

---

# SUMMARIES



Ivan Rogić

## VUKOVAR 1991, IMPRINTS OF THE APPLICATION OF CONSTRUCTIONAL RULES OF THE SECOND-YUGOSLAVIA SYSTEM

Viewed typologically, the system that existed in the Second Yugoslavia can be described with a few basic constructional rules. For our purpose it is beneficial to draw attention to three such rules: the Yugoslav rule, the revolutionary rule and the rule of Croatia's greater responsibility for committed crimes. The application of the Yugoslav rule indicates that the Second Yugoslavia system was shaped „from above“ (Ramet, 2009). The main difficulty in the application of this rule is manifested in a shortage of the Yugoslav national population (Yugoslavs). Therefore, the system attempts to mould this shortage by force/transversely, using first of all the social aspirations of the egalitarian working class and comprador bureaucracy. The direct consequence of the rule's application is the awarding of a controversial, „enemy“ status to all social groups that have an interest in their national autonomy. Considering that, from the perspective of the Serbian political elite, the Yugoslav framework is optimal for the realization of Serbian national integration, the application of the rule is implemented asymmetrically: the national aspirations of the Croats, Albanians, Bosniaks are characterized as subversive while those of the Serbs as compatible with the system. Precisely on those foundations the Serbs gradually take on the position of the leading proponents of the system. The Serbization of other ethnic groups is equalized with their Yugoslav integration. The application of the rule of Croatia's greater responsibility for crimes committed in World War II determines that Croatia (as a statehood idea) and Croats (as a nation) bear greater responsibility for the crimes committed during the fascist/Nazi aggression. The specific practice of the system to stigmatize Croats, both politically and in terms of their identity, developed along these lines of reasoning and became a generally accepted idea in general public opinion. Z. Radelić (2006) for example reports that in 1966, as many as 67% of the Croatian employable population had files in the archives of the secret service (UDBA). The application of the same rule, on the other hand, in the long run directly strengthens and facilitates the transformation of the politico-bureaucratic stratum in the Serb ethnic minority in Croatia into credible proponents and guarantors of the system, namely, into a group with special political and social authority. In numerous analyses of current circumstances the fact is neglected that memories of such basic relations and constructional rules, as well as the ritualisation of political practices derived from these rules, have steadily accumulated in Croatian society on two basic levels: familial and institutional, and outside of Croatian society, in the operational

premises of numerous international institutions. The effects of this accumulation should analytically be viewed as specific, independent factors of influence on the formation and practice of numerous current participants of Croatian society. In the case of Vukovar the application of the mentioned rules should be observed on four basic levels on which Vukovar symbolism was differentiated and formed. At the first level, where in regard to the meaning of Vukovar's symbolism the image of the city/victim of developmental stagnation dominates, traces of the specific use of the mentioned rules are not visible. The stagnation of development in the city corresponds to the general developmental „recession“ of the Croatian economy, likewise impacted by the mentioned rules but on a level that exceeds the local framework of stimulating development. At the second level of meaning of Vukovar's symbolism the image of the city – as the fiery gate (Termopile) is dominant. The application of the constructional rules of Second Yugoslavia on this level can be perceived only peripherally, in the attempts of creating a specific narrative about the intentional sacrificing of Vukovar by the highest echelons of the then Croatian authority. In that narrative the traces of the rule of greater Croatian responsibility for the evil committed are particularly discernable. The image of the city/stage as the protagonist of „peaceful reintegration“ dominates the third level of the sphere of meaning. The application of the constructional rules of Second Yugoslavia has a direct impact on subordinating the process of peaceful reintegration to bureaucratic mediation „from above“. In such circumstances, other crimes of aggression, excluding war crimes as defined by law, have remained in parentheses. In this way the required, moral order without which it is impossible to establish the difference between the perpetrator of the crime and the victim is brought into question. The consequence is a divided (city) community and the additional shaming of the actual victims of war and aggressor violence. On the other hand, the basic benefit from the „peaceful reintegration“: stopping war violence and killings, otherwise ethically undisputable, has unfortunately remained the only one. Two images dominate the fourth level of the sphere of meaning of Vukovar's symbolism. The first is Vukovar as a place of patriotic pilgrimage. It actually implies the intensified positioning of the symbolic image of Vukovar as a specific Croatian pilgrimage point. It is evident that this position is trans-political, so the effects of the mentioned rules are not perceptible in relation to it. Visible, however, are the technical effects of the procedures applied in similar circumstances, namely, its transformation into a museum and spectacle. The second image is: Vukovar – as the symbol of Croatian freedom. Specific symbolic imperatives have been built into this image according to which care for national and social freedom appears as a generalized symbolic and practical obligation. On the other hand, however, the evolution of state narratives in Croatia shows that its direction is contrary to the mentioned Vukovar symbolic imperatives. In this way, the essential part of Vukovar's symbolism remains without reception in the political sector. The application of certain constructional rules from the period of Second Yugoslavia can be observed here in tendencies that promote change in the sphere of meaning of the symbolism of Vukovar that is opposite the original one. Narratives of Vukovar's role in the Region are promoted along those lines, on the need to forget the crimes and work on the future and generally, to symbolically shift the fragments

