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ANTHROPOLOGICALLY
IDENTIFIABLE:
VUKOVAR BETWEEN THE
TERROR OF UNIVERSALISM AND
HUMANITARIAN TOURISM

In the time of conceiving the title for this Conference there were two main strands of thought dominating the debates of the organizational committee members. Some were of the opinion that the title should be affirmative of the globally celebrated universal values, while the rest of us were of the firm stance that there should be no place for a phrase that is part of an idealization and servility towards the universalistic terminology, already proven questionable, concerning the negation of the contemporary Croatian history and its instrumentalization towards matrices of marketing and profitability. The calm consciousness upon one's own position in the world of profit and marketization is by far the most important personal (mental) sustainability traits, nowadays, that we, as scientists, need to live by.¹ Since this paper is based on critical anthropology there can be no restraint than to boldly exclaim, upfront – Croatia is globally unimportant, yet hell of an investment opportunity. Sadly, this statement should serve as an introductory to the majority of our nowadays scientific contemplations. Unfortunately, it is especially useful as an introductory to the topic of Croatia and Vukovar '91 survivors aftermath.

Introductory notes on multiculturalist / universalist skills of Croatians

I guess the whole discussion over the main title of our Conference was built around the notion that Vukovar (is?) should be recognized as a place of surviving the genocidal practices at the end of the 21st century, in the midst of Europe and that the survived events of Vukovar and Croatia's Defense War, should be main values upon which one builds the culture of common universal goodness. The cornerstone of the cautionary, much used, remark '*never to be repeated*'. Yet, for that to happen the genocidal practices firstly need to be acknowledged. On the basis of an experience span of twenty years Croatians are not blind to the fact that their history is less of a contribution to world values, than are the resources which can be commodified. In fact, as the analysis in this paper will show, our Defense War and Vukovar battle have been, and are (on daily basis), successfully commodified. However hurtful this reality may be – we are waking up to the gruesome facts – neither should we expect to be added upon the list of universalistic itineraries of values, nor should we expect the correction of the reification by

1 Already proven decades ago, through the two bards of sociological thought, Ivo Rogić and Stjepan Meštrović, that seem to escape the desperation of the hyperemotionality and remain in the domain of firm scientific reasoning, throughout all their concepts. Not surprisingly, their concepts are today's cornerstones in confronting the arguments and discussions of many hectic discourses that strive to explain current phenomenologies, as well as those of happenings around Vukovar's and Croatia's 1991 aftermath. The analysis of this paper strives to continue their scientific impostation.

which we are judged. Especially not in the case of the bad consciousness of Europe and the World that stood by and watched the extremist Serb aggression starting its march toward the regional militaristically planned targets from all throughout 1991, culminating with the Ground Zero Vukovar strategy that spread through the region (Špoljar Vržina, 2012, 162).

In the case of Croatia, it is a well known fact that, according to the Serbian *Memorandum*, the people of Croatia are/were negated and laughed out as bearers of „crazy“ characteristics such as *respecting the Other, more than one's own*.²

More than one century ago Croats were defined as people that – respect foreign more than one's own („tuđe štiju više doli svojeg“) – more precisely, it was stated: “In Zagreb, the centre of Croatianhood, foreigners are leaders. Cultural power of one nation can be quite correctly measured by such a measure. While Serbians reject foreigners (many times even their own), considering being a Serb as a special honour, Croats accept all with open arms; foreigners of second generation in Serbia become Serbs not only through name but also through culture, while in Croatia they do not change even their language. One could easily confirm this even through one time walk along the streets of any bigger city of the Croatian“ (Stojanović, 1902). „Therefore, Croats are not and can not be a distinctive nationality, but they are on their way of becoming a – Serbian nationality. Through taking the Serbian language as their own standard language, they took the most significant step towards unification. Even regardless of that this process is unrolling continuously.“

In a strange course of events, we were defined by our extremist aggressors, a century ago, as the bearers of the hallmark of *multiculturalism*. In an even more strange course of events, the negotiations with the International officials of all logo colors, flags and institutions are unrolling according to the Stojanović's description of nationality behaviour, yet the International community tends to remain quasi-impartial, many times punishing the victims for their cooperativeness and defending the perpetrators in view of their capability of remaining honorably stubborn for the extremist causes of their own nationality. Even if it takes aggression of a genocidal extremist form, to do so.

