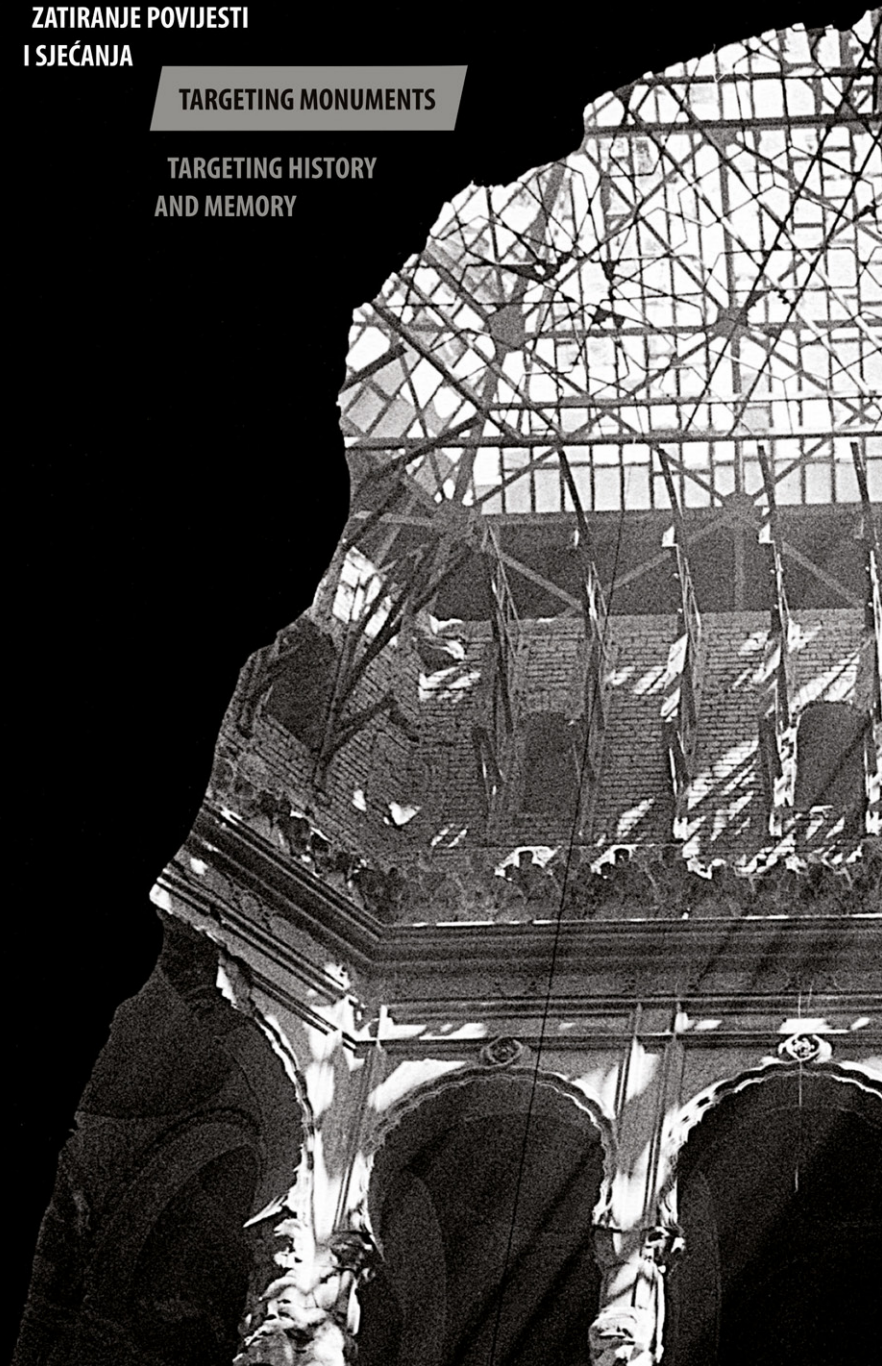


SPOMENICI NA NIŠANU

**ZATIRANJE POVIJESTI
I SJEĆANJA**

TARGETING MONUMENTS

**TARGETING HISTORY
AND MEMORY**



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kulturnog nasleđa tokom ratova
do ratova sećanja na prostoru
bivše Jugoslavije:
Kako razumeti konfliktni
potencijal kulturnog nasleđa?***

Višnja Kisić

**Otkud uopšte nasleđu
konfliktni potencijali?**

Kada se pomene kulturno nasleđe, većina nas zamisli arhitektonska remek dela, čuvene arheološke lokalitete ili muzejske artefakte – kratko, grandiozne i lepe materijalne ostatke prošlih vremena. Ali ono što te materijalne ostatke čini značajnim i vrednim čuvanja jesu značenja, priče i vrednosti koje za njih vezujemo. Kako ta značenja i vrednosti nisu puke činjenice, već su plod tumačenja, percepcija i vrednovanja različitih činjenica, nasleđe je uvek zavisno od toga ko ga tumači, sa kojim namerama i iz koje pozicije. Ovaj selektivni čin biranja šta će i na koji način određeno društvo pamtiti je moćni mehanizam koji ne samo da uobličava naše razumevanje prošlosti, već i naše razumevanje sadašnjeg trenutka. Kroz

taj čin artikulišemo grupne identitete, formiramo standarde ispravnog i pogrešnog, osećamo ponos ili sramotu... Upravo zato, nasleđe često paralelno služi i kao kohezivni društveni faktor i kao faktor društvenih podela, pomažući različitim političkim interesima: od iscrtavanja identitetskih granica ili zagovaranja moralne superiornosti određenog viđenja sveta u odnosu na druga viđenja; preko krojenja teritorija i prisvajanja ekonomskih resursa; do protestovanja protiv trenutnih pozicija moći.