of a failed past into – footholds of a successful future. The author unfoundedly believes – that such a course of events will not take place.

**Ante Nazor**

**THE CONTINUITY OF GREATER SERBIAN IDEOLOGY  
AS THE CAUSE OF WAR IN CROATIA IN THE 1990s**

The paper deals with some of the Greater Serbia projects from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries aimed at creating an integral Serbian state („Greater Serbia“) in which all the Serbs from the territory of former Yugoslavia, namely, the Balkans, would live. Special attention is devoted to preparations for the realization of the new Greater Serbia project whose implementation resulted in open armed Serbian aggression on Croatia in the summer of 1991. The paper also points to memoir material which testifies to the rapprochement process between the Serbian leadership and the top echelons of the Yugoslav People’s Army, given that this „alliance“ was decisive for the exclusive position of the Serbian leadership in the negotiations with the presidents of Croatia and Slovenia on the issue of decentralization and possible restructuring of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into a confederal state. In other words, after having won over the leadership of the Army to its side and disarmed the Croatian Territorial Defence (TO), the Serbian leadership was convinced that it would achieve its goal through military means with the assistance of the Army, which from the summer of 1991 actually acted as the Serbian army and was the exponent of the armed aggression against Croatia.

**Josip Esterajher**

**GREATER SERBIAN IDEOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY  
SERBIAN SOCIETY**

**Points for Further Research**

Greater Serbian ideology in contemporary Serbia is holding out regardless of its changing leading social and political protagonists. In spite of a decade of political development of the country after Slobodan Milošević, it is still possible to depict traits of Greater Serbian ideology in views on issues regarding the status and position of Serbs outside Serbia, the legacy of Milošević’s regime, the character of the wars in the 90s, rehabilitation of the Chetnik movement, status of Kosovo, etc. The survival of Greater Serbian ideology in Serbia, in which an authoritarian political culture was dominant for a considerable period of time, is contributed to by long-standing structures within the Serbian society. The Serbian political elite has been divided since the 19<sup>th</sup> century into the proponents of a modern, and a so called national state (Latinka Perović) and these divisions are present and dominant to this day. Traditional resistance to the constitution of a modern state in

Serbia is achieved through the persistent maintenance of Greater Serbian nationalism, which perseveres in its main characteristics but changes protagonists, forms and intensities of expression. The open questions Serbia has with its neighbours, such as unresolved issues pertaining to borders and its war legacy, can last until the question of the constitution of Serbia as a modern state is not resolved. The unsolved Serbian foreign policy issues are the products of unresolved internal political issues, considering that the conflicts between the representatives of diverse ideological and political concepts did not result in the reaching of consensus on essential social and state issues within the Serbian political elites.