Other nationalities are left with asking oneself, through the eyes of our observers, whether respecting the Other more than oneself includes a willingness to adopt the hatred of haters, when playing this the „Balkan“ rule. Namely, during time we became divided as people on the *left* and *right*, with a fair number of „primitive“ and „uncivilized“ right-wingers. Yet, when an American, Englishmen or Frenchmen love their countries they are patriots, while all the rest in the world are nationalists that in the midst of their defense wars must also defend themselves from accusations of collectively hating others. Especially, after experiencing genocidal practices upon one's nation. Paraphrasing the English philosopher Roger

2 Latter on this discriminative approach, together with that towards all non Serb populations of former Yugoslavia became the root of the *Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts* (1986) that was the stepping stone towards defending the reasons of open aggression for achieving the Greater Serbian ideology in the space of former Yugoslavia (for a full translation see: http://www.trepca.net/english/2006/serbian_memorandum_1986/serbia_memorandum_1986.html).

Scruton, „It is hard for leftists to tolerate rightists because they perceive rightists as evil. I do not have such a problem because I simply think that they are wrong“ (Scruton, 2005).

Therefore, when we are perceived as indigenously evil or permissive towards others and nationalistic or multiculturalist towards our country; with an imposed silence over the factographic Real, as in the case of Croatia’s centuries old historical situation, according to Scruton and with a fair amount of psychotherapeutical, we ourselves should have the least problem in tolerating such an attitude of non-competency in the domain of our historical chronologies. It certainly is simply wrong to judge the Other. There is no right or left. There are good deeds and evil deeds, and factographically wrongly interpretations.

To negate events, equilibriize and deny them. Even more so, in the case of Croatia to enforce a continuous memoricide, all has become an amoral norm towards the basic universalistic principle – to thrive through purposeful denying knowledge about the Other. *Talking* the factographical truth, contextually identifiable, does not mean hating the Other, any other group, population or nationality. It means assuring the same amount of freedom of speech for all. However hated for it. Has this not been the statement of the Croatian antifascists five decades ago? (yet tragically, not withheld at the time of Croatia’s martyrdom in 1991). Has this not been done by Croatian minorities in the name of their homeland two decades ago? (yet, those that did so, today are forgotten, such as Dr. Olga Carević, Dr. Milan Babić or Dr. Jovan Bamburač).³ Should this not be demanded in the name of the (mental) health of our children in a nation of over 4 million inhabitants,⁴ showing dangerous signs of memoricidal enslavement?

From the anthropology of Vukovar to the anthropology of shame and shaming

Up to this date the factography and chronological data for Vukovar and the Independence War of Croatia have not been set straight in the (Inter)national (scientific) community. According to a number of (inter)national scientists there has been a serious miss-representation enabling a relativistic portrayal leading to a dangerous negation present in the International politics.⁵ Thus, the *Anthropology of Vukovar* is part of a dedicated long-term approach towards re-inverting the manipulatively inverted facts, for which over time one could observe, were fabricated in the course of a very functional practice of shaming (Špoljar Vržina, 2009, 2012). *Anthropology of Vukovar „shames back“ with facts*. In total agreeing with Cushman’s advice for scientists (especially anthropologists) (2004, 24), it should be a medium

3 For in depth explanation see Špoljar Vržina, 2012.

4 Exactness is not the aim of this statement. However, for the numerophrenic readers – the CIA fact book estimates that there are 4,480,043 of us (July 2012). The readers are kindly asked not to drag off this fact in the direction of ethnicity babble!

5 For a thorough work through all of the authors and concept see the Špoljar Vržina, 2012 and earlier papers.

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 (Špoljar Vržina, 2012). Thus, the discourse of the *Anthropology of Vukovar* is of a corrective type, with an aim of re-inverting the long-term tendencies of negationism towards all the facts in connection to Vukovar and Croatian Independence War and the War in the whole region. It confronts the approach of epistemic violence that treats the genocidal patterns as acts of nominal tragedy and Real chronologies as additional „material“ to the „Balkan“ reconciliation case studies.

Foremost, *Anthropology of Vukovar* should be firstly a fulfillment of one's debt towards the veterans and civilians that gave their lives, their families, and towards the fact that whatever political superimposition, the subsidiary base is well known – of who and when was the founder of Croatian statehood. For them the *silenced history* must be continuously corrected through scientific means. In this course of action critical anthropology is not only a source of analytical and interesting, but inapplicable concepts. It is a confirmed science of stubborn, repeated and continuous unification of recognizing two dimensions – *the dimension of negated time* and *dimension of negated space in service of dignifying a population*. In order to achieve this aim one must enter the domain of understanding the functionality of the game of shame and shaming in today's contemporary humanity. The remaining part of the paper will analyze the nominally humanitarian Human Rights and universalistic mechanisms of this process.