Posmatrajući polje nasleđa, danas živimo u paradoksalnom trenutku. S jedne strane, nikada u političkim govorima i međunarodnim dokumentima nije bilo većeg prepoznavanja kulturne razolikosti i njene vrednosti. S druge strane, svedoci smo kulturalizovanih konflikata širom sveta – konflikata i sukoba podstaknutih religijskim, kulturnim i ideološkim razlikama između društvenih grupa. U mnogim od ovih sukoba, nasleđe često ima pivotalnu ulogu u opravdavanju političkih i ekonomskih interesa, te u potpirivanju, objašnjavanju i održavanju sukoba. Štaviše, simbolička moć koju spomenici kulture imaju za određenu zajednicu, čini ih pogodnim metama za uništavanje tokom oružanih sukoba. Napadi islamskih pobunjenika na svetilišta u gradu Timbaktu u Maliju, kao i buldožiranje i uništavanje istorijskih celina u Palmiri, Mozulu, Basri i Alepu, ponovo su tokom 2015/6. postavili problem namernog uništavanja kulturnog nasleđa tokom oružanih sukoba u žižu medijskog izveštavanja, izjava političara i rada međunarodnih organizacija.

Plansko uništavanje kulturnog nasleđa u oružanim sukobima: od uobičajene ratne strategije do zločina protiv čovečnosti?

Uprkos sadašnjoj urgentnosti ovog problema, namerno uništavanje kulturnog nasleđa nikako nije specifičnost sadašnjeg trenutka ili određenih grupacija i regiona u svetu. Ova strategija borbe i poništavanja određenih zajednica, prisutna je kroz istoriju i geografiju, nekad iz pukih ekonomskih razloga, a često kao posledica ideoloških i kultu-

ralnih konfrontacija. Slike i freske u brojnim crkvama uništavane su tokom ikonoklazma u Vizantiji i u periodu Reformacije u Zapadnoj Evropi; hinduistički hramovi pretvarani su u budističke, antički u hrišćanske, a hrišćanski u islamske; čitave celine hramova, naselja i umetnosti u Americi, Aziji i Africi uništavani su, preoblikovani ili pljačkani od strane evropskih misionara do početka dvadesetog veka; dvorci, katedrale i umetnost francuske monarhije teško je oštećena i namerno uništavana u par godina Francuske revolucije; Otomansko nasleđe na Balkanu teško je oštećeno, zatrto i izbrisano iz urbanih struktura novoformiranih i oslobođenih nacionalnih država sredinom i krajem devetnaestog veka; knjige, predmeti i sveta mesta Jevreja planski su pljačkana i spaljivana tokom Drugog svetskog rata. Svako od ovih tendencioznih brisanja nasleđa stvorilo je nepovratne ožiljke u čitavim kulturama, grupnim sećanjima, i prostorima, bez da je ikada bilo procesuirano za nanetu štetu.

Današnji trenutak razlikuje se od prethodnih po tome što je nakon masovnih devastiranja tokom Drugog svetskog rata uspostavljen sistem međunarodno priznatih pravnih okvira, aktera i etičkih principa koji tretira uništavanja nasleđa tokom oružanih sukoba kao zločin protiv čovečnosti. Konvencija o zaštiti kulturnih dobara u slučaju oružanih sukoba usvojena u Hagu (Holandija) 1954, prvi je međunarodni dokument koji se bavi isključivo nasleđem i oružanim sukobima. Međunarodni komitet "Plavi šlemovi" osnovan je kao prvo telo koje ima mandat da interveniše kako bi zaštitilo kulturna dobra u slučaju razaranja uzrokovanih ratovima i prirodnim nepogodama. Međunarodni krivični sudovi počeli su da se eksplicitno bave ovim pitanjem tokom devedesetih kroz pionirski rad Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju (poznatijeg u svakodnevnom govoru kao "Haški tribunal") posvećen uništavanju kulturnog nasleđa tokom ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. U leto 2016. bili smo svedoci slučaja Al-Mahdi, prvog slučaja Međunarodnog krivičnog suda kojim je procesuiran terorista al-Mahdi zbog uništavanja istorijskih i religijskih spomenika u gradu Timbuktu (Mali). U svim sudskim slučajevima bilo je jasno da ovi zločini nisu procesuirani zbog uništavanja "kamenja

i zidova", već njihove povezanosti sa idejom ljudskih prava. Oni su posmatrani kao namerna povreda digniteta i identiteta čitavih populacija i mesta koja za njih predstavljaju religiozne i istorijske korene.

