

## SUMMARIES

Sanja Špoljar Vržina

### An Anthropological Analysis of the Vukovarian-Croatian Mimetic “Normality”. Continuities, Discontinuities and Reductionist Activism

This paper questions the functional oblivion of the Croatian war and post-war chronology of events (from the early 1990s until today), locally and globally, with a purpose to reinstate a Euro-Atlantic market discourse “passage”. Wider than this, it questions the consequences of the global community management mechanisms of reinstating the mimetic (civic) society and maintenance of liberal peace. According to the leading authors on international relations, the maintenance of “liberal peace” represents the principle axis of a very visible and dangerous utilitarian manipulation with cultural and social changes. Therefore, *mimetic*, as understood in the framework of its earliest conceptual imposition, warns upon the society’s decay in which boundaries disappear and everyone loses their place. How sustainable are the societies when every knowledge is replaceable with activism, every experience is replaced with fake empathy or every history subjected to a hierarchy of hegemonic racist subjugation? What happens with a society in which defenders/war veterans become welfare beneficiaries; patients – consumers of health benefits; raped and massacred in war – victims settled with paid compensations? What is happening with populations subjected to the suspension of the experienced/lived, until the arrival of the UN emissaries (the raped women and Pitt-Jolie case); the high-ranking officials of the Hague Court (the case of genocide against Croats, trial against Croatian generals and Serbian counter-indictment) or activist peace mediators (the case of the 100% disabled veterans and extreme democratic deficit of the official imported democracy representatives)? All these populations are united in impoverishment, injustice and inequality which is imposed onto them, while at the same time, “mimetic” as a concept is market-reinstated by “the elite” and imposed since the war period as a solipsistic comfort to the sustainability of at least one order in the midst of social vanity. That of mimetic communist-neoliberal totalitarianism which makes sovereignty, individual or national, even more vulnerable. We are no longer determined by only what we are not allowed to think, but by now, with that which we cannot have – from our own products and personal experiences of the recent past up to our independence.

Božo Skoko

## The 1991 Croatia Media Image in the European Publics – The Role of Propaganda, Stereotypes and Public Relations

This paper analyzes European public perception of Croatia at the beginning of the 1990s during Yugoslavia's disintegration, Croatia's independence proclamation and defense against Serbian aggression. In 1991 Croatia was not very well known, and causes of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia were inconclusive. Particular publics have perceived Croatia and its relations with Serbia through stereotypes and accumulated disinformation. This paper reveals the causes of such perception and media image as three key elements: long-standing and influential Yugoslav propaganda; the Belgrade influence on, at that time, Yugoslav diplomatic network; and foreign media reporter's briefings. Detrimental role in the perception change has not occurred due to direct implications of the events on the ground, but through efforts invested in public relations, open communication with the foreign publics by some Croatian institutions, and systematic public information, neutralization of stereotypes and disinformation.

Dražen Živić, Ivo Turk and Nikola Šimunić

## Demographic Changes in Vukovar-Srijem County between 2001 and 2014 in the Aspect of National Security

Due to its border position with Republic of Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina Vukovar-Srijem County is very important from the national security point of view within Republic of Croatia. The significance is even bigger when demographic losses of this county during Croatian Homeland War are considered. Post-war reconstruction and revitalization of the economy did not bring positive changes in demographic development in Vukovar-Srijem County in the last two decades. Demographic situation is characterized by a strong total and partial depopulation (natural and emigration) as well as with the advanced process of demographic ageing. The population decrease of border municipalities and administrative cities at the border towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Serbia is especially concerning. The migrations have strong impact on demographic processes, which in the context of current and foreseeable demographic indicators bring many questions. The problem of possible substitution of the population as the result of migrations, could be a threat to the national security of the Republic of Croatia.

Ivo Džinić

## Vukovar – A Victim of Political Myths

In the background of this presentation stands the phenomenon of political myth as a narration that, because of the determination of certain political ideology, usually loses its original structure and become exclusivist which than often leads to its being used as a political weapon. The method thus conceived to promote political myth relates to the instrumentalization of language for the construction of awareness and interpretation of reality, and introduction of ritualistic behaviors that impair human intellectual power and consequently result in the loss of all individual moral responsibility.