The terror of universalism

Following this course of action a short corrective orientation of the time/space dimensions are needed. We had a War of independence and not a civil war rooted in simplified ethnical (or any other) divisions; the aggression was part of a wider plan, based on the centuries old Greater Serbia discriminative treatment of Croats, joined in 1986 into the document of the *Memorandum* of the Serbian Academy; we underwent a planned Greater Serbian extremist aggression, and not a bounty of provoked and frightened ethnical groups; we had a genocidal type of aggression and not sporadic conflicts, all over our country. The genocidal pattern applied in Vukovar Ground Zero expanded throughout Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, all the way to Srebrenica. The genocidal pattern of the Greater Serbian progression plans towards the genocidal fall of Bihać were stopped with the Croatian liberation action „Storm“ (Oluja) that liberated the occupied parts of Knin and its vicinity. Oluja was a liberation action and not a „joint criminal enterprise“, as tried through the Hague tribunal.⁶

6 Only one day after the presentation of this paper (on November 15th 2013), Croatia's „war crime“ was cleared through the UN tribunal verdict, that found Croatia's generals not guilty (General Ante Gotovina and general Mladen Markač) and exonerated the 1990s regime of Franjo Tuđman (see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/nov/16/croatia-war-crime-analysis>). This verdict was awaited for over a decade and should have a huge influence on the international law.

Throughout twenty years the witnesses of this factography (comprimated into a paragraph) are convinced that their memory is untruthful, shameful and unallowable, in the end results not surprisingly, chauvinistic and nationalistic.⁷ On the basis of all Croatian experiences, supported by the scientifically relevant analysis of the (inter)national equilibrative mechanisms, it is clear that one can call the negation of the presented facts as the *terror of universalism* upon the experience of ones people.

Furthermore, the *terror of universalism* makes a fantastic *market amalgam* which is not only experientially painful on the level of oppressed cultural memory,⁸ but is becoming more and more visible on the level of recent international scientific reasoning concerning Human Rights, the project of multiculturalism and the universalistic activist movement (to be explained later on). So fantastic that we are deprived of the Real in the name of virtual realities; deprived of our factography in the name of the *ad hoc* profitable equilibrations. From 1991 onwards Croatia became one of the countries in which the cult of the Western liberal self is highly nurtured and its mantra of existence protected: the social construct of Universal Human Rights, hardly universal and globally present. They were certainly not universal for Croatia, in the eyes of the international community – then (in the early 90s), as well as today – as if the War never was; aggression, possibly; and in the interpretation of many in the international community or national community – it is interpreted as a conflict or civil war, with a hope that this cooperative reasoning will finally be accepted by the „unaware“, „undemocratized“ and „nationalistically prone“ citizens of Croatia. Concomitantly, the facts of today’s visible rehabilitation of the Chetniks within the (inter)national community and a deliberate overlook of the truth about the centennial Greater Serbian plans vibrating through the historical systems in this region, to this date, are perceived by many authors as a deliberate dangerous blindness and amorality on the part of the (inter)national politics, with potentially grave future consequences concerning its repetition (Lambrichs, 2005, 2011, 2011a; Meštrović, 1996, 1997; Rogić 2004, 2012).

Problems of researching the terror of universalism and humanitarian tourism

The victims of war and post-war processes have little time to contemplate of their fate as objects in the realms of contemporary historical processes. In all the happenings following the Croatian War of independence the main question leading the lay and a part of the professionals alike was tied to the *negation, inversion, denial, instrumentalization and practices of shaming* that was underwent. The

7 On the basis of the essentializations about Croatian populational Ustasha „tendencies“ toward conducting a genocide.

8 Especially upon the healthy Freudian reality testing – turning the question of „to endure or not“ in the peaceful reintegration into a clear statement of being abused as a nation for the sake of the Universalistic victorious projects (see Špoljar Vržina, 2010).

false illusion of its closure could be called the *closed doors* of the Hague Tribunal upon the Croatian history. Thus, it is clear today that all of the earlier described processes were only a part of the real joint criminal enterprise of the global corporative world, the strongest investors into the region and their universalistic pretensions, especially in the domain of the *humanitarian sector*. The patterns are many, universally present and seemingly hard to unify into a coherent structure and classification of a non-ideological scientific type. Although the scientific interdisciplinarity needed for its decoding is still unexisting the domain of its main buzz word is more than apparent across every field of existence. It is the double-standard (ab)usage of the Human Rights and their instrumentalization as one of the main market 'glues' for democratizing the unobidient in the spread of the free markets world-wide. The spread of the *projects of universalization* do not leave much time for connecting the seemingly un-connectable processes. Yet, one main diagnostic symptom remains traceable throughout all forms of marketable universalism. It is heavily tied to the discourse of the *politics of Human Rights*, and is heavily opposed to the *discourse for Human Rights* (Špoljar-Vržina, 2011; Baxi, 2004).

How ironic is it that the victims become survivors in their own right, helping themselves, only to be recognized as partners in the process of universalization schemes?⁹ How ironic is it that the victims await the politicians to show up on the day of women's testifying of War rape in Vukovar and yet none of them come?¹⁰

The problems of researching the terror of universalism and humanitarian tourism are thus twofold. On the one hand they are hard to classify without strenuous acts of percievment and outstretches out of the mainstream protocols of the interdisciplinary methodological schemes, prone to the politically correct Human Rights discourse. On the other hand, we have reached a dangerous realm for scientific/intellectual endeavors, since the myths of progress, tolerance and democracy (exclusively supported through the politics of Human Rights and universalism) restrain the boundaries of thinkable, explainable and researchable.

