⁹

Leaving these crucial developments and facts to a future thorough historical analysis, it is worthwhile to state that this case was the peak of mockery in the international simulacra of 'serving justice'. However, the international echo, of this obviously important case, was missing. Its resonance in the regional newspapers were around headlines such as *'Purda case tests regional co-operation'*. The truth is Purda tested much more than regional co-operation. Veteran/Defender Purda, unfortunately twice in his life-time, tested the *ultimate law of inversion* – the victim being blamed as a committer – so easily achieved through *practices of shaming* and applied upon all the victims of the Great-Serbian aggression in the past twenty years in these regions.¹⁰

screaming (70%), taking the captives into the unknown (45%), forced watching of torture and killings (28%), threatening through false rejections to be expected of their own country Croatia (82%), multiplied torture and day/night questioning (60%) (Milas and Šakić, 2004: 214).

9 Stretching this strand of analysis to the limit of the dangerous relativizing of human suffering, one might endorse the need of comparison between the regional and further, world-wide, 'Retention Centers' and the AbuGhraib 'style' of military 'questioning' practiced within them. Only comparative sites and procedures can expose the euphemisms and metaphors, that we know, play an important role within the stages of planning such wide-scale genocidal scripts for torture and killings. In the case of *genocidal places* – names of planned spaces speak in a metaphorical accordance with acts conducted at the sites – for instance, it is less known that the Ovčara field of death after the fall of Vukovar was in the times of former Yugoslavia a space where cattle carrion disposal was done, called *mrcilište*.

10 Purda's imprisonment revealed that there were prior cases of imprisoning of Croatian Veterans/Defenders on the basis of false 'confessions'

QUESTIONS OF DEATH, LIFE AND LIVING THE REAL¹¹

Was there a Great-Serbian aggression? The hoped for fact-exact answer on this question might be forever manipulated given our living in the Baudrillard's labyrinthine dungeons of ultimate justice *simulacra*. Coupled with this is also the fact that the project of Yugoslav federalism, accompanied with the very real political dominance and hegemony of extremist ethnic Serbs, became a trademark of the former Yugoslavia and Yugoslav communism, all interwoven into the web of a world-wide hope for maintaining a geostrategic stabile state. Yugoslav communism was subject to a gradual '*aserbissement*' (Serbianization) (Baudrillard, 1996: 84-6, according to Cushman, 2004:23), thus to dismantle the Yugoslav idea, one would also need to dismantle the ethnic predominance in the eyes of the international politics and the world.¹² The question is – do we see this ever happening?

When does one escape the world's game of prescriptions and lies? On what level? One level might be that of being permitted to see Others for what they are (and not, for instance, as identities, ethnicities, nationalities, multicultural blobs). Escaping the real is very comfortable for observers from afar, yet uncomfortable in 'our' lived world.¹³ On ground, in this peacekeeper-tourist's Balcano-

taken at the time of their torture in 1991 Serbian death camps. Veljko Marić is still imprisoned in Belgrade. After Purda's release the justice equilibration mockery continued with the questioning of Dr. Vesna Bosanac, the War Heroine of the 1991 Vukovar Hospital, on the basis of a Serbian prosecutors' plea for her indictment for war crimes.

- 11 This chapter is an end result of discussions with Dr. Louise Lambrichs. She was the one to re-shift me, once again, towards the significance of my psychoanalytical training and embrace, once more, a necessity of grasping the deeper dimensions of meaning in the course of understanding the current happenings. One might add, taking this 'dive' regardless (in fact, courageously, despite) the unease and pain set in motion by a highly probable *solitaire* intellectual stance of a dispersed minority of clear-seers. I am grateful to doctor Lambrichs for 'inflicting' me with this intellectual courage (personal communication, 8th March, 2011).
- 12 This is one way of understanding the obvious unwillingness of the international and part of national/regional community when addressing the mere facts of who attacked whom and when. For a detailed analysis of the exemplary relativistic approach towards the Genocide in the 'Balkans' see: Cushman, *Anthropology and Genocide in the Balkans: An Analysis of Conceptual Practices of Power*, 2004.
- 13 Meaning that the real and reality must be carefully diagnosed according to the two, psychoanalytically, different possibilities of reality – one may be convinced that the ethnicities he projects upon the people on ground are the real (objectively) lived ethnicities by the addressed people he talks about. Twenty years is plenty of time for the projector to get informed, or remain – either in denial or in purposeful act of ignorance.

Disneyland of consumed goods and consumable lifes we need to ask ourselves – what is with us the manikins of the simulacra 'Balkan' land? To what date are we to stoop to the beats of the co-operable highly consumable unreal?¹⁴

How does one escape the frame of thought given to us through 'prescriptions' to behave, forget, co-operate, consume, be unified – in a marketized 'stable' region? Is it to invert and never remember – there was a Great-Serbian aggression? The victims and survivors of the Great-Serbian aggression carry the end results as an, often silenced, but powerful testament. Knowledge that cannot be consumable or buried under carved stones and monuments, or erased from memories under the urgency of any politics. Only a trans-generational work-through of these memorized realities will set in motion a viable future. Neither will the official presidents' handshakes or high-flying diplomatic investors make that carpet of consumerist wishes unfold above the hard traumatized ground of genocidal/memoricide acts.

As we can observe, the memories and monuments in Croatian past have served both ways – they were deliberately erected or deliberately demolished. One of Croatian famous erudits in exile, Dražen Mirko Grmek, was the first to observe, define and apply the concept of *memoricide* on the happenings of the early 90'ties, as a repetition of the Serbian national myths that supported the official Belgrade politics, perpetuating a War of conquest upon Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main visible characteristic of such a War is Memoricide (Grmek, 1992). Memoricide is a very purposeful and rational act of will-

For instance, recently (June 2011) there was a major world broadcaster from UK desperately searching for non-Croatian war heroes, trying to 'spice up' the foreseen documentary on the, still not explained enough Croatian Independence War (recent personal communication with their Croatian counterpart seeking networks in Vukovar).

- 14 A cautionary remark: After buying a summer Villa on the island Korčula, Croatia, Carl Bildt continues to blog-write from the 'dangerous' Balkans. In an entry of Thursday 6th July, 2006, entitled *Balkan Summer* he writes: 'It might have been noticed that the pace of my blogging has slowed down rather considerably. It's the effect of summer starting to set in. I have now relocated to the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, and will have this as my base for some weeks, although with some excursions in different directions. It's a world between the Mediterranean and the Balkan worlds. Italy is just across the sea, and Bosnia is just beyond the most immediate mountain ridge. The politics of the Balkans is still very uncertain.' (http://bildt.blogspot.com/2006_07_01_archive.html) The 'world' Bildt describes is as a space of forever doom, yet one wonders – how can the languages of real-estate ownership and geostrategic positioning be so disproportional, and furthermore, shouldn't the exact geographical name of the 28th EU country one buys a real-estate in be a well knowledgeable fact?

fully and consciously destructing the cultural treasures and memories of 'others', the Adversaries, the (un)known ones, as well as being the nucleus of genocidal politics towards them (Grmek, 1992, 1997). Nowadays, from the same trail of analytical intellectual thought we have the sad first-hand confirmation that the once diagnosed propaganda of memoricide goes on. Louise Lambrichs, a well known French author confirms this observation – *'Unfortunately I must confess, that genocidal politics did not present itself as such to a great number of people and that in this sense the academics historians, in France or elsewhere, at least to the extent that I could confirm, are not conscious of the real causes of War – what prevents them to evoke different causes. If the historians are not aware, we can suppose that the politics, especially the European Union politics, is even less aware. This is what makes fragile, that which we call political sciences, that rest alone on a number of myths'* (Lambrichs, 2011). Lambrichs, on the basis of her own *real* Freudian experience and memory process connected to the extinction of Jews in France and Western Germany, concludes that *memoricide* is an integral part of the genocide concept and in that aspect is radically different from a classical war. To this date, she warns about this difference, dangerously not clear too many, stating that this is also observable in the approach with which the international law assembly treats this War (Lambrichs, 2005, 2011, 2011a).