Kako razumeti uništavanje kulturnog nasleđa tokom oružanih sukoba u jugoslovenskim ratovima devedesetih i kontinuirane ratove sećanja u regionu?

Tokom oružanih sukoba u bivšoj Jugoslaviji nasleđe nije korišćeno samo kao fizička meta, iako fizičko uništavanje nasleđa svakako jeste najvidljivije. Ono je igralo ključnu ulogu u revizionističkim i oprečnim tumačenjima prošlosti koja su korišćena za radikalnu političku transformaciju, za podsticanje etno-nacionalnih kulturnih identiteta, kao i za etno-nacionalističku mobilizaciju stanovništva. Sukobljeni nacionalistički diskursi o prošlosti, teritorijama i "nerešenim istorijskim nepravdama" hranili su fizičko nasilje među etnički različitim grupama, te podsticali uništavanje onog nasleđa koje je označeno i shvaćeno kao simbolički važno za suprotstavljenu zajednicu.

Genocid u Srebrenici, kao i masovno uništavanje džamija i otomanskog nasleđa, nezamislivi su bez narativa, konstruisanog od strane srpskih političkih lidera, koji direktno povezuje Bošnjačke muslimane i kosovske Albance sa "krvožednim" Turcima, kolonijalizatorima Srbije i Balkana tokom pet vekova. Takođe, bilo bi mnogo teže opravdati masovno proterivanje Srba iz Hrvatske i Bošnjaka iz pojedinih mesta Bosne i Hercegovine, kao i masovno uništavanje spomenika socijalističke Jugoslavije širom Hrvatske, da hrvatski politički lideri nisu rehabilitovali poziciju ustaša za vreme Drugog svetskog rata i povezali je sa narativom oslobodilačkog heroizma i borbe za nacionalnu nezavisnost. Međuetnička ubistva bila bi teško zamisliva u tako masovnim razmerama da nisu podsticana podsećanjima na međuetničke i ideološke sukobe tokom Drugog svetskog rata i uloge žrtava i zlikovaca u tim sećanjima.

Sve ovo isprepletano je sa podlim tvrdnjama od strane političkih lidera o (nikad postojećoj) prošlosti, čija je glavna pretpostavka da je svaka od sukobljenih teritorija bivše Jugoslavije bila etnički homogena i čista u nekom trenutku u prošlosti, te da bi takvu homogenost trebalo ponovo stvoriti. Teritorijalni apetiti za čistim etničkim prostorom jedne zajednice sudarali su se sa apetitima drugih, rezultirajući u pokušaju etničkog čišćenja praćenog i kulturalnim čišćenjem simbola i važnih mesta sukobljenih strana.

Zato je deo osmišljene ratne strategije obuhvatao i ciljano devastiranje kulturnog i religioznog nasleđa rezultirajući u razmerama neviđenim u Evropi od Drugog svetskog rata. Ciljajući na nasleđe jedne zajednice, ovi napadi nisu samo slali poruku "Ne želimo vas ovde!" toj zajednici, već su istovremeno uništavali i sećanja na multietničku zajedničku prošlost i suživot koji je vekovima karakterisao Bosnu i Hercegovinu, Hrvatsku i Kosovo. Ovo su bile simboličke poruke o nemogućnosti suživota i zajedničke budućnosti koje su dominantne i danas. Dokrajčavanje zajedničke jugoslovenske prošlosti podrazumevalo je i različite revizije istorije Jugoslavije kao i masovno uništavanje zajedničkog socijalističkog nasleđa i mesta sećanja. Sve ovo zajedno činilo je moćnu praksu brisanja sećanja na multikulturalne ideološke osnove, klasnu jednakost, antifašistička stremljenja i solidarnost koje su bile ujedinjujuće ideje tokom SFR Jugoslavije.

Slučaj uništavanja kulturnog nasleđa i religijskih mesta tokom ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji ima posebno mesto u skorašnjoj istoriji Evrope, i referentna je tačka za mnoge pionirske poduhvate u međunarodnoj pravnoj praksi kao i profesiji zaštite nasleđa. Za razliku od mnogih prethodnih slučajeva uništavanja spomenika kulture kroz istoriju, ovaj slučaj je dobro dokumentovan, međunarodno istraživan i donekle pravno procesuiran. Kao takav, on otvara prostor za dublje razumevanje veze nasleđa i oružanih sukoba. Uprkos tome, u državama koje su učesnice konflikta, ova tema ostaje neprepoznata od strane javnosti i prečesto manipulisana za potrebe političkih elita, dok pitanja nasleđa i politike

sećanja ostaju jedne od ključnih linija podela među ovim državama, kao i zajednicama i pojedincima koji u njima žive.

Izložba “Spomenici na nišanu - Zatiranje povijesti i sjećanja” osvjetljava specifično polje uništavanja istorije i sećanja tokom ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji: uništavanje nepokretnih spomenika kulture i religije, i pravnih konsekvenci ovih događaja na način na koji su procesuirani od strane Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju. Kao takva, ona predstavlja selektivnu perspektivu omogućenu iscrpnom dokumentacijom Haškog tribunala, koja je bila sastavni deo suđenja srpskim i hrvatskim političkim liderima, a ostala je fokusirana na oficijelno najvažnije spomenike kulture i najmasovnija uništavanja koja su pratila zločine nad stanovništvom.