Humanitarians of a new dangerous kind

Based on the anthropological discourse of critique towards the evidently profiteering humanitarianism, endorsed as early as the 80ties by Harrell-Bond (1986), there is a growing body of literature spread in many fields of research and disciplines. What currently joins all the authors is a sense of reaching a dangerous *punctum saliens* of the *universalistic tourism* crowned with „good

9 Case in point is the recent June/2012 „invitation“ from the highest political levels (Minister of Foreign Affairs Vesna Pusić) to the war raped women of Vukovar to join the routine Gay parade in front of the queue. Turning them into fashionable „majorettes“ of universalism, but not partakers in Justice for all that they have been patiently waiting for around twenty years. As well as waiting for a reply of their letter from the Ministry from January of 2012 (see: the letter of the women of Homeland War represented through Marija Slišković to Minister Vesna Pusić /4th June 2012./ <http://www.braniteljski-portal.hr/sadrzaj/eu/16263>).

10 The occasion was the promotion of the testimonial book *Sunny*.

deeds“ of the humanitarian, and we should certainly add – the forced promotion of the *politics of Human Rights* (Baxi, 2002), amalgamated with the main cause of „democratization“, all the way to the relativizing violent deaths and genocidal patterns, as can locally be seen in the case of Vukovar.

For a better orientation one could define that there are *two phases to be observed*.

Firstly, throughout the past two decades our region had a constant presence of international political, military and missionary dignitaries. They became signifiers of phases and keepers of the money pockets for post-war „reconstruction“, „development“ and „stability“ that were launched through, and depending on the success of civilizing the „uncivilized“. Carla del Ponte, Carl Bildt, Madeleine Albright, Jacque Klein (to name a few) and all the EU happy bunch (prudently, not naming a few) – *wished us good* through the terror of *politics of Rights and universalizing the guilt* we should share, regardless of historical factography. They were political icons in their own right, earning their CV's, rich (still to be printed) autobiographies and regional success stories, built upon the efforts of those that were willing to cooperate the most. The „locals“, as we are called. Not coincidentally, the major targets being the victims and survivors themselves. To this day the terror and exploitation of universalistic moralizations did not cease. It has been replaced, **secondly**, by the visiting moralizers, humanitarian tourists and celebrities. Celebrities that in the meanwhile became the representatives of major Institutions of order and Human Rights surveillance. They have no problem in unknowing and unfamiliarizing themselves with the „locals“. They expect the reverse. Thus we can observe that we are bombarded with the celebratizations, festivalizations and gastronomizations of all cultural aspects of our life. The process of continuation is clear. The „civilizing“ rituals of a superficial kind remain still humanitarian and are even more orientated towards colonizing the cultural memory, trauma and painful heritage of one's nation's history, as well as a totally negating the survivors' testimonies. It is at this point, of celebratization, that the humanitarian game gets most visible in all its amorality.

The second part of this paper presents representative happenings concerning the *humanitarians of a new dangerous kind*, as we might call its bearers, presenting the factography that refutes their main action and positions their dangerous and futile acts in a workable concept of exposing the Real.

Augé's concept of non-place and the mystical genocidal non-place of „Balkan“

We are immersed into spaces where the dominant rule of the politics *of* Human Rights is joined with the flash-backs of places, happenings and events. Although seemingly inapplicable, the only scientifically corresponding concept to be applied into the agenda that we are living through and that could help us in verbalizing and diagnosing the daily passages of process we are going through, is that of the French anthropologist of supermodernity, Marc Augé (1995). Augé's *concept of a non-place* is defined as a place of transit, free flow and insignificant enough to be

perceived as place in the anthropological sense of lived and experienced; places such as airports, hotel rooms, malls, supermarkets, highways. Furthermore, while all these are descriptions of places of marketability, consumerism and incidental destinations, the painful Real is that they are also the places where the most frequent visitors are those of the international community. Those that have an agendas to compress the whole region into incidental treatments, summarized historiographies, annulated traumas, fragmentary events and peoples' destinies to the cancelled Real. Regardless of the survivors and witnesses of underwent genocidal patterns.