Two *ad hoc* cases in point? Ad 1) the forceful search by the ICTY prosecutors for the Croatian missing artillery diaries on the town of Knin (1995), never to be compared with the de-fragmented regional doings of Serbian artillery (from 1991 onwards) in the whole region, especially in the siege of Vukovar and Sarajevo; Ad 2) the forceful negation of the biological warfare applied by Yugoslav Federal Army in all parts of Croatia and farther.¹⁵

In this paper, out of countless Great-Serbian aggression memoricide sites we choose to visually present the most crucial ones as a first-step, quick glance, correction of the distorted 'justice' map of obviously un-informed ICTY prosecutors¹⁶ (Figure 1). On the level of a deeper

15 See Professor Šitum's expert statement on the biological humane warfare being used by the Yugoslav Federal Army against the people in the South of Croatia (2004: 57-61). Professor Šitum was the first woman physician in the Croatian Army. Between October 1991 and December 1993, she served as the Head of the Medical Corps of the 4th Split Brigade and as the Croatian Army Medical Corps Officer and Chief Inspector.

16 Croatia should keep looking for missing artillery diaries, Brammertz says. 15th December, 2010 (<http://www.croatiantimes.com/news/Gen->

analysis we choose to support the cultural memory and search for meaning in the course of nurturing justice, truth and peace. The following part of the paper gives an overview of the **main trans-generational points of resistance and survival** in times of the barbaric decline of the value of life.

RESISTING MEMORICIDE – VUKOVAR, CROATIA – 1991 REGIONAL GROUND ZERO

On the 4th November 2010, mothers and families of Vukovar, veterans and victims, once more, defended Croatia. On this date, as in November of 1991, for those that do not and did not hate the only weapon is a rosary. The symbolic turning of their backs on Ovčara, that was officially explained as an act of declining the offered reconciliation of the Serbian president Tadić, for many was a sign that there is always an existing number of those who can resist the *politics of shaming* (Špoljar-Vržina, 2009). The politics of candle lighting, wreath laying and circus-like monument visitations to the resting place of their loved ones, evidently tortured to death by an act of genocide. All this is clearly observable from the stance of critical anthropology.¹⁷

Anthropology should be the science in which the debt of scientists is well articulated through the work of supporting those in resistance towards (inter)national politics, of all politics that have their roots in the desensitization and conditioning, as the basis of spreading a culture of death.¹⁸ Spreading theatrical history from document to

eral_News/2010-12_15/15869/Croatia_should_keep_looking_for_missing_artillery_diaries,_Brammertz_says) or if removed see the author's archive.

- 17 A gaze with the aim to step out of a standard historical, sociological and ethnographical approaches into the deeper symbolic levels of daily representations. This paper is a prolegomena for the Anthropology of Vukovar, an ongoing analysis dedicated to not only documenting and saving cultural memories, but a template of day to day resisting the memoricide of the (inter)national equilibrium politics upheld through the declarative Human rights and 'justice' mockeries.
- 18 Unfortunately, the intellectual vibrancy of this discipline has also proven the *vice versa* case in which, at the beginning of the 90'ties, a good number of anthropological 'Balkanologists' got lost in the track of time, space and power – see the debate between the sociologist Thomas Cushman and self-proclaimed experts on Balkan (Cushman, 2004 vs. Denich, 2005 and Hayden, 2005). It is interesting to mention that at the beginning of 1990'ties the majority of these anthropologists debated in the *Eastern European Anthropological Review* with a surprising firmness and confidence in their ethnic Othering. For a great number of Croatian anthropologists this act was fully understandable, given the knowledge of the former Yu fieldwork destinations of these 'Balkan ex-

document; act to act; process to process. Trying to mute the talk of the righteous.

In the usual false reinterpretation of Hannah Arendt's (2006) work we listen about the *banality of evil*, while the correct interpretation relates to the existence of people that regardless of their banal meaning in a hierarchy, are capable for, through their bureaucracy work, the spread of evil doings. They are not only irrational *madmen* and *monstrums*, as often represented in an act of exculpating portrayals, but skilful 'laboratory' workers of precise multiplying evil acts to its crystallization into the culture of evil. Therefore, unfortunately very precisely, the victimized righteous have their very factographically and chronologically concrete time of suffering and agony; as well as very concrete causes of their suffering and agony. The victimized righteous have their names, places and times of their suffering death.

In the *politics of shaming* (Špoljar-Vržina, 2009) the language of flower beds, candles, monuments and graves has become one of the routine patterns of victim-negating and victim-muting, erasing their names, places and the legitimate processes of mourning in the vigils for their dignity (Figure 2). Once more, as was shown at Ovčara, the strength and power of an entirely transcendental positioning of one's suffering carries a concrete bearing of the Gospel of life. The mothers and family members of Veterans/Defenders reminded us through their prayer, of all the hardships and bitterness of living in a society which does not support the grieving one. In fact, a society in which there are purposeful uses and abuses of the acts of grieving and mourning.¹⁹ More precisely, these processes are seen as obstacles in the overall strategic procesuality of cooperative, restorative and stabilizing acts that are to bring

perts' and the sources of their information. However, what was unconceivable at the time was the militancy that was to follow, by which the sheer geographical marker of living in Croatia, for many meant being perceived as *Ustashas*.

- 19 It is vitally necessary to approach these processes through a deeper psychoanalytical understanding of grief as the emotion accompanying mourning which is much more complex than the standard scheme of psychological differentiation allows us to see. Thus, mourning is not only a formalized process of responding to death but a very individually different and delicate period of responding to the loss of the loved one, unpredictable in its outcome. It cannot be forced, negated and planned. It can not be resolved 'once and forever'. On the individual level, this is especially significant in cases of sudden and violent deaths of loved ones. On the level of politics, this is especially significant concerning the counterproductive, ignorant and uninformed approaches of 'ending the stories of suffering forever' by 'turning new leaves' (see for instance Rycroft: *A Critical Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, 1968).

about a more accelerated marketization of the region, in accordance with the efforts of presidents, parliaments and Unions.

The suffering of the victims and their faith is unmarketable, equally as it is uncontestable, indestructible, immeasurable, to the same extent as transcendental. The victims can be endlessly equalized, counted, compared, negated – but in the moment when they become the strength of the survivors, they point to the *untimely sacred* since they cease to be restricted by space, place or culture. Is this position the ultimate position of understanding what Levinas challenges us to see when he speaks of the *face of the Other?* (1998:35-37). Victims and their survivors are defined with a differentiation of only one hierarchy – that between land and sky. Additionally, *Vukovar is the Ground Zero*²⁰ of the chronological and geographical spread of genocidal suffering for the whole region. In reverse, it is an act of humane courage to spread hope through a rosary on Ovčara, hoping to see the *humane in the face of the Other*, or, courageously turning away from it when one gathers that the Other's face (in the name of money) still ceases to see the humane in itself, ourselves and our dear tragically deceased ones.²¹

Can there be a 'reconciliation' through acts of this kind? Can there be a reconciliation without prayer of this kind? Without a hope in the spiritual strength and endurance? On the *4th November of 2010* mothers prayed the rosary turning their backs on the two Presidents and their delegations. The language of the rosary is not understandable if one wishes to understand it as a symbolism subordinated to the secular manipulation of semantic processing. Should we be surprised with the devaluation of mothers with a rosary? In a society where the act of *apologizing* and *forgiveness* is apprehended as a '*relaxation of heavy relationships*'; where the future is seen as the building of '*new bridges and turning new leaves in a book*' in the course of a accelerated development of the region; or where ecumenism '*serves towards reconciliation*' and is seen as a vehicle of '*affirming democracy, tolerance and religious freedom*'²² – We should not be surprised but should be continuously

20 Although seldom repeated – Vukovar is a place of concrete geographical significance, together with the epicenter of Ovčara, from where the genocidal wave of 1991 started spreading throughout the whole region.

21 For a full comprehension of the hypocrisy behind apologizing through the trias of money, justice and history see – Levinas, 1998: 37.

22 All phrases have been taken in the period of one year from presidential speeches (Republic of Croatia and Republic of Serbia). The phrases testify of a, far beyond, disturbing level of un-informed speech writers and advisors in the presidential staffs.

disturbed. Disturbed enough to be devoted towards an interdisciplinary study of the characteristics of this process of degrading every act of morality into an act of humiliation and progressive dehumanization. Above all, where the humiliation is of such kind that one is deprived of his/her personal timeline of grieving, as well as the right to mourn at a pace of his/her own will.