Specifični spomenici i priče o uništavanju istorije i sećanja neminovno su izostali iz ove izložbe. Ipak, ono što je predstavljeno nudi dobru osnovu ne samo za informisanje o tome šta se tačno desilo, već i za razumevanje uništavanja kulturnog nasleđa kao manifestacije mnogo dubljih i kompleksnijih strategija izgradnje podela među zajednicama i državama na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, a koje i danas traju i dele porodice, gradove i ceo region. Današnje političke strategije – kao što su licitiranja ratnih žrtava, oprečna tumačenja prošlosti, konfrontirajući narativi u istorijskim udžbenicima za osnovne škole, i nevoljnost političkih elita da učestvuju u stvarnom procesu dijaloga o događajima 1990ih – iako ne koriste oružani sukob kao svoj instrument, imaju važnu ulogu u simboličkom nasilju, proizvodnji podela i ratovima sećanja. Zato se trebamo truditi da osim osuđivanja zločina predstavljenih na ovoj izložbi, iskoristimo njeno prisustvo za otvaranje bolnih tema iz 1990ih u našim društvima i regionu, ali i za kritiku načina na koji političke elite širom regiona nastavljaju da zatiru i ignorišu nasleđe, istoriju i sećanja susednih zajednica, onemogućavajući zajedničku mirnu budućnost.

From targeted destruction of cultural heritage during the wars to wars of memory in former Yugoslav countries, or how to understand conflicting potential of cultural heritage?

Višnja Kisić

Heritage and its conflicting potentials

Thinking about heritage, we usually imagine grand architectural and archaeological sites or important museum objects – beautiful material remains that are direct and objective witnesses of the past. However, these material remains are so powerful and worth protecting because of meanings, stories and values we attach to them. Meanings and values are not mere facts but interpretations, perceptions and evaluations of the facts, so heritage is always dependent on who interprets it, for which reasons and from which perspective. This selective act of choosing what to remember by particular society and how to remember, is influential mechanism for the framing not only our understanding of the past, but

also our perceptions of the present times. We articulate group identities by heritage, we form standards of right and wrong, we take pride or feel ashamed. Heritage therefore often serves simultaneously as cohesive and divisive factor, used for various interests: from drawing boundaries of identities and articulating moral superiority of certain world-view, carving out territories and appropriating economic resources, to opposing the current power positions.

Today, we live in a paradox. On the one side, there has never been more recognition for the value of cultural diversity in political speeches and international documents and on the other, we are witnessing conflicts around the world informed by religious, cultural or ideological differences between social groups. In many of these conflicts, heritage often plays a pivotal role in justifying political and economic interests and in igniting, explaining and perpetuating conflicts. Moreover, symbolic power of heritage sites for particular communities makes them a target of destruction during armed conflicts. With Islamic rebels in Mali destroying World Heritage Site of Timbuktu, and cultural landmarks bulldozed in Palmyra, Mosul, Basra and Aleppo, the issue of deliberate destruction of heritage during armed conflicts is again one of the burning topics in media, political speeches, and work of intergovernmental organizations today.

Intentional destruction of cultural heritage in armed conflicts: from common war strategy to crime against humanity

Intentional destruction of cultural heritage, however, is by no means limited to present times or particular regions of the world, and we know it took place throughout history and geographies: sometimes for merely economic reasons and frequently due to ideological and cultural

confrontations. During the Reformation, paintings, frescoes and sculptures in numerous churches have been destroyed; Hindu temples altered into Buddhist shrines; temples, settlements and indigenous art in the Americas, Asia and Africa have been destroyed for centuries by European missionaries up until the early 20th century; Ancien Régime sites as well as cathedrals heavily ruined during the French Revolution; Ottoman heritage in the Balkans severely destroyed and erased after the independence from the colonial rule and birth of the modern nation states in mid 19th century; Jewish books and sacred places looted and burned before and during the WWII. In each of the above examples, targeting of heritage created irreversible damage to particular environment, culture and community memory, without ever being prosecuted for the damage.

After devastating experiences of the WWII, a body of internationally acknowledged legal frameworks, entities and ethical grounds was formed to address heritage destruction in armed conflicts as a crime against humanity, and that make a difference today. The Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict adopted at The Hague (Netherlands) in 1954 is the first international treaty which focuses exclusively on the protection of heritage in armed conflicts. The International Committee of Blue Shields was founded as the first body with exclusive mandate to intervene to protect world heritage threatened by natural and human-made disasters. International criminal courts set up to address this issue explicitly in the 1990s by the pioneering work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and destruction of cultural heritage in former Yugoslavia. In summer 2016 world witnessed the al-Mahdi case, the first case in International Criminal Court that prosecuted terrorist al-Mahdi exclusively for the destruction of historical and religious monuments in Timbuktu, Mali. In all of these prosecutions it was clear that the crimes are not just about “walls and stones”. They are intentional assault on dignity and identity of entire populations, their religious and historical roots, and sense of belonging to a particular place. Heritage is therefore seen as inseparable from human rights.