It was not so long ago, to summon upon the rich empirical experience, that the international community personnel travelled in their missions of early 90ties to the „Balkan“ region.¹¹ The missions were continuous destinations of various humanitarian institutions and agencies that had their biggest Projects concentrated in the time-line of a few years and rate of millions and billions of US dollars and euros to be spent in their facilities, on their personnel and personal paychecks. Through the time-span of ten to fifteen years the airports of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (that of Zagreb, Split, Dubrovnik and Sarajevo) were routine routes for entering into the general *zone of the „Balkan“ non-place*, where regardless of the empirically founded preparedness and one's capacity of knowledge, the non-place remained an incidental testing ground for various humanitarian, psychiatric, developmental and frequently PhD Thesis ideas.¹² In short, neoliberal Disneyland ideas of an experimental destination. Some of the experimental Projects linger to this day in the midst of Vukovar, organizing and inviting internships for opportunities in interesting Doctoral themes. For instance, in a report of the Head of one of the long-term NGO projects,¹³ with remarkably ongoing funds, we can only guess why the funds linger on since the „expert“ reports are based on negating every fact of geography, history or the experimental Real in the cultural memory of the survivors of Vukovar's genocide.

In preparing for the funding of the year 2011, the author(s) write: „2011 promises to be a highly challenging year. We expect the situation in this region to remain poor. Further, the year will be the 20th anniversary of the start of the war here. We expect that to bring up quite a number of memories and thus increase our client load and the number of symptoms in existing clients. Also, there will be elections in Croatia at the end of the year which, inevitably, will bring out the worst of nationalistic feelings“.

Thus reports, such as this one, are written in a manner of *reporting from a „Balkan“ non-place* where „clients“ are disturbed by the local politicians (as if the politicians were not democratically elected in the Republic of Croatia that

11 The difference being that the people of Augé's non-places need to prove their identity, while the people of the „Balkan“ non-place have blue passports, political immunity and are covered through the institutional cartelization of the untouchable humanitarian agenda.

12 One of the psychiatrists that has exposed this practice is Derek Summerfield (1996, 2000).

13 The NGO Coalition for work with Psychotrauma and Peace has been taken as a representative case study NGO. A number of similar ones (both national and international, by funding) are still being analyzed.

has been conceived with a vote of 94% of its citizens in 1991) and together with them express the worst kind of nationalism spurred by the election moment. In a prior report the same author(s) it is stated: „2007 being an election year, we are expecting even more of this kind of thing. Dr. Samuel Johnson’s statement that ‘patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel’ is shown all too clearly in the actions of the politicians here“.

Clearly, in a „Balkan“ non-place „nationalism“ and „patriotism“ are markers of an uncivilized and undemocratic „client“, full of symptoms and traumas, that need to be mended with projects of the, hopefully foreign, „trauma“ focused kind. Ironically, the same type of help is needed amongst the American staff in Afghanistan, Iraq and potentially Arab countries, yet their trauma is not troublesome since they are the citizens (not clients) of places (not non-places) colonizing the Other with *prevention (terrorism)*. Their „trauma“ is treated as an euphemistically termed depression (not clinically diagnosed).

In an interesting sequence of events the depression-rising situation in Vukovar, full of nationalistic feelings according to the trauma „expert(s)“, was also addressed in 2007 by 20 former US diplomats in their statement about the shameless verdict that exculpated the former Yugoslav People’s Army Generals (Šljivančanin, Mrkšić and Radić) of any responsibility for what happened in Vukovar in 1991. under their attack.¹⁴ The diplomats were „depressed“, yet the reports of the „expert“ on trauma and peace say nothing about this happening. How unempirical can one get in a non-place, and yet get money to carry on?

The universal terror in a non-place lives of victims turned into clients; history turned into scoundrels events; cultural memory turned into nationalistic provocations, politizations and actions of hatred. Vukovar, together with its wider Croatian and regional vicinity is a non-place in which one does not come to learn, but teach; one does not come to hear, but be heard; in which one must be seen if he speaks the language of politics of Human Rights (not for Human Rights).

Opposite to all this, in the domain of the Real and anthropologically lived Vukovar, is a place of continuous attacks and continuous attempts of converting the Real and factographically genocidal into a *non-place incidence*.¹⁵

14 About 20 former US diplomats and representatives in former Yugoslavia have sent a letter of dissatisfaction to UN Under-Secretary-General. About 20 former US diplomats and representatives in former Yugoslavia, scientists and legal experts, have sent a letter to UN Under-Secretary-General for legal affairs Nicolas Michel, in which they point out being „depressed“ with The Hague verdict to the „Vukovar Three“ and express hope the ICTY Appeals Committee will „most fully re-examine it“. <http://dalje.com/en-croatia/former-diplomats-stress-hague-tribunal-failure/99813>

15 In the moment of finishing this paper the political debate around forced introduction of Cyrillic into Vukovar (against the will of the majority of citizens of Vukovar) ended in the violent placement of the Government Institutional boards on the official buildings of Vukovar (see - <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/croatia-to-introduce-cyrillic-to-vukovar>). Cyrillic is the letter in which all offensive post-War graffiti are written around the city. The saga of forced cohabitation, in the name of politics of Human Rights, continues without the presence of celebrities and humanitarians (?).