**Stjepan G. Meštrović**

**STRIKE AND DESTROY: A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF THE SIEGE OF VUKOVAR AND RECENT AMERICAN WAR CRIMES**

The implicit theory of post-World War II war crimes seems to be that of „spontaneous combustion.“ Horrific acts of wanton violence against civilians that are war crimes are typically explained in the media, courts, and even academia as the result of „monstrous“ individuals who spontaneously commit the crimes. The social context, social climate, and social predisposing factors in war crimes are not usually invoked in war crimes. This paper will compare and contrast the JNA (Yugoslav National Army) war crimes in Vukovar with specific US Army cases of war crimes in Iraq and Afghanistan (the Operation Iron Triangle, Baghdad Canal, and Maywand District killings). Drawing upon the research data I gathered as an expert witness at courts-martial for these US Army cases, as well as my sociology expert witness testimony, I will make comparisons and contrasts between war crimes in the former Yugoslavia committed by the Belgrade regime and US war crimes. There is no intent to make any political comparisons between the governments involved. Rather, the purpose of the study is to point out several universal components of the poisoned social climates which precede war crimes: a doctrine of war based upon a „strike and destroy“ philosophy; the use of symbols, nicknames, and mottos which predispose officers and soldiers toward a lethal approach; and a denigration of non-lethal means and measures that are mindful of civilians. While the doctrine of command responsibility is invoked in both US Army doctrine and Hague tribunals, it fails to account for the social context of war crimes. In other words, command responsibility needs to take into account the responsibility for the social climates which lead to war crimes, and not remain narrowly focused on whether civilian or military commanders knew or should have known that war crimes were committed.

**Sanja Špoljar Vržina**

**ANTHROPOLOGY OF VUKOVAR:  
TIMES (OF REMEMBERING ) AND SPACES (OF PROVING)  
IN CONFRONTING THE EQUILIBRATIVE JUSTICE**

This paper questions the technique of the equilibrative justice and its employment upon all events in the region of former Yugoslavia, even on those of an extremely visible genocidal pattern (such as in the case of Vukovar). Through the anthropological concepts of allochronous (defining the Other in different time patterns) and denial of coevalness (denying the contemporary time) (Fabian, 1983) an attempt is made towards interpreting the functionality of the normative equalization of guilt and conduct of equilibrative justice. Furthermore, an analysis is aimed at correcting its basic mechanisms: factographic/chronologic fragmentation and augmentation of the asymmetry in guilt , shaming and blaming.

**Dražen Živić**

**IS (WAS) VUKOVAR A SERBIAN CITY?**

On the basis of relevant demographic-statistical (census) documentation the paper analyses the basic changes in the national composition of the population of the city of Vukovar during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely, from 1900 to 2001. The purpose of the paper is to establish the intensity and character of changes in the ethno-demographic dynamics and structure of Vukovar and on the basis of a comparative analysis refute the claim voiced during an interview to the daily paper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, in mid May 2012 by the then Serbian president, Tomislav Nikolić, that according to the national structure of its population Vukovar was or is a Serbian city. The claim of the Serbian president, regardless of its groundlessness or reasons why he gave such a statement, is on the trail of the specific revival of Serbian national-state politics based on the Greater Serbian idea of „uniting Serbian lands“, which has repeatedly been supported by the falsification, beguilement, malicious interpretation and manipulation of demographic facts. In spite of the dynamic demographic development and significant changes in the national composition of the population, according to the results of all the censuses in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Vukovar had a relative, and in some censuses (1948, 1953, 1961 and 2001) an absolute majority of Croats in its overall population. Serbs became the second most numerous ethnic entity in Vukovar only after World War II, primarily owing to the almost complete demographic regression of the German population, and in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century never exceeded one third of the overall population of the city.