How to understand destruction of heritage during armed conflicts in the wars of Yugoslav Succession?

During the armed conflicts in the wars of Yugoslav Succession heritage was not used just as a physical target, even if the physical destruction is apparently the most visible. Heritage played central role in contested reinterpretations and revisions of the past used for radical political transformation, for reinforcing ethno-national cultural identities and for ethno-national mobilization of masses. Nationalistic discourses antagonized over history, territory and “unsolved historic injustices” have fueled physical violence among ethnic groups as well as destruction of a heritage tagged and understood as symbolic representation of the contested group.

Deliberate destruction of mosques and Ottoman heritage, as well as genocide in Srebrenica, would be unimaginable without the narrative constructed by Serbian political leaders, which directly linked Bosnian Muslims or Kosovo Albanians with “bloodthirsty” Turks who ruled Serbia and the Balkans for five centuries. Massive expelling of the Serb minority from Croatia and Bosniaks from Herzegovina, as well as the destruction of anti-fascist monuments across Croatia would have been much more difficult to justify if the Croatian political leaders have not rehabilitated the Croat Ustasha position during the WWII and linked it with a heroic liberation narrative. Inter-ethnic killings would be hardly imaginable on that scale if they were not driven on by recalling the inter-ethnic and ideological conflicts during the WWII and the construction of the role of victims and perpetrators. All above examples intertwined with quite false claims about the pasts reimagined by the political leaders that once upon a time each of contested parts of former Yugoslavia was ethnically homogeneous and it could be as it was once again. Territorial appetites for the pure ethnic space belonging to one community collided with the appetites of another community, resulting in ethnic cleansing that went hand in hand with cultural cleansing.

So, one part of the deliberate war strategy contained targeted devastation of cultural and religious heritage tagged as belonging to particular ethnic community – the greatest destruction of cultural heritage in Europe since World War II. By targeting the heritage of one community, these attacks not only sent the message “we don’t want you here” to particular community, but simultaneously targeted the memories of multi-ethnic coexistence which for centuries characterized entire area of the Balkans, particularly Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo. These were symbolic messages of impossibility of living together that remain powerful until today. Furthermore, coming to terms with Yugoslav past meant fabrication and revision of histories of Yugoslavia, as well as deliberate destruction of common socialist heritage from Yugoslav period. It was a powerful practice of erasing the traces and memory of former multicultural grounds and anti-fascist struggle, unifying ideas in socialist Yugoslavia.

The case of destruction of cultural heritage and religious sites during the wars in former Yugoslavia has a particular place in recent history of Europe, and is used as a reference point for pioneer undertakings in international legal practice and for the specialized heritage protection. This case has been widely documented, analyzed and partly prosecuted, thus offering space for learning and better understanding of the issue. However, it remains largely unacknowledged and muted in countries that participated in these conflicts, while heritage and memory still remain one of the key fault lines among states, communities and individuals.

The exhibition “Targeting Monuments - Targeting History and Memory” sheds light on one particular aspect of the wider problem of targeting history and memory in former Yugoslavia: destruction of immovable cultural and religious monuments and legal consequences of these crimes prosecuted by the ICTY. Therefore, it is a selective perspective which benefits mainly from the ICTY documentation, collected during the prosecution of Serbian and Croatian leaders, focused on the destruction of officially most valued heritage sites and on the most massive destructions

which went hand in hand with mass killings and exodus of citizens. Even though the position and politics of the ICTY remain disputed, this exhibition is one of the first attempts to inform citizens across the region about the destructions in a way that is less bound by the national propaganda and self-victimization used by each side of the conflict.

In addition to try to understand the scale and purposes of the destruction of specific heritage sites presented at this exhibition, we must also make effort to understand these actions as a manifestation of much deeper and more complex strategies of drawing dividing lines among communities which persist until today. More than two decades after these ethnic, territorial and ideological changes were introduced, heritage is still deliberately abused to create divisions, walls and hatred among and within contemporary nation-states. Today's political strategies – such as “bidding” on the number of war victims on each side, insisting on conflicting narratives in history textbooks, supporting confrontational politics of memorialization – even without arms and weapons, play a crucial role in fanning symbolic violence, “under carpet” conflicts and memory wars. We should therefore aim to go beyond condemnation of the horrors of the armed conflicts presented at this exhibition, and use it as an opportunity for engaging in honest dialogue about the 1990s, and the ways in which heritage, memory and history is still targeted by political elites throughout the region, impeding the common peaceful future.

Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju i kažnjavanje zločina nad kulturnim i verskim objektima

Helen Walasek

Namerno uništavanje kulturnih i verskih objekata ogromnih razmera u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i na Kosovu tokom postjugoslovenskih ratova od 1991. do 1999. predstavlja najgori primer razaranja kulturne baštine u Evropi od Drugog svetskog rata. Uništavanje koje je sprovedeno uglavnom tokom nasilnih kampanja etničkog čišćenja civila u nastojanju da se stvore etnički homogene teritorije, jedna je od glavnih odrednica tih sukoba. Bosna i Hercegovina je posebno teško pogođena, naročito njena otomanska i islamska baština. Granatiranje Starog grada Dubrovnika, dela UNESCO-ve svetske baštine, krajem 1991., Nacionalna biblioteka u plamenu tokom opsade Sarajeva u avgustu 1992. i granatiranje Starog mosta u Mostaru u novembru 1993. spadaju među najpotresnije prizore postjugoslovenskih ratova.

