

Summary

In observance of Memorial Day, November 18, for the 1991 Victims of Vukovar, in 2013 for the sixteenth time the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences and the Pilar Regional Center—Vukovar organized a commemorative symposium, Vukovar '91—Twenty-Two Years After. The theme of the symposium was Vukovar '91—The Genocide and Memoricide of the Heritage of the European Union. The objective of the symposium was to contribute to the continuing scientific discussion on the phenomenon of Vukovar '91 and the Vukovar paradigms, thereby objectively combatting the increasingly blatant attempts to revise, conceal and/or counterfeit them, especially in the context of the (re)formation of contemporary Croatian national and cultural paradigms and identity. The proceedings contain the majority of the papers presented at the symposium, two of which are in the English language, thereby contributing to the international visibility of this publication and the topic of Vukovar in general. In the paper entitled *Postemotional Politics and the Siege of Vukovar (Postemocionalne politike i opsada Vukovara)*, Stjepan G. Meštrović demonstrates that the wars of the 1990s in the territory of the former Yugoslavia were a great embarrassment to Europe, which was either powerless to prevent genocide or did not want to do so, despite its usual rhetoric about the battle to protect human rights and freedoms. These wars, in the author's opinion, were a reminder to Europe that it had not overcome its postemotional politics from history. It is likely that the war on terrorism will also have severe repercussions, not only for the European Union but also for the European idea in general. Vlado Šakić, in the paper *Vukovar 2013: Reformation of Identity and/or New Cultural Paradigms (Vukovar 2013.: povratno oblikovanje identiteta i/ili nova kulturna paradigma)*, emphasizes that cultures, value systems and identities develop in a particular historical context and geopolitical environment, which means that they are more or less constantly dependent on these factors. Thus, planetary civilizational circles have formed, changed and disappeared, as well as national and supranational cultures. Therefore, without the historical context and geopolitical environment, it is not possible to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the cultural, value and identity differences among individuals and groups. According to the author, application of such a model to Vukovar and Croatia means that the autochthonous value, cultural and identity patterns in the first and second Yugoslavia were repressed or attempts were made to integrate them into the new Yugoslav institutions. In 1991, Croatian values, culture and identity were defended in Vukovar, together with the Croatian future based on the principles of freedom and democracy. Therefore, by this act, all the value and cultural patterns from which the people of Vukovar drew their strength, courage and motivation for the defense of their city became national values and key prerequisites for

the stabilization of the national culture and institutions, as well as the building of the national and cultural identity. In the paper *The Culturocide, Postemotional Memoricide and Fanonesque Resistance of Vukovar (A Contribution to the Anthropology of Vukovar)* (*Kulturocid, postemocionalni memoricid i fanonovski otpor Vukovara / prilog antropologiji Vukovara/*) by Sanja Špoljar Vrzina, uses an anthropological approach to map the fields of manipulated human rights and the continuous sequence of shaming and degrading the dignity of veterans of the Homeland War and the Vukovar reality. Incorporating the concepts of Rogić's defining narration of the disposition of Vukovar symbolism (2013), Meštrović's postemotional society (1997), and Fanon's concept of the relationship between culture and a nation (1963), the author defines Fanon's Vukovar. Besides being a place of reverence, Vukovar becomes a permanent place of the literal physical resistance to memoricide, culturocide and every future repetition of genocide. In the paper *Desecration of the Sacred as a Strategy to Destroy the Community: Rape in War as a Rational Project to Destroy the Community* (*Oskvrnuće svetoga kao strategija razaranja zajednice. Silovanje u ratu kao racionalan projekt razaranja zajednice*), Josip Bošnjaković and Gordan Črpić emphasize that individuals and communities gather around various ideas and beliefs, on the basis of which they build individual and social identities. In the Croatian nation, the language, state, Church and women occupy a privileged and holy place. These four constituent elements have been brought into question, reshaped, attacked, degraded and devalued in various ways during recent decades. The authors, bearing in mind the most important of these four elements, women, since they are living persons, explain why women are held sacred among the Croatian nation, what women lived through during the war. The paper deals in a special way with the topics of sexual violence, rape, the specific aspects of rape during war and possible consequences, and the restoration of the dignity of a woman injured during sexual assault. *The Idea of a Just War and Just Peace in Ancient and Scholastic Thought (Ideja pravednog rata i pravednog mira u antičkoj i skolastičkoj misli)* is the title of a work by Mate Buntić and Ivica Musić. The authors deal with the ideas of a just war and just peace during antiquity and the Middle Ages, with particular emphasis on the *bellum iustum* theory of SS. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. A just war is permissible. For a war to be just, it can only be waged by a legitimate authority. War must be waged for peace and only undertaken when all peacemaking means have been exhausted. For the waging of war, there must be a just reason and a war must be fought with a proper intention. Although SS. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas elaborate the *bellum iustum* theory in a somewhat more systematic manner, its origins can already be found in Plato's and Aristotle's philosophies of government. Both Plato and Aristotle justify war, insofar as it is based on the virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance and justice, i.e., if it ultimately ensures a just peace, in which not only the interests of the individual are met but also those of the society as a whole. In addition to the theory of *bellum iustum*, the authors also touch upon the issue of peace within the frameworks of the Greco-Roman world, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Judaism. Summarizing the meanings of peace in all these cases, one comes to the realization that peace is not merely the absence of a state of war but must also be a just peace that can ensure well-being, health, safety, the general good and the rule of law. Tihomil Maštrović, in a work entitled *Resistance to Memoricide: The Collection of Books on the Homeland War in the National and University Library in Zagreb (Otpor memoricidu: Zbirka knjiga o Domovinskom ratu Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu)*, recounts that in 2008 the Collection of Books on the