**Ivica Šola**

### **THE RE-NARRATIVE DESTRUCTION OF THE VUKOVAR EPIC**

In political and media terms much has happened in the last twenty years regarding the perception of events during the aggression on and occupation of Vukovar. Many of these perceptions have the character of falsifications of authentic tragic events motivated by ideological, intelligence and geo-political factors connected to „this region“. We shall call these falsifications „the re-narrative destruction“ of Vukovar’s tragedy. When interpreted on the basis of media reports or else politically, they do not have the random character of awkward statements made by individuals, cultural or aesthetic arbitrariness or current international political re-arrangements and interests but rather indicate rationally defined strategies in which political, aesthetic or ideological premises that have been developed and implemented more or less successfully for decades can clearly be discerned. From the strategy of secondary victimisation and trivialization through strategies of relativization and reverse theses and strategies of fratricidal war to strategies of prolonging justice and selecting the guilty, this re-narrative construction also has the characteristics of moral perversion in which the victims disappear from the horizon that covered by the media fog, judicial or political (re)constructions of reality in which differences between victims and criminals, between aggressor and attacked, between interpretive fantasy and reality are erased. Prior to embarking upon the analyses of the strategies we shall define the term re-narration and place it in the concrete context of wartime events. The paper is our attempt to merge theoretical-scientific and journalistic research of this phenomenon.

**Albert Bing**

### **VUKOVAR AND THE CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE: MYTHOS AND EPISTHÉMÉ IN RECENT CROATIAN HISTORY**

The paper questions specific aspects of the collective remembrance of Vukovar as one of the key paradigms of the Homeland War relevant for the culture of remembrance within the framework of recent Croatian history (past). In addition to the problem matter of historiographic interpretations of the Vukovar epic – (pluralism of historic truths, specific characteristics of researching recent history, specific controversies, etc.), the paper also deals with issues pertaining to the influence of the media and „politics“ on the shaping of various perceptions of Vukovar. Within that context the paper also analyses the relationship between memorial and scientifically oriented historiography – mythos and epistémé, as a component that influences the creation of the contemporary identity of Croatian society. In conclusion the author touches upon the correlation between historical and political perceptions and current issues linked to life in Vukovar.



**Sanja Špoljar Vržina**

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

From 1991. onwards Croatia became one of the countries in which the cult of the Western liberal self 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 90ies), as well as today – as if the War never was; aggression, maybe; and in the interpretation of many in the international community, or even national community – it was a conflict, yet in fact only another name for the civil war still unaccepted by the still „unaware“, „undemocratized“ and „nationalistically prone“ citizens of Croatia. The fact of today's, already visible, rehabilitation of the Chetniks within the (inter)national community and deliberate overlook of the truth about the Serbian aggression are just part of a sequence that many authors perceive as a dangerous blindness and amorality on the part of the international politics (Lambrichs, 2005, 2011; Meštrović, 1996, 1997; Rogić, 2004, 2012). The author challenges this reality through a number of recent culminating events – from celebratizations, festivalizations, univerzalizations of places, non-places and happenings of the Homeland War, to the attempts of total negation of the survivors and their testimonies. Case in point is the recent „invitation“ from the highest political levels to the war raped women to join the routine parades, much in the fashion of turning them into „majorettes“ of universalism, but not partakers in Justice for all. The paper directs towards psychological anthropology and recognition of the psychodynamic level of a consolatory role that universalism has for the moral deficit of the Western conscious and individuals. The awareness of one's own incapacibilities for auto-reflexivity and interpretation of crimes, started through the violence of one's own people throughout the colonial and post-colonial world, is easier to bare, control and silence when there is an Other that needs a continued disciplining. Based on the anthropological discourse of critique towards the evidenced profiteering humanitarianism (Harrell-Bond, 1986), the author joins other authors that sense a dangerous punctum saliens of the universalistic tourism crowned with „good deeds“ of the humanitarian, as well as the politics of Human Rights (Baxi, 2006) crowned with „democratization“, all the way to the relativization of violent deaths and genocide, as in the case of Vukovar.