Svet je osudio uništavanje kulturnog nasleđa, posebno u urbanim sredinama, ali je do najvećeg razaranja došlo u velikim delovima rural-

nih područja koja su etnički očišćena. Gotovo nikad to nije bila kolateralna šteta, nuspojava vojnog delovanja. Napadi na kulturne i verske objekte su u većini slučajeva izvedeni s predumišljajem, sistematski i daleko od linije fronta. Pratila su ih zverstva nad ciljanim grupama stanovništva.

U gradovima kao što su Sarajevo i Mostar, cilj napada su bile građevine koje su, kroz vekove, simbolizovale ili sadržale dokaze multikulturalnosti u Bosni: biblioteke, arhivi i muzeji. Bilo je to smišljeno uništavanje identiteta i pamćenja cele jedne zemlje i naroda. Mnogi su to nazvali kulturnim genocidom.

Ostvarivanje pravde za žrtve ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji bio je važan test za međunarodno humanitarno pravo i zaštitu ljudskih prava, i to ne samo u vezi s opštepoznatim oblicima kršenja ovih prava nego i onim vezanim za zaštitu i očuvanje kulturnih i verskih objekata.

Kulturni objekti već dugo uživaju zakonsku zaštitu u vreme rata. Najvažniji akt je Konvencija o zaštiti kulturnih dobara u slučaju oružanog sukoba iz 1954. (Haška konvencija), zasnovana na univerzalnoj važnosti kulturnih dobara za ljudski rod. No, razvojem međunarodnog zakonodavstva o ljudskim pravima nakon Drugog svetskog rata naglasak je stavljen na potrebu ostvarivanja pravde za žrtve kršenja ljudskih prava, prava na naknadu štete kao i pozivanja na odgovornost počinitelaca ili onih koji su odgovorni za kršenja ljudskih prava.

Deo tog trenda je razvoj međunarodnog humanitarnog prava koje je proširilo osnovu za zaštitu kulturnih dobara kompleksnijim razlozima kao što su pravo naroda da uživa u svojoj kulturnoj baštini i uvažavanje veze između kulturne baštine i identiteta. Uspostavljajući pravne preseedane Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ) je odigrao ključnu ulogu u razvoju ovog trenda.

Činjenica da su Statutom MKSJ-a obuhvaćeni i zločini koji se odnose na kulturne i verske objekte predstavlja važan novi element u međunarodnim pravnim aktima. Međutim, još veći doprinos kažnjavanju zločina

nad kulturnom baštinom MKSJ je dao svojim optužnicama i presudama koje su označile prekretnicu na tom području. Iz predmeta u predmet i iz presude u presudu utvrđivano je da uništavanje objekata koji simbolišu identitet određene grupe, izvršeno u okviru kampanje etničkog čišćenja, predstavlja jedan od pojava oblika progona i zločin protiv čovečnosti.

Međutim, preispitivanje krivičnih progona MKSJ-a takođe otkriva ograničenja međunarodnog pravosuđa u procesuiranju zločina nad kulturnim dobrima tokom oružanih sukoba. Kako se ističe u celini "Neprocesuirano", samo u slučaju Hrvatske, jedino su za granatiranje Dubrovnika podignute optužnice (i izrečene presude), dok ni jedna optužnica nije podignuta za druge veće napade na kulturna dobra tokom rata u Hrvatskoj od 1991. do 1995. godine.

Takođe, još uvek nemamo zadovoljavajuće objašnjenje zbog čega se napadi na značajne istorijske objekte, kao što je granatiranje Narodne biblioteke u Sarajevu i namerno uništavanje i spravljanje sa zemljom šesnaest džamija u Banja Luci (među kojima je i Ferhadija iz 16. v.) pojavljuju u prvim optužnicama protiv Radovana Karadžića i Ratka Mladića, ali su izbrisani iz konačne optužnice.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the prosecution of crimes against cultural and religious property

Helen Walasek

The massive intentional destruction of cultural and religious property in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo during the 1991–1999 wars in former Yugoslavia was the greatest destruction of cultural heritage in Europe since World War II. The devastation which took place almost entirely during violent campaigns of ethnic cleansing waged against civilians in an attempt to create ethnically homogenous territories was one of the defining features of the conflicts. Bosnia and Herzegovina was most severely affected, particularly its Ottoman and Islamic heritage. Among the most iconic images of the wars were the bombardment of the historic Old City (and UNESCO World Heritage Site) of Dubrovnik in late 1991, the burning of Bosnia’s National Library during the Siege of Sarajevo in August 1992 and the shelling and destruction of Mostar’s Old Bridge in November 1993.

While the devastation brought global condemnation, particularly attacks in urban settings, destruction was the worst in towns and villages across wide swathes of ethnically-cleansed countryside. That destruction was almost never collateral, a side effect of military action. The vast majority of attacks on cultural and religious property were pre-meditated, systematic, and took place far from the frontlines – rarely in isolation, but accompanied by multiple atrocities against the targeted groups.