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RESISTING TIME/SPACE COMPRIMATION

The mechanisms of shaming are various and described in previous work on the analysis of processes present in negation, symbolic dishonoring, forced memory denial, accelerated psychological work-through, inversion and shaming (Špoljar-Vržina, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010). Given the recent happenings it is clear that further analytical work needs to be orientated towards encompassing an even wider and deeper scope of analyses. Namely, the accelerated rate of negation that no longer can be culturally and mentally tolerable and sustainable. Its unmoral and long-term detrimental effects are best seen in the domain of 'constructed' suffering. The amount of time acknowledged (better said bureaucratically allocated) for 'the processes' of grieving, mourning, posttraumatic stress appearance and promoting, remembrance, alongside with other treatments of victimhood among us, becomes humanly unviable, professionally amoral and historically uncorrect. Thus, the process of inverting all experience, reached the peak of an endpoint of what one can call moral acts of sustaining the dignified, viable and truthful.

It is no coincidence that the main catch phrases of many presidents around the world, such as those we heard on Ovčara, are – *'turning a new leaf'*, *'finishing once and forever'*, *'not mentioning again'*, etc. The distorted emulation with the authentic chronology, actual meanings, feelings and the experiential pledge of survivors' hopes to reach a threshold of symbolization, yearns to be sufficient enough for a collective memoricide. On the psychological level one can very well feel the missing emotional capacity (in the language of such *'understanding'*, *'apologizing'*, *'paying respect'*) especially if the whole process is aimed at a simultaneous equalization of victimhoods. It is not hard to determine that we are not dignified actors in such processes, but rather subdued bureaucratic entities in a sequence of money 'productive' work. In the words of Levinas we are being quantified with a high 'price' of future unrest:

But the quantification of man – such as the ambiguity of money makes possible – heralds a new justice. If the radi-

cal difference between men (that which does not derive from differences of character or social position, but from their personal identity, irreducible to the concept – from their ipseity itself, as we say today) were not overcome by the quantitative equality of an economy measurable by money, human violence could be rectified only through vengeance or forgiveness. Such a rectification does not put an end to violence: evil engenders evil and infinite forgiveness encourages it. Such is the march of history. But justice interrupts that history. We have insisted on this interruption of history in which the We is constituted. Money lets us catch sight of a justice of redemption, replacing the infernal or vicious circle of vengeance or forgiveness (Levinas, 1991/1998:36).

The introjected and detrimental quantification of our lives is present for over two decades, while the 'mould' we are to fit in is called European Union.²³ The same European Union that only two decades ago did not have the mechanisms, will or a firm moral stance to respond to the *Vukovar Ground Zero* moments of the destruction that stretched throughout all Croatia and into the whole region. Yet for some reason the illusion is being spread that our ideal category of existence should be forgetting our past and turning towards another round of unjust settlements. *We cannot diminish the condemnation which, from Amos 2:6 to the Communist Manifesto, has fallen upon money, precisely because of its power to buy man. But the justice which is supposed to save us from money cannot deny the superior form of economy – that is, of the human totality – in which the quantification of man appears: the common measure between men for which money – whatever its empirical form – provides the category. It is certainly quite shocking to see in the quantification of man one of the essential conditions of justice. But can we conceive of a justice without quantity and without reparation?* (Levinas, 1991/1998: 37-38).

According to the official historical chronicles, the *4th November 2011 in Vukovar, Croatia* was a day of co-operative monetary presidential handshakes to boost the region. Yet it remains dubious in just what way this co-operativeness is to be maintained on the level of people's memories. Do we need to await the (genocidal) future, over and over again, to reveal whether this was an authentic and viable mission or a purposeful silencing and grief provoking action? An action in order to make (at least on the outskirts), once more, an economically 'breathless' European Union, illusionary vitalized through the power of money.

23 We leave the time line of this scientific 'riddle' purposefully vague for future scientific investigations.

SURVIVING THE EUROPEAN'S BAD CONSCIENCE

But the European conscience is not at peace, in this time of modernity, which is essential to Europe, and which is also a time of reckoning. A bad conscience after thousands of years of glorious Reason, of the triumphant Reason of knowledge; but also after thousands of years of political – and bloody – fratricidal wars, of imperialism in the guise of universality, of contempt for human beings and exploitation, including, in this century, two world wars, oppression, genocides the Holocaust, terrorism, unemployment, the never-ending poverty of the Third World, the ruthless doctrines of Fascism and National Socialism, and even the supreme paradox in which the defense of the person is inverted into Stalinism. (Levinas, 1991/1998:192)

Paradoxically, at the time of Levinas's writing these lines about an *European conscience*, in 1991, Vukovar was yet preventable. The whole cascade of suffering that followed from the *Vukovar Ground Zero* to all Croatia and the region was preventable. The genocide that happened in Croatia and later on in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not easy to dissolve with moralistic relativism, and for obvious reasons, neither is it prudent to negate it. In the course of not doing so one would need to truthfully acknowledge the existence of a force in the epicenter of Balkan whose doings were preventable and confess of one's own unwillingness to prevent it. It is from this standpoint that we need to understand the atrocious future that is to come if we adopt the nearsighted liberal functionality of silencing further grief and mourning. As well as silencing all firm reminders of the authentic happenings in 1991, onwards. Opposite to this, the two presidents in Vukovar, blatantly 'enlightened' through their internationally supported announcement of the monetary driven future for the whole region, march happily and blindfoldedly ahead. Anyone opposed to their tempo does not wish well for the region. But well for whom? The 'civilizing' role models that give an ideal agenda of endless neo-imperialistic wars without reparation of the old ones?

It is not surprising that the act of annihilation and shaming are started on Ovčara and in Srebrenica. If the stability mantra is enforced there, who will dare to oppose the historical imprinting of forgetting and repeating. Unfortunately, for this secularist elitist thinking style – there is a lack of wisely spiritual vision and honesty to acknowledge that neither *new book leaves* nor *new bridges* can revert our observing that graffitis are still being written, flags are still being burnt and chants of hatred are being

chanted all over Republic of Serbia.²⁴ Coincidentally or not, the stance of Serbian extremists is not recalled and is gaining momentum throughout the international community.²⁵ The concern over this should not be solely on the level of ethnical disputes and contestation, but accompanied by a genuine fright over the international repeating patterns of imperial kitsch preferencing, partner choosing, splitting, ethnicizing and acts of genocide supporting.²⁶

In the dimension of morally right and wrong it is to be well known that the International community, predictably, always does best what it is used to do best – 'nothing'.²⁷ Nothing that would prevent extremists to repeat the well known genocidal scenarios in the future. In fact, directly supporting them. Yet, how naive would it be to expect the noble of the international community approaches. Time and time (proven) again – '*nothing*' and '*waiting*' are the hallmarks of 'action' in the morally relativistic liberal times. Delegated emissaries are sent to 'engage' and 'enzymatically' spur the periphery to 'civilized' behavior, self-organizing and self-reconciling. It is still contro-

24 Such as '*ubi Hrvata i šiptar demokrata*' meaning 'Kill the Croat and the Shiptar democrat' (Democrat for collaborating with the NATO forces) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ju4MXO5S3wo> or if removed see the author's archive.

25 For instance, a simple search on the world wide spread (from Australia to United States of America) of monuments erected to the Serbian extremist reveals frequent obituaries of this kind '*In lieu of flowers, donations to General Draza Mihailovic Monument Fund or St. Nicholas Serbian Orthodox Church would be appreciated by the family*' (February 21, 2011).

26 Regardless of the any historical interpretation the order of historical recidivist is easy grasped visually and metaphorically through a mural in the Foreign Office London, UK. Sigismund Goetze's mural from 1920 presents the world wars and peacemakings through a metaphorical depiction of maidens – United Kingdom is handshaking with United States of America, while bellow her skirts are weak Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro. With such a significant historical imprint can one count on an Anglo-saxon code of impartiality? Should one be surprised by its main characteristic of turning away from the 'disobedience' by ones coat-tails? (see: BRITANNIA PACIFICATRIX <http://collections.europarchive.org/tna/20080205132101/http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&id=1046180542245>) – if removed see the author's archive.