In this sense, political myth often stands in close relation to various forms of totalitarian socio-political system. Furthermore, political myths aim to change a man in order to control them. Big part in this play modern political leaders, using management techniques based on giving promises to the people but without backing. Therefore, the ultimate goal of a political myth is the creation of a certain value system, based on “fantasy” and irrational interpretation of reality, so it could be inferred that this is certain kind of manipulation over people in order to achieve present objectives.

In this sense, myth permanently remains politically attractive and usable phenomenon. Based on this kind of understanding of modern political myth, this paper will indicate how the City of Vukovar today, in many ways, is a unique – paradigmatic victim of modern political myths as much as it was during the Homeland War in Croatia.

Josip Esterajher

## Vukovar – the International Court of Justice’s (ICJ) Judgment – Political Science Approach

The judgment of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) concerning Croatian genocide lawsuit against Serbia and the Serbian countersuit, although denies genocide, it is a new act of interpretation processes and events during the war. Although the merits tribunal of the United Nations is not a conflict in Croatia and in particular in Vukovar ordered as genocide, while it was not obliged to specify the nature of the conflict, arguments on the judgment remains subject to the lawyers, political scientists, sociologists, historians and other scholars and publicists for the elaboration and updating analysis of the conflict 90s of last century.

Political science approach in this paper focuses on the positioning of Vukovar in the ICJ judgment, understanding the conflicting policies and actors, their intentions and

consequences. This paper seeks to determine the nature of the conflict and possibly ideology of actors. It also aims to examine the extent to which the indication of Serbia as the aggressor (in the Croatian and especially Vukovar) and belong to the ideology of (Greater Serbia) found their place in the conclusions of the ICJ. Also, one should research the geopolitical and security implications of the judgment of the ICJ for Croatia and Serbia.

Branimir Kurmaić and Domagoj Matić

## Vukovar as a Symbol of the “National” in the Context of Pan-European Values

After the Homeland war, Vukovar has, due to its role in the creation of the Republic of Croatia, become a carrier symbol of the “national” in Croatia. By the time the Republic of Croatia reached its independence, the idea of the “national” in Europe has already been replaced by the idea of the “European”, or the “supranational.” As can be seen in the recent example of Charlie Hebdo, modern Pan-European values, such as anti-fascism, liberalism and multiculturalism, are all supranational in character and do not leave much room for ideas of particular or national character. This conflict exists because ideas of the “national” and the “supranational” contradict each other. Thus, this rises a question of whether the policy of sovereignty manipulation in the scope of cyrillic tablets and relativisation of the Homeland war are a direct consequence of the Pan-European paradigm and its conflict with the “national” in Croatia or simply a phenomenon specific for the social and political state of Croatia. In this paper we will be focusing on the idea of the “national” in the context of Vukovar and what this idea represents for the future development of European Union.

Danijel Labaš and Mateja Večerić

## *Glas Koncila* Newspaper War Reports on Vukovar’s Aggression and Occupation

This paper analyzes weekly newspaper *Glas Koncila* during Homeland War in 1991. The analysis focuses on newspaper reports on the Vukovar fighting. Qualitative analysis of the text content is centered on questions related to the briefing reports and journalist ethics, since reports on the violent conflicts quite often open questions related to the principles on which journalist ethics is based on, such as: truthfulness, objectivity, impartiality and responsibility of the reports during war time. Karl Bücher has already in 1926 stated that “every war conducted with warfare is followed by the war of printing black ink in which all parties involved try to win over public opinion”,

and it's quite often said that the first victim of war is always the truth. There is a great danger of propaganda, censorship, manipulation and false information during the war, same as numerous unethical conducts. Carl von Clausewitz holds that "great share of information that is gathered during the war is contradictory, and even bigger amount is incorrect, and the biggest part is fairly insecure", to be more precise, unreliable.