Non-places and amorality

In non-places there is an erasure of laws except those of superimposition. Laws of non-places are *not founded and shaped by the experience of those that live in them, but on the experience of those that flow through them*. Paradoxically, the greater the significance of a place for those that live in it, most of all those upon which genocide was perpetrated, the greater is the strike of *conversion into a non-place*, with all the sequential postponed gestures of short-term awaked consciousness (such as in the case of the „depressed“ diplomats over a Hague verdict). However, the global continuum functionality of non-places does not permit larger outbursts and breakthroughs than that of spontaneous gestures, unfortunately nonsufficient for corrective interventions, into the will for justice and politics *for* Human Rights. *Experientially empirical* and opposite to this, it seems we have moved into a new phase of being – entertained, celebratized, festivalized, gastronomized and dumbed up into a sequence of fragmenting the cultural memory of the Real. *Empirically visible*, the Nobel Peace Prize for 2012 was given to the European Union, not to the people of Vukovar, or any people of places that survived the genocidally patterned spree run over them. In fact, the European Union was unwilling, incapable or unprepared to prevent the genocidal sequence of Vukovar spreading towards the whole region. As – „The People“, (We) remain „clients“ of consolatory incidents, not only of a gastronomic kind, but such as corruption scandals, ecological disasters, health dangers and most of all the „big events“. Every now and then we get to be visited by humanitarian celebrities willing to come to the „complex“, yet very profitable „Balkan“ (openly viewing it as a destination for real-estate investments). Two recent interesting cases testify of this „willingness“, founded on a blend of pecuniary motifs and suitable comprimation of the local non-place historical facts, into a marketable event.

Case#1 (Figure 1)

The *Hollywood couple Jolie/Pitt* engaged in a mission farther away from the more strenuous destinations (such as Darfur/Sudan, already celebratized by others). Their coming into the „Balkans“ non-places had two destinations (Sarajevo and Zagreb), and was tied to the much celebratized event of the World promotion of Jolie's film *In the land of Blood and Honey*. The main fabula of the film is founded on the premise that all wars are packed with criminality on all sides. Some more prone to it than the others. Thus, the film makes the main conversion of the Serbian ideology of the Greater Serbia, for which extremists kill in a genocidal fashion, into a convenient (for the West) talk about the criminality and individual guilt of the warriors of all sides of the „Balkan non-place“. Not surprisingly according to the non-place discourse, the promotion of Jolie's movie happened in the famous *Arena Center Mall* in Zagreb, right above a conglomerate of fast food restaurants (from Kentucky Fried Chicken and MacDonald's to Thai). Confirming, once more, the academically and morally horrifying fact, that every genocide of a non-place, such as that of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo, can

Figure 1. Jolie/Pitt testing the non-place acceptability towards translating local genocides into very profitable and functional market resources (Sources: heraldsun.com, dailycaller.com from film Lara Croft, washingtonpost.com, vecernji.hr).



easily be translated into a very profitable and functional market success, promoted conveniently in a place of gastronomy and consumerism, rather than piety.

Yet, however one wishes to restrain from giving qualifications to seemingly good intended deeds, one expects the criteria of doing them, through official institutions, to be under the loop of a critical kind. In other words, based on the institutional long-term involvement in the region and representation of respect towards local people, knowledge and local cultural memory. We should expect no less in the case of United Nations, its Ambassadors and the conduct of peacemaking through celebrities.

The following case also confirms the non-place turning into a place of universalistic terror, by those that are not aware of forcing concepts of living upon those that are living in them, let alone their own lack of chronological knowledge of the place.

Case#2 (Figure 2)

On the 3rd April 2012 a roundtable was organized by the United Nations in Croatia (supported by the Office of the President of Croatia), in the city of Vukovar, with the aim of shedding light on the rape survivors and their plea. The invited speaker was the American activist and playwright of the world-wide famous part *Vagina monologues*, Eve Ensler. As it is emphasized in the description of her talk, „the event was organized to draw attention to the plight of rape survivors and mobilize state authorities and civil

Figure 2. American playwright and activist Eve Ensler „shedding light“ on the rape survivors and their plea in a non-place (source: UNDP).



society to redouble their efforts to punish the perpetrators and respond to the needs of the victims. Croatia's experience was set in a broader context by Eve Ensler, who issued a rallying cry for a global crusade to fight all discrimination and violence against".¹⁶

Regardless of Ensler's will to emotionally support the raped women of Croatia and Vukovar, it is evident that she was poorly prepared and not briefed for this important roundtable. Neither did she brief herself of the culture, history and developments of the place she is coming to.