27 The basis for this, seemingly broad-sweeping, statement is to be sought in a wide body of literature from humanitarian and forced migration studies to the international relations and military studies. One could start best at the seminal work of Harrell-Bond (Imposing Aid, 1986), and ending at the current interdisciplinary studies on the state of Affairs of prolonged genocide such as Palestine and Sudan, Darfur or prolonged population viability diminishment through toppled sanctions upon long-term anti-terrorist wars, such as those in Afghanistan and Iraq.

versial to state that this acceptance of new mental maps of 'civilized' and 'democratic' behavior are only buzz words for a *toxic entrepreneurship* of profit and investment functioning. Yet, an endless range of neoliberal 'philanthropists' wait in line, from European to transatlantic fund origins, to do '*nothing*' and while '*waiting*', profit through each and every known project phrase in the book of the 'civilized'.²⁸ Croatia, alone, on its soil, to this date, has a plethora of these money-making projects. In the international academic circles of the critique on humanitarian business, it is no secret that philanthropy has its red-carpets around the world with the best prophiteering made in regions that need to be 'stabilized'.²⁹ Regardless of all this, it is not naive to be appalled with the fact that suffering, resilience and transgenerational viability are all just domains of prophiteering, as well as to be opposed to the geostrategies of power that proclaim themselves imposed through power above those of our transcendental human need of mourning. It is not naive, it is humane.

It is necessary to understand that there is no current scientific paradigm that can orientate enough towards the act of understanding. It is necessary to trade the will 'to understand' with the will to remain humane. Humane in opposition to the shaming, culturocide and memorocide, so precisely defined by Grmek as early as 1992, leading into a construction of history, trickled all the way down to the construction of personal memory. The clarification reads – instead of local Presidents, Ovčara was supposed to be visited by high representatives of the Euro-Atlantic coalition, Hillary Clinton and Lady Ashton, with apologies to the victims of the whole region of the past twenty years. If Vukovar is *Ground Zero*, Ovčara is its epicenter, where the international community tested its moral impotence and successive capacity for long-term amorality (not only throughout this region). Twenty years ago, con-

28 Currently, there is an ongoing debate of the 'civilized' political elite in connection to the processing of 15.000 civilian murders in Iraq, directly killed through the telesights of co-aligned 'anti-terrorist' army men. Will there be an International Court of Justice for these acts of murder? Probably the answer is aligned with the answer of the will of the International justice community to 'finally' find/process the war criminals, Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/22/true-civilian-body-count-iraq>) or if removed see the archive of the author.

29 Since the material for this paper is restricted, and this is a point of opening a new topic on the criminal war-profiteering networks throughout the global wars, further reading is suggested starting with the seminal work of Peter Andreas (*Blue Helmets and Black Markets*, London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

sciously or unconsciously, willfully or un-willfully, the unleashed barbaric amorality of the culture of death spread to one more nation and its people – from Croatia to the whole region.³⁰

RESISTING THE REVOLVING DOORS OF ETHNIC SHAMING

In the continuous pressures of the international community it is well known and studied that the solidifying medium of ethnicity differentiation and political ethnicization takes the major role.³¹ In this case, if we are constantly being pressured into perceiving such relations, not based on the differentiation of good and evil, but on the differentiations based on preferential ethnicizing orientated towards the investment entrepreneurship – we need to say³² some Serbs are easier to forgive than others. Those that are forgiven gave their apologies and deep remorse not yesterday (19 years later), but as early as 1991. What is disturbing is the fact that their humane response was also forgotten from their own people.

In the early months of 1991. Professor Jovan Bamburač, neuropsychiatrist and humanist, gave an interview to our investigative journalist Branka Šeparović, while jointly analyzing her documentary material made in, at that time the most dangerous part of Croatia, held under the upraised Serbs under their euphemistically called *Log revolution*.³³

30 Unfortunately, the space of this paper leaves many painful suffering sites and times untouched – such as those of the fragmented acts of genocidal attacks of the early 90'ties, all over Croatia (Lovas, Erdut, Karanac, Dubrovnik, Konavli, Kijevo, Drniš, Šibenik, Zadar, Lovinac, Škabrnja, Četekovci, Čoljuga, Balinac, Voćin and others), farther to the borderlands with Bosnia and Herzegovina (Banja Luka, Doboj, Bijeljina and others), all well before Sarajevo and Srebrenica (see the work of the Croatian Society of Victimology Headed by Professor Zvonimir Šeparović); such as those of the criminal acts against sex and gender – the rapes of women and men, starting in Vukovar and Serbian death camps, spreading as a tactic of War all over the region. For the later, the happenings have just recently started to be known and need the support of law and science to be brought into the forum of international discourse on security, victimhood and genocide. This listing is in no way a suitable space for notifying all the victims and survivors.

31 See the anthropological references and authors under keywords such as ethnicity and decolonization!

32 Paraphrasing Levinas when speaking of his friend Heidegger who had an affinity for the Nazis 'One can forgive many Germans. But there are some Germans it is difficult to forgive. It is difficult to forgive Heidegger' (Levinas, 1994:25).

33 The interview with Professor Bamburač – 4:19-5:55 (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aNHKp34Xdb0>) if removed see the author's archive.

The documentary was made around the town of Knin, at which time Professor Bamburač witnessed:

*'I must say that I am confused with this report so... in fact I am overflown with a feeling of something irrational and it seems to me somehow deeply untrue. I am not certain that the destiny of us Serbs in Croatia is so black. Neither do I think that we are under threat of such ghastly dangers, as to extinction. I am deeply convinced that we can and must live together.'*³⁴

Later on in the interview we learn that Professor Bamburač was endlessly, unsuccessfully trying to get in contact with one of the leaders of the 90'ties self-proclaimed Serbian Krajina in Croatia, Milan Babić:

*In fact, I wanted to tell him, as to a man, that there are many of us Serbs that would gladly live in togetherness with Croats and we do not think that this togetherness will be bad for us. I know that we are ready, and that if the real danger would present itself, we would know how to defend ourselves against such danger, but I am deeply convinced that there is no such danger for us.'*³⁵

Fourteen years later (in 2004) the man that could not be reached, Doctor Milan Babić, indicted for war crimes through the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, testified:³⁶

'I come in front this Tribunal with a deep sense of shame and remorse. I allowed myself to be part of a prosecution of the worst kind against people only because they were Croats and not Serbs.(...) The remorse I feel because of this is the pain with which I must live for the rest of my life. (...) I ask my Croat brothers to forgive their brothers Serbs. I beseech my Serbian nation to leave the past behind them and turn to the

34 'Pa moram reći da sam tako zbunjen tim izveštajem da... preplavljnjen sam zapravo jednim osećajem nečega iracionalnoga i čini mi se nekako duboko neistinitog. Ja nisam siguran da je tako crna sudbina nas Srba u Hrvatskoj, niti mislim da nam prijete takve užasne opasnosti maltene do istrebljenja. Ja sam duboko uvjeren da mi možemo i moramo živjet zajedno.'

35 'Ja sam zapravo njemu htio tako reć kao čovjeku da ima nas mnogo Srba koji bi itekako rado živjeli zajedno sa Hrvatima pri čemu ne mislimo da ćemo loše proći u tom zajedništvu. Ja znam da smo mi i spremni, kad bi stvarna opasnost bila mi bi se znali i boriti protiv takve opasnosti, ali duboko sam ubjeđen da takve takve opasnost zapravo za nas nema.'

36 ICTY-statement of Dr. Milan Babić of his guilt – <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uztzY2zGrr0> – if removed see the author's archive.

*future where the good, empathy and justice will in some way make lighter the results of evil in which I myself took part.'*³⁷

In March of 2006 Milan Babić was found hanged in the premises of his cell at the UN detention unit prison at Scheveningen, The Netherlands.

Why were the wisely and humane 1991 pleas of Professor Bamburač silenced? Why is the 2004 statement of Doctor Babić in front of the ICTY never cited? The simple reason lies in the fact that their words confute the well established equilibration of guilt among ethnicities in the former Yugoslavia. It would endanger the useful equation that proves to be functional in the sweeping generalizations of the interested national and international political communities. Among other things, this would bring us closer to the study of centuries old reasons why Babić beseeches only his Serbian people on forgetting the past. The past that was in the Serbian case used in the course of prosecuting all non-Serbs in a criminal project.