Homeland War was established in the Reading Room of the National and University Library in Zagreb, with open access. A catalogue of the collection was published in 2009. The collection is open to the public in order to provide access to a body of materials recorded from the historical, spiritual, military, legal, political science, economic, cultural and other aspects concerning events connected with the Croatian Homeland War. The period of this war, 1991—1995, strongly marks the history of the Croatian people, as reflected in the variety of the publications on this topic in Croatia and abroad. The National and University Library in Zagreb has sought to bring together the Collection of Books on the Homeland War, in order to provide users with as much available relevant material as possible, both from its existing funds and continuous acquisitions through purchasing, exchange and gifts, with the aim of providing the public with comprehensive insight into this complex and multidisciplinary area while also helping to prevent the memoricide related to this important part of Croatian national history. *The Croatian Homeland War as Mirrored in Research by the Pilar Institute (Hrvatski Domovinski rat u zrcalu istraživanja Instituta Pilar)* is the title of a paper by Dražen Živić, who points out that the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences is a scientific institution in the area of the social sciences and humanities, which has focused a large part of its scientific and human resources over the past twenty-something years on empirical and theoretical-methodological studies of various aspects and dimensions of the Croatian Homeland War as a crucial event in recent Croatian history. Through conducting research projects, empirical studies, organizing scholarly symposia and publishing scientific papers, proceedings and books, the Pilar Institute has assembled, analyzed and published a significant part of this enviable empirical material. It has also systemized and synthesized key insights and facts about the creation of the modern and democratic Croatian state, Greater Serbian aggression against it and the complex and far-reaching social, demographic, political and economic consequences of the war and the occupation of a large part of Croatian territory. In this review are listed and summarized the main scientific achievements of the Pilar Institute in studies on the Croatian Homeland War. This topic is logically connected in terms of content with a paper by Mateo Žanić and Dražen Živić entitled *Vukovar '91 in Studies by the Pilar Institute (Vukovar '91. u istraživanjima Instituta Pilar)*. The authors succinctly and clearly present an overview of the key concepts, results of scientific research and interpretations, which they thematically relate to the 1991 events in Vukovar, whether by scholars from the Pilar Institute or other researchers who have published works in the publications of the Pilar Institute. Analyses of the events in Vukovar can be divided into four phases, each characterized by a key question to be answered. Scientific discussions were conducted about what caused the Battle of Vukovar, what was the course of the battle, what are the consequences and what difficulties have there been in establishing postwar order. The paper presents studies that have yielded a number of important scientific insights, as well as opening a series of questions that need to be further investigated. *Manipulation of Prejudices and Myths: The Example of Vukovar (Manipulacija predrasudama i mitovima: primjer Vukovara)* is the topic of a paper by Renato Matic, Anita Dremel and Mateja Šakić, who discuss the manipulation of symbolic capital and moral entrepreneurship in the wartime and postwar Croatian society, in which the Vukovar experience represents relevant ideal-typical moments. The objective of the paper is to expose the manipulation of prejudices and myths about Vukovar for achieving various particular interests, the consequences of such manipulations for the victims of wartime violence and the whole truth about Vukovar. In the