The presented facts of both cases remain to be important for the United Nation future briefings in order to educate their *flying Ambassadors*, such as Ensler and Jolie, that unless there is a functional policy of abiding by the *rules of un-attachment to the non-places*, they should understand the local factography, at least to the level of not offending the locals. In the case of both celebrities the **data they lacked** is:

Fact#1 (Figure 3)

That the American Lawyer and activist Catharine MacKinnon represented Bosnian and Croatian women survivors of Serbian sexual atrocities; winning with co-counsel a \$745 million jury verdict in the lawsuit *Kadic v. Karadžić* in

16 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ee_szCPWnmk&playnext=1&list=PLBEF8F75B0BF93ACB&feature=results_video

Figure 3. Catharine A. MacKinnon fighting „non-place“ memoricide of the rapes during genocide (the Croatian text to be found in the main text).

Creating International Law: Gender as a New Paradigm

A talk by
Catharine A. MacKinnon
James Barr Ames Visiting Professor of Law and Professor of Law at the University of Michigan

Professor MacKinnon specializes in sex equality issues under international and constitutional law. Since 2008, she has been the Special Gender Adviser to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, implementing the concept of "gender crime." She previously pioneered the legal claim for sexual harassment; helped create ordinances recognizing pornography as a civil rights violation; and served as co-counsel in litigation that led to a judgment recognizing rape as an act of genocide.

Wednesday, October 19, 2011
12:00 – 1:15 p.m.
Pound Hall 204, Harvard Law School

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Savjetnica Ujedinjenih Naroda, američka pravnik Catharina MacKinonn je 2000 godine, zastupajući bosanske žene žrtve srpskog seksualnog genocidnog nasilja, dobila tužbu protiv Karadžića i odštetu za žene žrtve u visini 745 miliona dolara, pri čemu je po prvi put prepoznat čin silovanja kao akt genocida;

From Bosnian Rape Camps to the U.S. Court: The Story of *Kadic v. Karadzic*

Ayanna Ulsner
May 7, 2012

New York City on August 10, 2000; establishing the legal recognition of rape, forced prostitution and forced impregnation as legally actionable acts of genocide. In MacKinnon's view, traditional approaches to human rights gloss over abuses specific to women (e.g., sexual violence), both in wartime and peacetime. The raped women of Vukovar fall into this two-fold blind spot in serving justice – the non-place terror of universalism serving only the politics of superficial Human Rights and justice.

Fact#2 (Figure 4)

An American former police investigator Kathryn Bolkovac, worked as a UN International Police Force monitor in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, from 1999. She discovered a network of individuals in the Bosnian and UN police (which was made up of some 1800 officers from 45 countries) who were not only using trafficked prostitutes but were on the traffickers' pay-roll. They were paid to give warnings on raids, return girls who escaped or, when rescued girls were repatriated („dumped somewhere on the border“, according to Bolkovac), let the traffickers know where they could collect them so they could be recycled back into the system. With the help of Madaleine Rees (the UN human rights official at that time) she managed to expose the hidden work of the network. Many of the traffickers were forced to resign under suspicion of illegal activity,

Figure 4. Kathryn Bolkovac fighting for the voices of women in the 'non-places' (the Croatian text to be found in the main text).



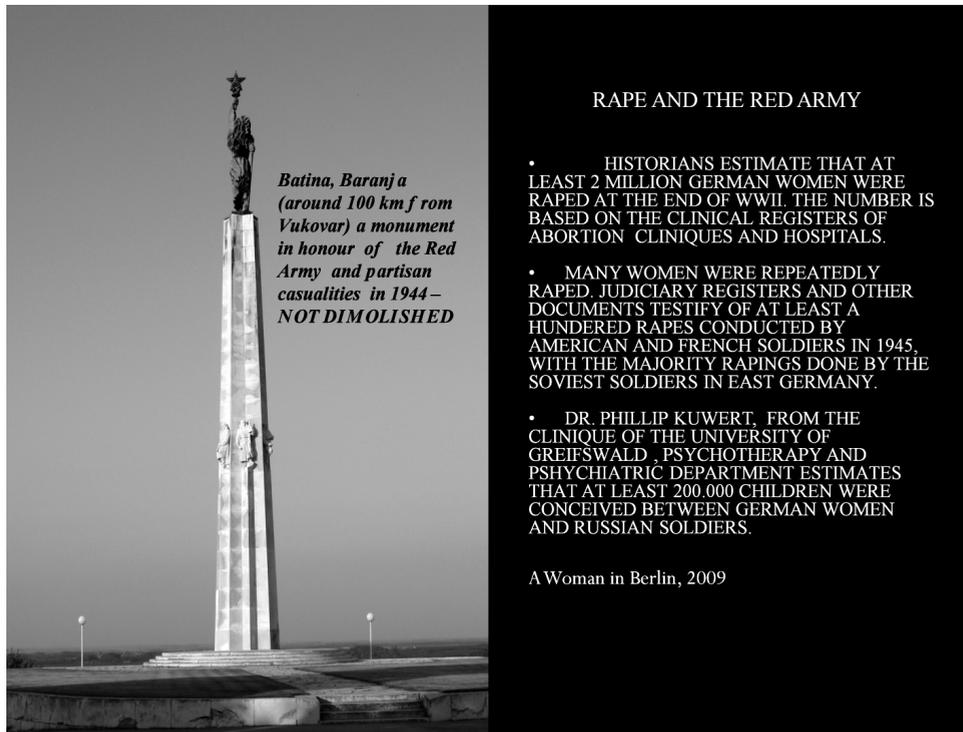
but none have been prosecuted, as they also enjoy immunity from prosecution in Bosnia. Bolkovac’s story was made into a film, *The Whistleblower*, released in 2010. Following a film screening UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon opened a panel discussion on sexual exploitation and abuse in conflict and post-conflict situations, yet the Organization’s effort to combat sexual exploitation of women and children has not showed much result to this date.¹⁷ Apparently, it is easy to sell morality in non-places, yet hard to live by it in all places.