'The Project' was actively supported far beyond 1991. Its dangerous features of future genocidal acts were tangible in 1988/1989. In those years as a part of the comprehensive preparations for the commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo Battle, the holy relics of Prince Lazar, the leader of the Serbian army at Kosovo, were carried throughout the 'Balkans'.³⁸ Along the route of all pits where there are Serbian bones from the WWII (Živković, 2001:4). The explanation of this connection between lands, graves and Serb 'honor' was given by one of Serb extremists, Vuk Drašković, in his speech in the Serbian Writers Society (Drašković, 1990:111; cited from

37 „Izlazim pred ovaj Tribunal sa dubokim osećanjem sramote i kajanja. Dozvolio sam sebi da učestvujem u progonu najgore vrste protiv ljudi samo zato što su bili Hrvati, a ne Srbi. Žaljenje koje osjećam zbog toga je bol sa kojim moram živeti ostatak života. Molim moju braću Hrvate da oproste braći Srbima. Preklinjem moj srpski narod da ostavi prošlost iza sebe i okrene se budućnosti gdje će dobro, saosećanje i pravda na neki način olakšati rezultate zla u kome sam i sam učestvovao.“

38 '...as a part of the comprehensive preparations for the commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo Battle, the holy relics of Prince Lazar, the leader of the Serbian army at Kosovo, were carried from the Patriarchate in Belgrade through parts of Croatia and Bosnia, back to Serbia and finally returned to the monastery Gračanica in Kosovo. The relics were passing through the same areas in which the pits were being excavated and the bones of WWII genocide victims reburied. The Serbian Orthodox Church organized both. There was no question that these rituals were marking the extent of what was seen as the maximal potential range of Serbian territory' (Živković, 2001:4).

Živković, 2001:4.)³⁹ Passionately he explained the reasons why in the case of a Yugoslavian break-up the borders of Serbia would have to reach deep into Croatia.⁴⁰

After twenty years of genocidal successive developments, spurred from the explained Serbian elite reasoning, one is left with the unsettling thought of all victims killed, especially by those killed by the Partisan Antifascist's armies, dumped and left there in graves all around former Yugoslavia, to this day. What is with their bones? What is with their right to 'vote' through ethnicity belonging (German, Austrian, Croatian). According to the extremist Serbian style of 'justice' reasoning their 'votes' and 'bones' are provocations of history repeating itself. For those that support that kind of reasoning it must be said that their time of conscience settling is yet to come through honoring the existence of such joint graves, that are in fact criminal sites of unattended confessions, unbearable secrets and trans-generational soul wounds. In our whole region there is a need for a fair ethnicity approach towards graves, bones and monuments. The hardship of some ethnicities to confirm their sites from 1940'ties to this date testifies that soul-matters become places of repeated negation, contestation, purposeful shaming and suffering (FIGURE 3).

The dangerous effects of developing the metaphoric of graves and monuments linked to hatred, rather than humility and love of wisdom linked to prayer is very well known, yet sufficiently belittled to be successfully launched as a source of wisdom for the future. In choosing

39 '...in the case of Yugoslavia's breakup, the Western borders of Serbia will actually extend as far as the Serbian pits and graves in Croatia. If Yugoslavia disintegrates, he said in a typical poetic exaggeration, the right of vote will be extended to Jasenovac and Jadovno, to all our pits' (Drašković 1990:111, according to Živković). In this ghoulish metaphor then, the dead will vote under the ground and will claim the part of Croatia framed by their pits and graves for a new, enlarged Serbia (Živković, 2001:4).

40 For all supporters of democratic change in the Serbian Balkans it would be enlightening, if not disturbing, to check the stance of Vuk Drašković until today. This would be especially useful for the near-sighted Hague PR staff, and wider, the international community, to have an indepth look into the dangers of not understanding the *Janus* type Serbian reality of Slobodan Milošević and Vuk Drašković – the open revitalization of fascism is a continuous trait of both options until 2011 – www.rts.rs, interview with Vuk Drašković, 2011 – <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3XTpGBZnzwg>; talk given at the 2011 monument erection to the Serbian Chetnik Draža Mihailović <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mdVIJQShTZQ> on Ada Ciganlija, Serbia. In the case of site removal, please contact the author.

the path of good, and of unveiling *the face of the Other*⁴¹ we are called to contest the manipulated ethnic equation once more. We must recognize and remind those who comfortably do not recognize the fact that the official Serbian politics towards Croatia was condemned by a significant number of Serbian intellectuals as early as 1990, and it is so, to this date. However silenced we may be, if we are to see *the face of the Other* we are on the wisely path of reconciliation through acts of spontaneity, rather than acts of truth-seeking parades, International convenient (Court) clowneries, monument erections and acts of billboard 'kindness'.

SURVIVING THE STANCES OF MORAL RELATIVISTS FRAGMENTATION ACTS

Some days after the Serbian President's official visit to the town of Vukovar a young Croatian writer, Ivana Simić-Bodrožić, was welcomed to the Presidential auspices of the Croatia's Presidential Palace to meet the President. Upon her visit, after all the official camera blitzing, staff hierarchy parading, our President's first question to Ms. Simić-Bodrožić was – *What is Your problem?*

Given the fact that her father was killed on *Vukovar Zero Ground epicenter Ovčara*; that his remains cannot be found since he belongs to group of those killed by a 'hand-procedure' killing; given the fact that the meaningless documents handed over ceremoniously by the Serbian President in November 2010 give no hope of honest actions in the direction of finding her father's remains; given the fact that she herself, after being expelled from Vukovar in 1991, with the remaining family members, had the experience of displacement within Croatia – she really has 'no problem'.

41 Paraphrasing Levinas; as well as reminding on the equally wisdom words of the Croatian humanist Dr. Slobodan Lang in his open letter (5th November 2010) to the Croatian President and to his political Serbian counterpart concerning their strategy in Vukovar '*...Neither of the two of You have gained, solely through a lifetime of Your own, a moral right to solve the burdens of the past. Mr. Josipović, You are not a Croatian veteran defender, nor a victim, therefore You too easily and unallowably suggest a retraction from the Croatian prosecution against Serbia. Mr. Tadić, You did not stand against the Serbian aggression when it was conducted, and today you deeply offend all Croats and whole Croatia calling our liberation military action Oluja a crime. This kind of justice (that You promulgate) neither of You have not even gained through Your professional work*'. Doctor Lang headed the letter – '*You lack the faith and wisdom for the meeting with Tadić*' – President Josipović replied '*I do not accept Your thesis*'.

She, and those like her – are the problem. Survivors with strict memory are 'the problem'. It is good to know that our current Croatian President does not escape the Freudian slippage of unconscious truth speaking. The inversion stated with his opening line (What is Your problem?), apart from spurring the debate of the money spent on his unsuccessful briefing and the unprofessional Presidential cabinet that evidently is not doing its work, draws attention to the crucial Croatian 'problem'. What to do with victims when they become survivors, from all parts of the Stalingrad/Vukovar – street by street of well documented histories of survivors and cannot be negated through political negations of livelihoods and all material remains.⁴²

What to do with victims when they become successful survivors, living on, with a will to tell the argued truth, seek authentic justice and do not abide by categorical infantile schematizing of the momoricidal (inter)national political agenda?⁴³

The phenomena of annullating and relativistic comparing of people, developments, experiences, ethnicities and identities is not a harmless act. It is not a question of a 'thesis'.⁴⁴ Especially, it should not be an act that the Croatian President is not aware of. Emptying towns of people and meaningful livelihoods; erasing the existence of symbols and cultural values; destroying people's memories, silencing oral remembrance by belittling – all that and more, however modestly articulated has been the main,

42 In this respect it is necessary to mention the meticulous work of the Croatian Memorial Documentation Center of the Homeland War (headed by Dr. Ante Nazor) and its Archive in which a very important part is given to the preserving all memorial texts. Among them are those that in detail describe the Battle for Vukovar and the last days functioning of the Hospital of Vukovar, Headed by Doctor Vesna Bosanac and the Old Peoples Home, Headed by Anica Marić (see: Nazor, 2008; Cvikić, 2009).

43 The writing of Ivana Simić-Bodrožić presents the most mature confrontation with a destiny of a War victim and in the comparison with world standards in the domain of forced migration testimonials her work-through of trauma widens the space of constructive hope, much needed in Croatia and the whole region. She has written about her Croatian displacement experience and her family awaiting for her father to return from Vukovar in her novel *Hotel Zagorje*. She described her experience with the Croatian president on the site <http://www.tacno.net/KulturaNovost.aspx?id=3468>, under the title – *Dear editors, please, can You help me? I have a problem with Serbs, however, I have a problem with Croats, too...* (if removed from the Web please contact the author's archive).