In cities like Sarajevo and Mostar, structures that symbolised or preserved proofs of the history of multicultural Bosnia were attacked: libraries, archives and museums. It was the deliberate destruction of a country's and a people's identity and memory which many have called cultural genocide.

The search for justice for victims of the wars in the former Yugoslavia was to become an important testing ground for international humanitarian and human rights law, not only with regard to more commonly recognised violations, but also with respect to the protection and preservation of cultural and religious property.

Cultural property has long been given legal protection in times of armed conflict, most notably with The Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 1954 (The Hague Convention), on the basis of its universal significance to mankind. However, the development of international human rights law after World War II brought an emphasis on addressing the need for justice for victims of human rights abuses, their right to a remedy and reparations, and to call to account those who committed, or were responsible for, such abuses.

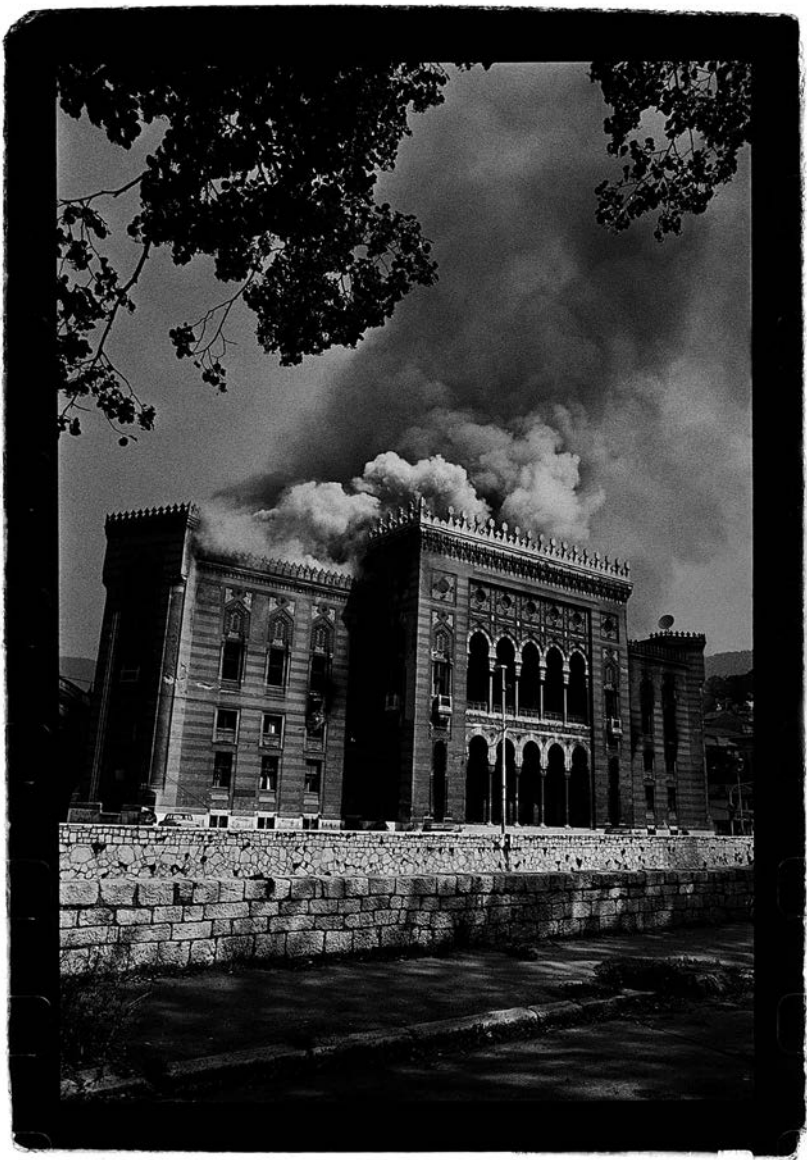
Part of this trend was the growth of international humanitarian law that advanced more complex reasons for the protection of cultural property, including people's right to enjoyment of their cultural heritage and recognition of the links between cultural heritage and identity.

With its ground-breaking legal precedents, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has played a seminal role in the development of this trend.

The inclusion of crimes relating to cultural and religious property in the ICTY's Statute was an important addition to international legal instruments. However, the ICTY's most distinctive contribution to the prosecution of crimes against cultural heritage has come through its landmark indictments and judgements which, in case after case, have established that the destruction of structures that symbolised a group's identity during campaigns of ethnic cleansing were a manifestation of persecution and crimes against humanity.

However, a review of the ICTY's prosecutions reveals the limitations of international justice for prosecuting crimes against cultural property during conflict. The Unprosecuted section outlines how in Croatia alone, while prosecutions were made (and convictions achieved) for the bombardment of Dubrovnik, there have been none for other major attacks on cultural property during the 1991–1995 Croatian War.

We still don't have acceptable explanation why assaults on important historic structures such as the shelling of the National Library in Sarajevo and the deliberate destruction and razing of sixteen mosques in Banja Luka (including the domed sixteenth-century Ferhadija Mosque) appeared on early ICTY indictments of Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, but were completely removed from the indictments.