Fact#3 (Figure 5)

Less than 60 km from Vukovar towards the north, in the village of Batina, there is a 27 meter high monument named by the people as *Julka*. It was erected in honour of the November, 1944 battle led by the Red Army and partisans liberating Baranja from the German occupation. The monument is still standing. It is not demolished, in the same way as the myths of the noble Red Army and antifascists deeds remain untouched. They also murdered, massacred, burned, killed, looted and – raped (in high numbers).

¹⁷ 6th February 2012 (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/9041974/What-the-UN-Doesnt-Want-You-to-Know.html>); among other details Bolkovac also mentions General Jacques Klein and his status in the UN.

Figure 5. Crimes are not reserved for the contemporary of the non-places.



Remarking, reminding, not concluding

Every now and then (for a small number of the most perceptive, daily) someone comes to our „Balkan“ non-place for a load of a projective conscience-soothing or ego-boosting in further supporting the politics of Human Rights. They participate in jolly parades of universalism, transgress into a total annulation of the victims, survivors and their testimonies, yet get the job of Human Rights done.

One can speak of a lack of knowledge, lack of briefing or more truthfully the lack of ethics and moral. The psychodynamics of it is simple – seeking for gratification in the service of a morally deficient Western conscience. If anything, further research should be aimed towards psychological anthropology and the psychodynamic level of a consolatory role that universalism has for the moral deficit of the Western conscious. Perhaps the awareness of one’s own incapability for auto-reflexivity and interpretation of crimes is tightly connected with realizing the potential for negating the negation of violence of one’s own people, throughout the colonial and post-colonial world. It is easier to bare, control and silence when there is a barbaric Other that needs a continued disciplining.

The current profitability of humanitarianism and universalistic tourism are cases in point. The phenomena of celebrities being those that synthesize local hi-

stories, through the legitimization of organizations such as UN, is a step further of the amoral conversion of crimes into good deeds. The easiest way of negating victims and survivors is to invite them to join the celebratory events and worship the *humanitarians* (of a dangerous kind). What do Angelina Jolie and Eve Ensler have in common (except from the UN Career) – they are not interested in the locals, their local stories or anthropologically lived places. What they are keen about is taking the best profit, while not caring much for being a pawn in the creation and perpetuation of the myths and mechanisms (terror of universalism) by which the non-places exist (Augé, 1995); through which the synthetical emotions of the postemotional society are continued (Meštović, 1997) and by which the counter-society is helped to exist from within (Rogić, 2004).

If we are to conclude, on the level of scientific exactness, wherever it may take us, all three mentioned concepts grow in their significance, in their applicability towards explaining the happenings in anthropologically lived places. Especially, Vukovar. It is on the experiential level that one can conclude that there is (Western) „hunger“ for non-places. It remains to be seen to which extent life is possible, according to the global paradigm of non-places and the terror of universalism. Especially, in view of the routine visitations and attempts of negating places of genocides, wars and Real sufferings.

We all know where the house of Anna Frank is, but do we know when and in which concentration camp she passed away?¹⁸ We all know what Holocaust was, but do we know the symbolical difference between Holocaust and Shoah? The minority world-wide know for Croatian Vukovar, yet all know for the „mystical Balkan“ and more recently the tourist and real-estate *heaven*.

In view of Hannah Arendt's conscience that Human Rights must be applicable to all as – bare humans – we have a duty of a continuous translating the unknown into known. In turn, this is only possible if we as scientists are aware of the Montaigne's claim that the only true science is that based on ignorance aware of its existence. A totally sustainable aim in the course of the *Anthropology of Vukovar* and its task of revealing the terror of universalism and touristic humanitarianism rituals.

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