44 Paraphrasing the President's response to Professor Lang, upon his cautioning him for lacking the faith and wisdom for meeting the Serbian President in Vukovar.

to-hurtful-to-be-expressed, fact of the whole regions past for much longer than the past twenty years. Spanning well into the victimhood of the communist ruling positioned on the 'Other side', the 'enemy' side. These, to this date do not deserve even graves. In the eyes of a strategically mehanicistic reasoning, Vukovar was to enter into the 'legitimate' act of Great-Serbian defense against *Ustashism*, and as such it should have been wiped from the face of the earth. In fact, the whole of Croatia was mapped out as '*Ustasha territory*' and a total war was proclaimed. The conception of *total war*, according to Grmek (1992), included new important characteristics in its tactic. In 1992, upon the observance of the work of Serbian propaganda abroad (especially in France), he writes – '*to genocide (the systematic extermination of populations) has been added memoricide, the erasure of traces of the national past. I have created the neologism since in late Latin the world memoriae does not merely mean remembrances but also historic monuments*' (Grmek, 1992:240). Cushman analyses this 'protocol' in detail all the way to the same kind of response demonstrated through the western accounts, noticeable even among scientists, specifically in the domain of some American anthropologists (Cushman, 2004:15).

The confluence of past (Croatian) Ustashism with the potential present, in the promulgation of Serbian propaganda, developed a 'legitimate' pattern of doing much more genocide/memoricide in the whole region. Yet, when *fragmented*, all these sites and happenings, these historical facts are split up into differently described and defended acts of Serbian understandable '*response to provocation*' to the Croatian symbolical acts, through acts of physical violence. In fact, '*the Serbian side never attacks, it responds to enemy provocations*' (Thompson, 1994:17, according to Cushman). Even when one lacks the in-depth historical details of the prior Serbian symbolical acts⁴⁵ one concludes that '*from a normative standpoint it might be argued that killing cannot be justified as a response to symbolic provocation*' (Cushman, 2004:14). Furthermore, who is to speak of how today's citizens of Vukovar, the survivors of 1991, apprehend the daily symbolic provocations of their abolished yesterday killers and tormentors. Does seeing the symbols, day in and day out, under which one's closest were killed count for a symbolic provocation or just the *carpe diem* suffering so well established in the region for the continuously victimized ethnicities.

45 Described in the first part of this paper – see about the symbolical attempt of binding together Serbian lands and bones throughout former Yugoslavia in the late 80'ties (Živković, 2001:4).

In the case of Vukovar the facts of this 'reconciliatory' mode is well known. This accelerative logic of the international community was directly conducted into action through the discriminatory laws of the UNTAES Mission proving that the best options for the future are to give, at once, total amnesty to all that under different historical, geographical circumstances would surely be perceived as war criminals, subject to war criminal acts. The best description of this double-standard 'justice' and hypocrisy of the international community with which the Croatian Government and Croatian first President Franjo Tuđman were pressured at that time (1996) is described in an in-depth analysis of the United Nations Eastern Slavonia and Transitional Missions. Coleiro documents:

'One of the Serb's greatest fears was that of having one's name on the Croatian war crimes list, or the Šodolovacka lista. Through continuous pressure, UNTAES persuaded the Government of Croatia to greatly reduce this list; however, the list still remained an arbitrary decision of the Government. So, on 19 March 1997 the Security Council, in Presidential statement, called upon Croatia to resolve the uncertainty about the implementation of its amnesty law, and to put an end to arbitrary arrests, particularly of Serbs returning to Croatia. After several negotiations, UNTAES managed to convince the Croats to amend the law; however, equitable implementation still depend on Croat goodwill. Unfortunately, at the end of the UNTAES mandate, in spite of all UNTAES initiative, amnesty law and war crimes list remained a serious cause for concern for all former Krajina Serbs' (Coleiro, 2002:120-121).

The epilogue of this enforcement has too many serious ramifications to be precisely mentioned in this paper. However, it is important to emphasize three in that direction: firstly – by what standards of the international community 'justice' is 'reducing a list' of potential war criminals acceptable?; secondly – if so, could it be implemented equally by the same standards for the Al Qaida members instead of on spot killing missions (in the 21st century)?; and thirdly – how to correct all the far-stretched consequences of this near-sighted 'justice' *simulacra geometry*, knowing that the golden rule of the international community is experimentation to the end-limits of endurance? There probably is no answer to the third question, but the first two remain open.

Through this paragraph it is evident that there is no intellectually gracious way to confront and survive the extreme relativists without 'falling' into the trap of their

drum-beat of liberalistic ethnicizing and being ethnicized, all the way to physical violence. However, the strength remains in the hearts of the relativized to, once more, accept the dialogue of reconciling and forgiving. Yet at ones one pace, with ones own dignity and entitled to respect and un-patronizing ones right to an authentic past.

SURVIVING THE TOTAL WAR, MEMORICIDE AND ERASURE

It is evident that the militancy and military stance of these Serbian 'responses' go way beyond the *Vukovar Ground Zero* of genocidal doings. Although from 1992 onwards, as Grmek observes at that time, we are able to observe a new strategic conception of genocide joined with memoricide into a total war concept (Grmek, 1992: 240), it must not be forgotten that actions of erasing and fragmenting; emptying and burying; silencing and negating; are old strategies. But, old tactics for whom?

In his thorough and extensive analysis about the Serbian attack on Croatia, sociologist Rogić cautions that there are at least three parties involved, additionally, to what we prescriptively take into account as the main organizing force of the aggression, the Yugoslav people's army and its institutions, including the *paramilitary actors*⁴⁶ and the *international community* (Rogić, 2004:155). He recognizes a triangle of aggressors among which a substantial share is taken through the supporting part of the 'international community' and the *Serbian counter-society*⁴⁷ in Croatia. He cautions rightly, that prior to talking about this side in action one must (especially if one does not have any local historical knowledge) understand at least two main facts:

46 Rogić's (2004) conclusion of a tripartite Serbian aggression formation on Croatia (Yugoslav Army, Chetnik extremists and paramilitary troops) is slowly being confirmed through the Serbian warriors' testimonials. Thus, in the final act of the 'cleansing' of Vukovar it is revealed that the paramilitary 'cleansing' troops were divided according to the theft aims, under various symbolic names: Seletovi, Lajinović's Guards/Lajinovićeva Garda, White Eagles/Beli Orlovi, Bokan, Intervention troops of the Krajina Srpska/Interventni vod srpske krajine, Troop of Žučo/ Žučin vod, Dragons/Aždaje, Troop of silent liquidations/Trupe tihih likvidacija, Yellow Ants/Žuti mravi. According to the war reporters Dejan Anastasijević and Jovan Dulović all these troops represented a highly organized cleansing and robbery network of raid, with a double action of killing and theft (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YxfOba2bjko>).

47 The formation of a *counter-society* is created when an ethnic or any other community, otherwise conventional in the horizontal structure of the social reality, is 'transferred' to the role of the social participant, which is determining the vertical structure of society (Rogić, 2004:160).

a) although the Croatian Serbs were participating in the aggression on a massive scale, mobilized in the counter-society, we can by no means speak of the range including the entire ethnic group. Even at a glance, as Rogić states, on the list of Croatian defenders of the Serbian ethnic origin shows that the ethnic group and the *counter-society* are not corresponding (Rogić, 2004:162); b) the mastery of stigmatizing, not only as a symbolical but also a technical procedure, is the main source of a continuity for a *counter-society*, yet the produced *stigmatization does not necessarily correspond with the history of its technical effects* (Rogić, 2004:163). Mainly, these two facts represent the nucleus of the main false estimations, purposely or unpurposely done, in the analyses of the happenings in Croatia and in the whole region. Furthermore, from a psychodynamic standpoint of transgenerational trauma and the necessity of a successful work-through⁴⁸ towards a peaceful future of the region, Rogić's sociological insights are of a unprecedented and outstanding value.

Succeedingly, this explanatory impostation further establishes and confirms the claims of the minority of foreign scientists, especially Cushman's precise 'diagnostics', who critiqued upon the contra productive, nearsighted and amoral interpretations of the '*Balkan tragedy*' with '*all equally guilty*' parties. In the case of Rogić's step by step explanatory model it is clear that the main claim is that the Serbian counter-society is directly interested in the physical, social and symbolic emptiness in Croatian society. However farfetched the claim may seem, a thorough integration of all fragmented facts and examples from the whole region would corroborate the usefulness of Rogić's thesis in explaining the *erasure effects*, we all too soon got used to as 'normal' artefacts or even symbolical 'gestures', of the War (see Figures 1-4). The recent example of the ICTY sentences given to the Croatian Generals, General Ante Gotovina/General Mladen Markač and General Ivan Čermak on the 15th April 2011, only confirm the non-existing will of the International community for a legally useful integration of all fragmented happenings (FIGURE 1). How can one prosecute the shelling of Knin (1995) and not prosecute the shelling of Vukovar (1991) and Sarajevo (1992 onwards) under the four year siege? How can one not make a chronological time-line – from the *Ground Zero Vukovar* to today's potential escalation in Kosovo?