**Danijel Labaš, Marija Barčot**

**THE MEDIA AND WAR – AN ETHICAL CHALLENGE  
Printed Media in the Homeland War on the Example  
of Vukovar 1991**

The fundamental postulates of media ethics relate to the obligation of transmitting the truth and maintaining, impartiality and honesty in reporting. A high level of morality and professional dedication to work are always demanded from

the journalist in special circumstances, such as natural and other disasters, and particularly in wartime. War reporting, war journalism and the media in war have a difficult task of searching for the truth and of reporting the truth. The paper questions whether it is at all possible to speak of ethical and objective reporting and is it not a fact that the very nature of war is contrary to any possible objective approach and ethical performance of professional tasks basing its premises on case studies of three Croatian daily newspapers – *Večernji list*, *Vjesnik* and *Glas Slavonije* – analysing their reporting in the first two weeks of the initial attack on Vukovar and one week prior and a week during the occupation by the Serbian aggressor.

**Patricija Kajić Kudelić**

**THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR FORMER  
YUGOSLAVIA AND SYMBOLS OF THE HOMELAND  
WAR – LEGAL-CRIMINOLOGICAL ASPECT**

The International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) processed in its mandate the perpetrators of crimes in Vukovar and in addition to that, evaluated the liberation action Oluja (Storm). Analysing the work of the Court the paper questions whether justice has been served for the Vukovar victims and whether, on the one hand, the real character of this battle was determined, and the way the military-police action Oluja was evaluated and what are the consequences of the Court's decisions, on the other. Through all these questions elements of justice and truth, as the fundamental tasks of the ICTY, are interlaced as in a delicately woven fabric. The paper offers a criminological-legal view through an analysis of the legal processing of the Vukovar crimes and the sentencing of the commander of the military action Oluja by the ICTY.

**Tomislav Jonjić**

**THE DESTRUCTION OF VUKOVAR AND THE INTERNATIONAL  
CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR FORMER YUGOSLAVIA**

Although it suffered extreme destruction during the Greater Serbian aggression on the Republic of Croatia the city of Vukovar and the crimes committed against it, its citizens and the population of this region of Croatia never came into the focus of attention of the world community. Recalling the circumstances that gave rise to the institution of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia in The Hague (ICTY), the author attempts to give his interpretation of the reason behind that. He also concludes that the primary cause for not revealing the crimes committed against the citizens of Vukovar, Vukovar itself and Croatia in general, should be looked for in the combination of foreign-political and internal-political reasons. Given the geographic and geopolitical position of

Vukovar, it is quite evident that the aggression against it would not have been possible without the participation of forces of the Republic of Serbia, namely, the remaining part of the former Yugoslavia and without the use of areas that make up part of the Republic of Serbia today. Considering that the ICTY had and permanently retained a pronounced political role, the greater part of the international community was not ready to threaten the political processes that evolved after the wars in the territory of former Yugoslavia by establishing relevant facts. In these attempts the international community had an excellent partner in the Croatian political establishment. Just like the international community, it subordinated the interests of justice and the law to political interests, namely, the rapprochement to the European Union, ignoring the frustrations of the victims of aggression and internal-political implications of neglecting the consequences of war.

**Mato Artuković**

### **VUKOVAR 1991 IN CROATIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS**

The paper analyzes the presentation of Vukovar 1991 in school textbooks in Croatia. The author places the aggression against Vukovar within the general context of the aggression of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and part of the insurgent Croatian Serbs in the Republic of Croatia and analyses the terms used by the textbook authors to characterize the attack on Vukovar. He also analyses what the students will actually learn from the textbooks about this dramatic period in the history of this Croatian city and the way the authors of the textbooks evaluate the meaning of Vukovar 1991 in Croatian history.