first part of the paper, the authors define basic concepts, such as moral enterprise, prejudices and the structure of the manipulation of prejudices. Then the processes of managing prejudices and myths, and concealing true intentions and consequences are analyzed. In the third part of the paper, the authors discuss and reveal manipulations and the standard reactions of a manipulator whose structure of manipulation is exposed. In the final part, a conclusion is offered about the social consequences of various forms of the manipulation of prejudices and myths. Henrik Ivan Damjanović, in the work *Memoria — Remembrance. A Theological-Biblical Reflection on the Preservation of National Identity by Recalling the Acts of the Lord (Memoria — Spomen. Teološko-biblijska refleksija očuvanja identiteta narodnosti s pomoću prisjećanja Djela Gospodnjih)*, among other things points out that in the Old Testament we find God's repeated appeals through the mouths of the prophets for remembrance, anamnesis and the recalling of those works that God had done for «our forefathers», bringing them out of slavery and saving them from the hands of alien nations. The whole Bible is a great remembrance of the salvation of the chosen people and their consolidation through belief in one God. This is best expressed through the experience of the liberation from slavery in Egypt and arrival in the Promised Land. Thus, through the memory-remembrance of the exodus from a negative experience, i.e., slavery, the sense of freedom becomes the basic constituent element for the building and preservation of the identity of the nation of Israel. The author emphasizes the importance of looking at the past and negative experiences, which leads to a certain cohesion of national identity, not only in negative experiences but, above all, in positive ones because negative experiences can create only destructive force in a nation, while positive experiences provide élan and strength in a better tomorrow, as well as a sense of freedom and liberation. This experience has the same meaning for both the preservation and further development of the nation of Israel and in this concrete time and place for the Croatian nation. *The Dialectics of the Death of God and Man — Nihilism Stopped Halfway (Dijalektika smrti Boga i čovjeka — nihilizam zaustavljen na pola puta)* is the title of a paper by Mladen Milić, who points out that every human tragedy calls for philosophical and theological examination of the causes leading to it and the consequences arising from it. In the context of religious discourse on the relationship between God and man, it is also necessary to take into account the ultimate experience of this relationship, which is the experience of death. Modern philosophy, especially after Friedrich Nietzsche, also examines the phenomenon of the death of God. The author examines the dialectical relationship between the death of God and man in the context of the Vukovar tragedy as a symbol of the meaningful defense of the right to life and the senseless need to destroy that life. The paper consists of four parts. In the first part, the author presents a historical overview of the origin and development of the syntagma «the death of God». In the second part of the paper, the author considers this syntagma as a phenomenon and in the third examines the aftermath of the death of God in the philosophical-theological context. In the fourth and concluding part, the author reflects on the death of God through the destruction of the divine properties in man, as well as possibly deeper phenomenological causes that led to the Vukovar tragedy. *The 1991 Slatina War Chronicle — With Special Reference to War Crimes in Balinci, Četekovac, Čojlug, Hum and Voćin (Slatinska ratna kronika 1991. — poseban osvrt na ratni zločin u Balincima, Četekovcu, Čojlugu, Humu i Voćinu)* is the title of a paper by Miljenko Brekalo. The author points out that the establishment of the Serbian autonomous regions (*srpske autonomne oblasti — SAO*) of

SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sylvania, SAO Krajina and SAO Western Slavonia, as well as the Republic of Serbian Krajina in the territory of the Republic of Croatia was illegitimate. The process of their establishment had begun during the existence of the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia, according to whose laws and constitutions there was no legal basis for it. Naturally, this process was also illegitimate according to the so-called 1990 Christmas Constitution of the Republic of Croatia. During 1990 and 1991, members of the Serbian Democratic Party of Slavonia in the territory of the Municipality of Podravska Slatina encouraged civil disobedience by the Serbian population toward the legally elected government of the Republic of Croatia as well as ethnic intolerance toward Croats and other non-Serbs. In cooperation with the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), they organized the arming and rebellion of the Serbian population in the territory of the Municipality of Podravska Slatina. Their main objectives were the secession of territory of the Republic of Croatia, which became part of the SAO Western Slavonia, and its annexation to the integral concept of a common state for the Serbian people, so-called «Greater Serbia». The perpetrators of war crimes have been judged in absentia. None of the convicted war criminals who perpetrated crimes in the territory of the former Municipality of Slatina could be brought before the Croatian judiciary. Most of the war criminals are in the Republic of Serbia and the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while some have escaped to countries of the European Union and overseas (USA, Canada and Australia). In the paper *Saborsko 1991 — Crime and Consequences (Saborsko 1991. — zločin i posljedice)*, Ivo Turk, among other things, points out that the crucial event that marked the modern demographic and economic development of Saborsko was the Homeland War. This municipality experienced total devastation and Serbian occupation, during which numerous crimes were committed. The greatest crime was in November 1991, when the Serbian forces occupied Saborsko. This municipality has still not recovered from the consequences of the war, as evident when the census results are compared for the period from 1991 to 2011. The negative consequences of the Homeland War are visible in both the demographic and economic contexts. The last paper in the proceedings, *The Strategic Goals of Bosniak Politics, 1993—1994 (Strateški ciljevi bošnjačke politike 1993.—1994.)*, is by Miroslav Tuđman. The author analyzes original documents, on the basis of which it is possible to determine the military and political goals of the Bosniak (Muslim) politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1993 and 1994. The political and military leadership of the Bosniaks was not directed toward any political solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the plans of the international community that offered a (con)federal structure of B&H were not acceptable to them. The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which the Bosniak members dominated, advocated a unitary system of government, i.e., from 1993 they undertook military and political campaigns in order to secure the largest possible territory for the independent Bosniak state. The President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, openly advocated such a solution in his public appearances. The military leadership of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the consent of Alija Izetbegović, conducted a series of military operations with the goal of driving the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) from central Bosnia, reaching the Neretva Valley and securing access to the sea. These operations resulted in the elimination of the Croatian Defense Council from the regions of Jablanica, Konjic, Fojnica, Kakanj, Zenica, Travnik and Bugojno, and the ethnic cleansing of 153,000 Croats from that region. Intelligence reports by international sources available today

show that the international representatives were aware of the actual situation on the terrain but, due to disagreements among themselves, were unable to agree upon a joint campaign by NATO forces or the use of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina when the situation was critical, and there was also a lack of consensus among the members of the UN Security Council.

Translated by Margaret Casman-Vuko