48 The significance, of course, being for all – those that need to forgive, as well as for those that need to repent based on the authentic testing of the reality of their forefathers' lives.

It would be an action of making the functionality of the *counter-society* stigmatizing visible. However, the visibility is the precondition of preventing future crimes and wars. It should be an action of decoding the language of emptiness, erasure and inversion.

Furthermore, according to Rogić, in order for the perpetrator to smoothly conduct his aim of erasing the Other he must prove, through the stigmatization technique, that he is not a criminal but has a 'moral right' to commit crimes in the name of the '*problematic quality of the victim*' (Rogić, 2004:164). To add to the importance of Cushman's earlier cited observation (Cushman, 2004:14) – not only was the killing justified as a response to a symbolic provocation of the non-Serbs, the symbolic provocation was used as a normal technique in an inversive manner. All memoricidal and torture methods had the simultaneous aim of developing a fearful wish of disappearing in front of the perpetrators in Vukovar and farther. Rogić describes the pattern, so many times afterwards repeated, of the walls of the Vukovar town cathedral of St. Philip and Jacob barred to the bricks. He draws a parallel of the structurally co-related '*erasure*' of sacred signs on walls with the '*erasure*' of citizens of Vukovar during the occupation and emptying of the town (Rogić, 2004:157). The template repeated over the whole region, never corroborated in all its evil, yet confirmed, fragmentarily and sporadically through visual images and plights of the most enduring kinds for finding the bodies of victims.⁴⁹

Is the world capable of dealing with such disasters of morality and humanity at this date? Sociologist Meštrović asks oneself 'how long can social scientists pretend that humanity is becoming less barbaric?' (Meštrović, 1993:XI); on the basis of the impotence of modern West he builds his strong case about the fundamental basis of society as nonrational (Meštrović, 1993: XIV) and brings us to the dangerous debate about the irrationality of it all. It seems that the farther one is from the pit of killing, the greater the denial is – the world is rational in its profitability to the extent that '*erasure*' of certain ethnicities, identities and already disregarded people is viable. The greater truth, even more complex and controversial, yet lived on the outskirts, is that we go by different rules. Therefore, compassion, which Meštrović suggests as an alternative to rationality (Meštrović, 1993:XV), is a good start. For almost two decades not applied towards the people of Croatia, Bosnia and

49 To this date(June, 2011) there are 1066 of missing victims from the Croatian Independence War.

Herzegovina and numerous Others by the international community dignitaries. The good thing is, above surviving, one is orientated towards seeking the factor of change, once more, within.

Sanja ŠPOLJAR VRŽINA
Anthropology of Vukovar:
strategically revealing
the 'civilizing missions'
and practices of the
culture of death

CONFRONTING THE BARBARIANISM

The *genuine human goodness* is, according to Durkheim, conceived from the acts of spontaneity (Durkheim, 1926, 1961:361; according to Meštrović, 1993:47). Such as the spontaneity of Professor Jovan Bamburač, Professor Olga Carević,⁵⁰ Croatian reporter Siniša Glavašević,⁵¹ French volunteer Jean Michel Nicolier⁵² and unnamed Others. Authentic good cannot be conceived from the utilitaristic instructions of '*closing old and opening new books*' or negating memory and history – with an emphasis on the demanded *closure* of past themes. However hard the talk about the past may be for some, it will not become the solid rock for future relations if shoved '*under the rug*' of regional cooperation, stability functioning and especially not, of EuroAtlantic investments profiteering.

According to Meštrović, morality can only be wrecked through a rational choice, but not derived from a rational source. The qualities needed for a healthy mental choice and morality are emotionality and love, and without this level of integrative work and engagement the will of people is left to its barbaric exploitative acts towards the Other and whimsical decision-making (Meštrović, 1997, 1993:47). No system can order the inclusion of the habits of heart in the form of altruism, instead of the egoistical heartiness. The moment of turning compassion into socialism is the moment of the inversion of good into a juxtaposed personal and the negation of the basic idea of good. Furthermore, clarified through Durkheim, this presents the nucleus for barbarism because every act is to be from the compulsion of ordinance and not from the habits of heart (Durkheim, 1926, 1961:361; according to Meštrović, 1993:47).

50 Professor Carević wrote all throughout the early 90'ties appeals for the suspension of War. In 1991 she wrote: „*I deeply feel the sadness for every lost life and wrecked home all around my Croatian homeland. I especially carry in my heart and my conscience the unjust done towards the heroic Vukovar since it was attacked directly from my Vojvodina! And as Marcel Proust said that the voice of heart only reaches to the heart, I send these words: Vukovaru, my love!*” (Glas srca, Vjesnik, 5. studenoga 1991.).

51 Croatian reporter killed on Ovčara after continuous reporting from the siege of Vukovar in 1991.

52 French volunteer to Croatian War of Independence, killed on Ovčara, after the fall of sieged Vukovar.

The barbarism that spread from *Ground Zero Vukovar 1991* is not only a historical fact. The truth about Vukovar was silenced with the help of the international community and its clear support to the Serb extremism and its needs to be vocally and morally revoked through it, into its functional opposite. Thus, coining the local peripheral market growth with that of the global one, needs to be fused with the growth of global justice and return of morality. At this moment, only the first coinage is being aggressively supported and it is clear that it is not for the future benefit of all people in the region.

In the time of finishing this paper, Croatians are once more faced with an international judgment of its history and past suffering. During the past twenty years Croatians have become the experts in re-inverting the world injustice system into justice opportunities – in developing resilience towards the global amorality. In this region many nations have their pits with bones from WWII, but do not see their land being enlarged through aggression. In an usual international inversion of truth, those that still might, are rewarded for their past with a quick passage into the country-elites. Once more the 'Elite' is being recognized through the economic and political powers spreading from – Hague, Bruxelles, New York, Moscow and Washington and not from the moral elites to be taught from the people and veteran defenders of Vukovar, Croatia and the whole region. The dangers of these *inversions* are obvious. The danger of a lethal barbarism is still present. Without the habits of a humble heart and, as stated by Slobodan Lang,⁵³ without faith and wisdom there is no truthful spontaneity which could prevent the past barbarism from repeating itself in the future.

One template of *re-inversion* through which we can oppose the dangerous symbolism and acts of barbarism is perhaps through the spiritual inspirations of the 1984 *ad hoc Fontenainebleau Committee*. The *Committee* had the task of turning the Council of Europe into the Union of all people of Europe through the usage of joint symbolism. When defining the flag, as one of the important elements of an Union, the discussion was followed by a series of spontaneous associations on the theme of symbolic importance – among which those connected to number 12 dominated. The number of abundance and excellence, the number of 12 apostles, the number of 12 sons of Jacob, while as early as 1955 the 12 stars of Mother Mary were

53 <http://www.croatia.org/crown/articles/10095/1/Dr-Slobodan-Lang-Goodness-has-a-right-to-be-recognized-as-a-part-of-truth.html>.

the initial inspiration of Paul Hèitz and Arsene Lévy (Shore, 2001: 3).

In today's world, closer to all that disintegrates, fragments and barbarizes, rather than integrates, we are more than experienced to contribute to the discussion about the survival of the initial symbolic and meaning of a humane Europe. In fact, Croats have the obligation of reminding the officials in the European Union of the meaning of the twelve stars on the flag below which many of them should be ashamed, especially in places such as in *Ground Zero Vukovar of 1991*, or as in the four year besieged Sarajevo. It is clear, concerning all the mentioned facts and reasons addressed in this paper, that this is only doable through prayer. In the words of the psychotherapist and the WWII death camp survivor Viktor Frankl prayer is an act of resistance in our search for meaning beyond the barbarianism (1978:32-33; 1982:100). At the same time it is a firm reminder of the humane in oneself and the Other's face in times of a devastating moral reductionism of the value of life.