**Father Božo Lujčić**

### **VUKOVAR FROM THE BIBLICAL-THEOLOGIC PERSPECTIVE OF SACRIFICE**

The paper proceeds from the biblical presumption of the existence of sacrifice in archaic religions, in biblical manuscripts as well as in the research of the French anthropologist René Girard. There is a dual perception of this notion: someone unjustly victimized by others (Lat. *victima*), and sacrifice taken on by individuals as their life philosophy, dedicating themselves to the noble ideas of man, nation or humanity. This form is called *sacrificium* in Latin. Girard also dwells upon the mechanism of scapegoats which existed in mythology and old religions and which Jesus, by his sacrifice in the freedom of love, practically abolished. The anthropologist rightly warns of the danger, on the one hand from the instrumentalization of the victim, and on the other, from denouncing any form of sacrifice. The paper analyses the sacrifice of the Lord's Servant from the Old Testament as well Jesus's

sacrifice from the New Testament. The latter sacrifice differs in an essential way from sacrifices in mythologies and old religions because it is based on Jesus's free decision that stems not from hate but from love. Such sacrifice brings forgiveness, while the sacrifice in the mythological sense of a scapegoat on which all evil befalls gives rise to new tensions, disturbances and wars. As far as Vukovar is concerned, from the perspective of the correct perception of this notion, its sacrifice and the sacrifice of many noble individuals who gave their lives should not be instrumentalized for daily political purposes nor should it be scorned from the point of view of liberal theology which advocates that no one should either kill or die for others. This view is not Christian. One should also refrain from offering forgiveness to the perpetrators on behalf of the victims. Only the victim can give forgiveness to the perpetrator in order to be freed from him and his evil.

**Vine Mihaljević**

### **RELIGIOUS TRUTH ABOUT VUKOVAR 1991**

Truth is the fundamental principle of philosophy, religion and moral human activity where the Greek-philosophical and Christian-theological conceptions are confronted, and according to which truth is in the very being, namely, in its manifestation respectively. These two conceptions substantially differ in respect to the manifestation of truth, wherein according to the Greek-philosophical perception truth is the singularity of being and exists only in the deliberations of the mind, while according to the Christian-theological perception truth is God's revelation. On the other hand the intellectualist conception of truth emphasizes that truth (*ἀλήθεια*) is the harmony of reason and reality (*adaequatio /conformitas/ intellectus cum re*), or else reality per se as it reveals itself, and is clear, evident (truthful, *ἀληθής* – unhidden). The Bible bases truth on religious experience. According to the Old Testament, truth (*emet*) is dedication to the union between God and man, God's plan while in the New Testament truth is God's Word revealed, Jesus Christ, where the Jewish term „truth of the law“ is substituted by the term „truth of the Gospel.“ If we bear in mind, as pointed out by the eminent German ecumenical theologian Hans Küng, the ethical, religious and specifically Christian criteria of truth then it is necessary to point out that according to the general ethic criteria a religion is truthful and good if it is humane (*humanum*) and therefore does not oppress or destroy but protects and promotes humaneness. According to the general religious criterion a religion is truthful and good if it is true to its own source or cannon, its authentic „nature“, its normative postulates and Teacher and finally, according to a specifically Christian criterion, a religion is truthful and good if the spirit of Jesus Christ is recognized in its theory and practice. The title of our lecture indicates as the topic religious truth in the context of the Serbian aggression on the city of Vukovar 1991. On the basis of the official population census in the Republic of Croatia in 1991 and in line with the national composition of the settlement of Vukovar (Croats 47.2%, Serbs 32.3%) two dominant Christian religious communities are also apparent – that of the Catholic Church (47.9%) and of

the Serbian Orthodox Church (29.6%). Therefore, in the context of the situation of wartime events in Vukovar in the 1990s, the first thing that comes to mind is not the religious but rather the Christian truth of the Serbian aggression on Vukovar in 1991. In the phenomenological deliberations of socio-religious facts during the war events in Vukovar 1991, Christianity has shown two different faces.