This research paper will question ethics of the *Glas Koncila* newspaper articles, and examine whether there was a possible influence and spread of interreligious or interethnic hatred. Therefore, gathered results will at the same time contribute not only to the study of media and journalist ethics in the war, but as well, to the study of report ethics in Catholic newspapers, namely in *Glas Koncila*, in particular situations in war conflict and the fight for Croatia's independence against Serbian aggression during which Vukovar has suffered greatly – a great sacrifice as a victim that became not only a city-symbol but as well a city-hero for the entire Croatia. However, this paper will not deal with investigation of historical facts about the Homeland War, aggression and Vukovar's defeat. Namely, the emphasis will be on the media ethics following up the events related to Vukovar through the research of the Catholic weekly newspaper *Glas Koncila*. With the application of the content analysis a deeper understanding of author's messages, standings, intentions and expectations is expected to be achieved. Content analysis will entail following period: May 12, 1991 (No. 30) – November 24, 1991 (No. 47). This period is used because newspaper No. 30/91 mentions mass for the dead – 12 fallen Croatian policemen killed in Borovo Selo, while No. 47/91 is the first newspaper published after Vukovar's occupation on November 18, 1991. The newspaper articles related to the "Vukovar Battle" are used as a basic unit of analysis, and for the purpose of this research an analytical matrix is developed. The overall aim of this research is to question the ways and ethics of the Catholic weekly newspaper's reporting on the aggression and fall of the city of Vukovar, while the basic hypothesis states that *Glas Koncila* newspaper did not call for interreligious or interethnic hatred.

Andrija Platužić, Željko Živanović and Ozren Žunec

## Swarming at Ilača in 1991 – A Victory Lost

In September 1991 at Ilača, several defense groups stopped advancing units from the First Proletarian Guard Mechanized Division. Losses in men, armaments and, especially, time clearly indicated that the numerically far superior attacker had been defeated. A quarter century later, the case still remains uninvestigated, thereby representing still another manifestation of memoricide. Based on available literature and interviews with witnesses and participants, the paper analyses how this victory by Croatian forces was

forgotten, focusing on selected reasons for this phenomenon. The first group stems from the magnitude of the “Vukovar epic,” which overshadows events in the immediate vicinity and time frame, as well as elsewhere and at other times. The second group is related to the fact that for the other side, defeat diminishes the attractiveness of this event as a research subject. The third is connected with the reconciliation and transition paradigm of the Croatian Army. Specifically, the members of the Yugoslav National Army who went over to the Croatian side at the time and in months to come, are not especially interested in shedding light on this and similar events from the early phase of the war. Such behavior, on the one hand, may result from their understandable reluctance to mention their own roles in enemy ranks. On the other hand, there is also the influence of the professional culture and the rigid attitudes formed under its prevailing influence that disregard, minimize or ignore spontaneous, flexible, loosely organized nonprofessionals in combat operations. However, it is precisely this phenomenon, known as swarming in the literature, which was encountered during the late summer of 1991 at the Croatian village of Ilača by the unprepared professional attackers.

Gordan Črpić and Josip Bošnjaković

## Reasons and Challenges of Man and Fatherhood Identity Crises in the Croatian Post-War Society

The man and the father of the Croatian post-war society face difficulties evaluating their own identity, which is even more pronounced among those fathers and men who were defending the home and homeland in the 1990s. To point out and talk about the sources of identity crisis helps to clearly illuminate processes that will help in building it. Both personal and social factors have contributed in over the last 24 years to our perspective on the father and the man, but that does not mean that our view can't be changed. To become aware on the psychological level what was going on with men and fathers during the war and post-war as well, especially to war-veterans, can now help in a clearer and better evaluation of their sacrifices and gifts. They left us a heritage on which we are building our present and future. Year after year, we are witnesses as to how the victim of dead fathers and men, is a force that attracts young and old generations in Vukovar where they can be inspired by the principles, gifts and wounds of those who have sacrificed everything for the sake of home and homeland. Beyond the psychological awareness, it is the social or sociological dimension in evaluating the identity of men we are talking about that plays an important role. In a special way we want to address the question of shame and pride. Shame and pride do not apply only to men and fathers, veterans, the 90s, but it is a reality that is essential for today's generations. We have reasons to point out the pride, and proudly and gratefully walk because of the sacrifice for which we are now free.