It would be unwise to enter an European Union and not be prepared to act on the level of humane acts of compassion (FIGURE 4). What do we expect in reverse? Maybe for the first time in the history of Republic of Croatia, we should firmly insist on respect. Respect for Croats, our War of Independence, grief for all the ceased and all who carry the pledge of only one differentiation – good from bad, with the support of The Gospel of Life.

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1. Dubrovnik, Croatia – the last photo of Pavo Urban, December 6th, 1991. A moment later he was shot dead by shrapnels from Serbian and Montenegrin shelling (source: Nenad N. Bach). 2. Karanac, Baranja, northeast Croatia – wounded Christ with a blown off face (fieldwork, 2009).



3. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina – devastated Jewish cemetery. In 1992 the Jewish cemetery became the first Serb stronghold for the four year period shootings of the city (fieldwork, 2009). 4. Vukovar, Croatia – Church of St. Phillip and Jacob in 1991 and after the genocidal siege.

Figure 1

Quick at-a-glance correction map for the distorted 'justice'

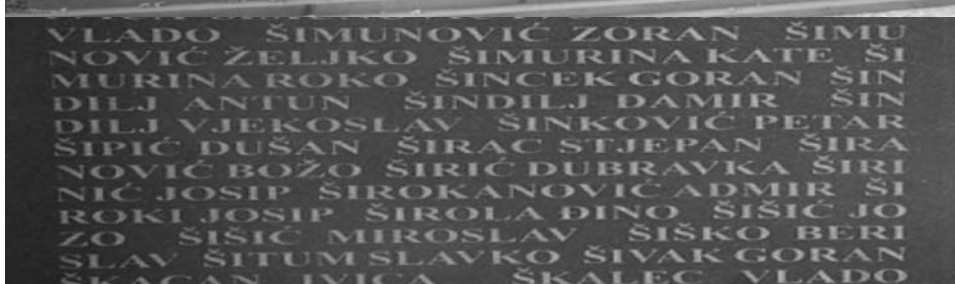
Together with the Croatian town of *Vukovar Ground Zero*, there are numerous sites that need to be considered for genocide/ memoricide rather than only for missing artillery diaries. Here are only a few of the numerous places for the correction of the ICTY near-sighted recollection of the 'Balkan' de-fragmented chronology (personal photo archive/Špoljar-Vržina).



Wall of Pain in 1993 Selska cesta



In 2005 moved and dehumanized through planned artistic grandiosity (detail of broken names shown below)

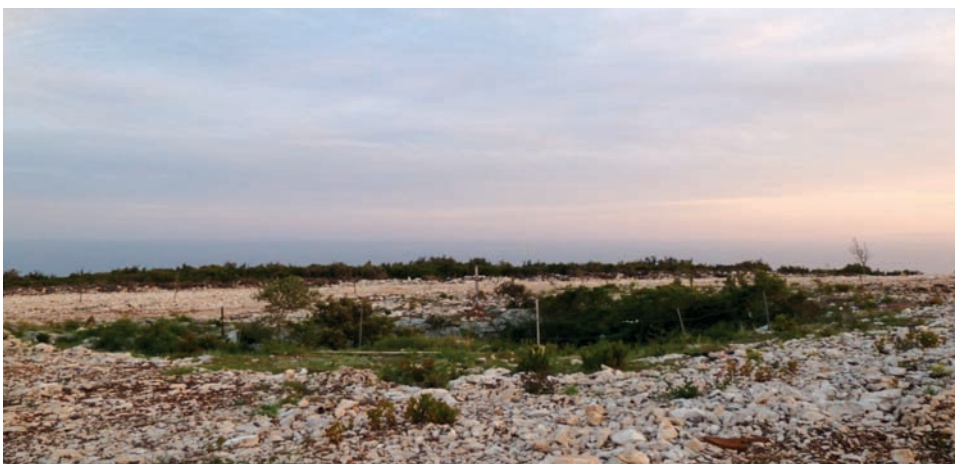


Given through the example of moving the authentic memorial place to the monumental space. **In early 1993 the *Wall of Pain*** was spontaneously erected, brick by brick, in the center of Zagreb, Selska cesta (in front of the UN headquarters). It was erected by the victims' families in their plight to the UN for upholding the Declaration of Human Rights, as well as a protest for the missing impartiality of the UN personnel in protecting the Croats in, at that time, Serb occupied zones of Croatia (Western Slavonia and Knin in 1993). Every brick of the *Wall of Pain* symbolized a missing and/or killed member of someone's family (a number of them missing to this date). **In 2005** The Wall was, regardless of its historical (place of protest) and spiritual authenticity, **moved towards a monumental sight** on the main Zagreb cemetery Mirogoj. The bricks were buried in its foundations. The *detail of broken names*, engraved in marble, show the level of failed respect to honor and dignify, and in fact ones more repeat the discrimination underwent in times of the physical 'breack-age' – while under the UN 'protection' in the War torn Republic of Croatia.

Figure 2
The politics of shaming
through monuments



1992 Ovčara bone pit from the air before the forensic excavation / source: Physicians for Human Rights



2011 Island Korčula bone pit / with victims from the 40ties / photo archive / Špoljar-Vržina

Figure 3

Two sites of the last resting places of continuously contested ethnicities

Upper photo – Ovčara, Vukovar, Republic of Croatia (1991) from the air, in times of the Serbian occupation of Vukovar, and a strong international pressure to proceed with the investigation of the testimonies of victims family members that their loved ones disappeared in a mass grave killing. Lower photo - island of Korčula, Republic of Croatia/one of the numerous pits with 'enemy' ethnicities from 1940 onwards, 'unrecognized' in former communist Yugoslavia. The testimonies from the 'enemy' families have only recently made their way and paved a path toward an unescapable recognition of communist/antifascist crimes of genocidal patterned killings, as well as the need of the victims and their families of a trans-generational closure (to over five decades of forced memoricide). The countries of the whole region remain in the process of truth testing upon these forensic, but also soul-matters.



Figure 4
Reminding the
officials of the
European Union

Reminding the officials of the European Union of the meaning of the twelve stars on the flag bellow which their faces stand, many times in shame, such as in Vukovar, remembering the *Ground Zero Vukovar* happenings of November, 1991.

Left: Mother Mary of the displaced.

Right: Symbolism of the Virgin Mary's halo, twelve gold stars (Revelation 12:1) taken for the unifying flag of all EU Nations (citing Shore, 2001).

***Prayer to the Wounded Mother Mary of the Displaced –
may we have the strength to see the Others face and pray***

★ for all that cannot understand who brought pain to the people of the Republic of Croatia and the whole region, may they understand the language of prayer! there is no forgiveness without repentance;

★ for all those that still carry that pain, because their bones were not only moved from pit to pit, but so were their bricks in front of the UN headquarters in the center of Zagreb to the monument resting space of the cemetery;

★ for all those that carry that trans-generational pain of silencing into the grave of never reached truth;

★ for all those that think that the truth of the suffering Other can be buried, to come to understand;

★ *for all those whose names were singled out in the time of their killing, and once more 'killed' through silencing of their identity, may their names be written in (full) peace;*

★ *for all those that are in search of the Croatian War Diaries, may their moral relativism be enlightened with an equal precision in the aim of finding diaries for Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Srebrenica and all the places of continuous dying – Palestine (Israel), Sudan (Darfur), Falluja (Iraq), Afghanistan, and farther others;*

★ *for all those that search for the War diaries, may they have the equal strength to search for the War cartographies of museums, theaters, churches, hospitals, libraries, kindergartens, schools and livelihoods turned into targets, as well as cemeteries turned into shooting strongholds;*

★ *for all those that were destroying the culture of the Other may they have the sufficient strength to teach their children/grandchildren to respect and love what once they have been destroying, more than their own;*

★ *for all those that still endanger their life's in demining all around the world, may they live to see the war retributions that would make their work safer;*

★ *for all the displaced and refugees may they return to their homes and have strength to never hate, teach to never hate and return into their hearts;*

★ *for all those that in the worst of times had the courage and strength to spread knowledge and truth, may their work always testify of the humility in knowledge-seeking, opposed to the vanity of evil ignorance;*

★ *for all the foreign dignitaries, ex-ambassadors, ex-generals, ex-humanitarians, ex-militaries, ex-'Balkanologists' may they be civilized enough to learn the name of the country in which they plan their vacations, conduct their study grants, receive many awards from, shoot war block-buster films and celebratize sufferings of the Other – even if they cannot (yet) respect the culture of people they bought their Croatian property from.*