**Mateo Žanić**

### **FROM MEMORIAL PLACES TO MEMORIAL COMMUNITIES – THE SOCIAL DENOTATION OF THE PAST**

Focusing on the social aspect of remembrance the paper thematically dwells upon three essential questions. The first deals with the context of the territoriality of memory, namely, on the ways in which attempts are made to connect remembrance with a specific space through physical marks, such as monuments. The second concerns the emergence of memorial communities formed in relation toward the place of remembrance and in whose maintenance an important role is played by the protagonists of remembrance. The third is an analysis of the positioning of this type of community within society considering the three types of responses their formation provokes: symbolic identification, indifference and disputation.

**Mladen Barać**

### **VUKOVAR IN THE SLAVONSKI BROD PRINTED MEDIA 1991–2010**

The paper analyses the theme of Vukovar in the Slavonski Brod printed media with emphasis on the wartime period 1991, the exile of its population, peaceful reintegration of occupied Podunavlje (Danube basin region) and the return of the exiles, concluding with the parallel process of creating symbols and of adopting the memory of the sacrifice of Vukovar at the local level in order to explain and bring closer to home the process of creating the Slavonski Brod perception of the phenomenon of Vukovar in the course of the last two decades. An analysis of the presented problem matter gives an insight into the manner of profiling Vukovar in the press discourse which was by its content subordinated to the public affirmation of the significance of Vukovar's martyrdom based on the heightened sensibility of the readers. In addition, the further contribution of the Brod printed media consisted of reporting on and positively assessing similar efforts of other social organizations from the Slavonski Brod region through which they confirmed the essential role in the creation of an affirmative opinion of the local public toward the Vukovar phenomenon.

**Vinicije B. Lupis**

### **PARADIGM OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE**

The Eastern question – a legacy of European and world politics at the time, which included the resolution of the Croatian issue, as well as the Armenian and Assyrian ones further to the east, is in many aspects topical even today. The crime committed against the Armenians, namely, one of the most large-scale genocides in the history of humankind, which is actually in its elements the first holocaust against a people and a religion, was carried out by the Constantinople military and political leaderships while the covering up and turning of a blind eye on the part of the international community, which armed on a massive scale and trained the Turkish army to carry it out, have paradigmatic significance. The existence of a programme document from 1896 on the justifiability of exterminating the Armenians has a parallel in European anti-Semitism as well as in the Serbian *Načertanije*, i.e., in the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, in regard to the resolution of the Croatian issue, requires our full attention. Europe's benevolence toward the „liberal movement“ in Turkey led by the Young Turks, who called themselves the Committee of Unity and Progress, enabled by its non-intervention the execution of one of the most mass-scale genocides known in human history with its culmination in 1915. Statistical data on the number of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire vary. The most credible statistics are those of the Armenian Patriarch in Constantinople from 1878, which for the purpose of taxing „infidels“ recorded about 3.000.000, and after the genocide in 1919, 543.600 Armenians in the Empire. At all events, regardless of the numbers, methods, systematic nature and cruelty of a preconceived process of annihilating a people it is paradigmatic for all similar phenomena in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Croats from Constantinople and Smyrna were witnesses of sorts as well as victims of these bloody events

**Anna Givargizyan**

### **ARMENIAN NATIONAL-CULTURAL GENOCIDE. THE CENTURY-LONG STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE**

The article is devoted to the problem of Armenian national-cultural Genocide. During the whole time of existence of the Turkish Republic, not only of the Ottoman Empire, purposefully erased traces of Armenians on their own land. How much would it not be denied. The fact remains. In 1914 the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople consisted of more than 200 monasteries and 1600 churches, the vast majority of which were destroyed in the period of genocide and after. To this must be added the many monuments of Armenian architecture, which up to the last stone were destroyed with a view to erase the evidence of thousands of Armenian culture. Half a century later, scientists finally have raised the question of registration and rescue of monuments of Armenian culture, but it was already too late. In the 70s there appeared a study, as a result of which historians have

identified hundreds of Armenian churches and monasteries in Turkey, however, many monuments have not survived – part has been destroyed, some died from abandonment. The policy of destruction of cultural monuments is punishable. On the territory of Western Armenia remained only 3% of the monuments that existed before the genocide of Armenians.