Vijećnica, Nacionalna biblioteka, Sarajevo, 28. kolovoz 1992.

Vijećnica, National Library, Sarajevo, August 28, 1992

Foto / Photo by Milomir Kovačević

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Milomir Kovačević



Bez naziva, studeni/prosinac 1993. / Untitled, November/December 1993

Sari most, Mostar / The Old Bridge, Mostar

Foto / Photo by Wade Goddard

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Wade Goddard





Dubrovnik, studeni 1991. / Dubrovnik, November 1991

Foto / Photo by Pavo Urban

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Mirjana Urban

Procesuirano

Prosecuted

Dubrovnik: Stari Grad

Stari grad Dubrovnik, na UNESCO-vu popisu svjetske baštine od 1979. godine kao dragocjen primjer kasnosrednjovjekovnog planiranog grada s gotičkim, renesansnim i baroknim spomenicima očuvanim unutar zidina, teško je oštećen u granatiranju JNA, krajem 1991. godine, kad je stradalo više od 300 kuća, 19 crkava i 10 javnih zgrada.

Granatiranje Starog grada bilo je predmet dviju optužnica Tužiteljstva Međunarodnog kaznenog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju. Prva optužnica podignuta je u veljači 2001. godine protiv četvorice časnika bivše Jugoslavenske narodne armije (JNA): generala Pavla Strugara, admirala Miodraga Jokića i Milana Zeca te kapetana Vladimira Kovačevića. Druga je bila "hrvatska optužnica" protiv Slobodana Miloševića, bivšeg predsjednika SR Jugoslavije (tada Srbija i Crna Gora). Od ukupno 32 točke optužnice za ratne zločine u Hrvatskoj, čak 12 se odnosilo na napad na Dubrovnik i njegov Stari grad.

Od četvorice optuženih časnika JNA, jedino se generalu Strugaru sudilo za granatiranje Starog grada, kvalificirano kao uništavanje ili hotimično nanošenje štete objektima namijenjenim religiji, dobrotvornim svrhama i obrazovanju, umjetnosti i znanosti, povijesnim

spomenicima te umjetničkim i znanstvenim djelima. Osuđen je na osam godina zatvora, a u žalbenom postupku kazna mu je umanjena na sedam i pol godina.

Optužnica protiv admirala Zeca povučena je zbog nedostatka dokaza, a admiral Jokić priznao je krivnju i osuđen je na 7 godina zatvora. Kapetan Kovačević proglašen je procesno nesposobnim i upućen na liječenje u zatvorenu psihijatrijsku ustanovu u Srbiji.

U "hrvatskoj fazi" suđenja Miloševiću tužiteljstvo je puna tri mjeseca posvetilo izvođenju dokaza o napadu na Dubrovnik. Milošević je odbacio svaku povezanost Srbije s "Dubrovačkom operacijom" JNA. Presuda, međutim, nije donesena zbog smrti optuženog.

Nakon rata obnovu Starog grada proveo je Zavod za obnovu Dubrovnika, uz UNESCO-ovu potporu. Dubrovnik je danas najposjećenija turistička destinacija na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije.

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Dubrovnik: The Old City

Old City of Dubrovnik, on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 1979 as a valuable example of the late medieval planned city with Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque monuments preserved within city walls, has been severely damaged in December 1991 during the shelling by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). More than 300 houses, 19 religious buildings and 10 public buildings were damaged. The shelling was dealt with in two indictments by the ICTY Office of the Prosecutor. The first indictment against four officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), General Pavle Strugar, Admirals Miodrag Jokić and Milan Zec, and Captain Vladimir Kovačević, was issued in February 2001. The

second indictment was the 'Croatian Indictment' against Slobodan Milošević, former president of Serbia and FR Yugoslavia (followed by the Serbia and Montenegro). Of the 32 indictment counts Milošević was accused for war crimes all over Croatia, twelve were related to the attack on Dubrovnik and its Old City.

General Strugar was the only of the four indicted JNA officers put on trial for the shelling of Dubrovnik's Old City. The shelling itself was qualified as the destruction or deliberate damage of religion, charity and education facilities, arts and science institutions, historical monuments, and works of art and science. He was sentenced to eight years in prison. In appeal proceedings, his sentence was reduced to seven and half years. Admiral Jokić admitted his guilt and was sentenced to seven years in prison. The indictment against Admiral Zec was withdrawn due to the lack of evidence. Captain Kovačević was declared unfit for trial and was sent to a closed mental institution in Serbia.

During the 'Croatian phase' of the Milošević trial, the Prosecution spent three months presenting its evidence on the attack on Dubrovnik. Milošević challenged the charge that Serbia had anything to do with the JNA's 'Dubrovnik Operation'.

After the war, Dubrovnik was restored by the Institute for Restoration of Dubrovnik with a support of UNESCO's restoration programs, and today it is again the most visited destination in the region.

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Dubrovnik, studeni 1991. / Dubrovnik, November 1991

Foto / Photo by Pavo Urban

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Mirjana Urban



Sarajevo: Vijećnica

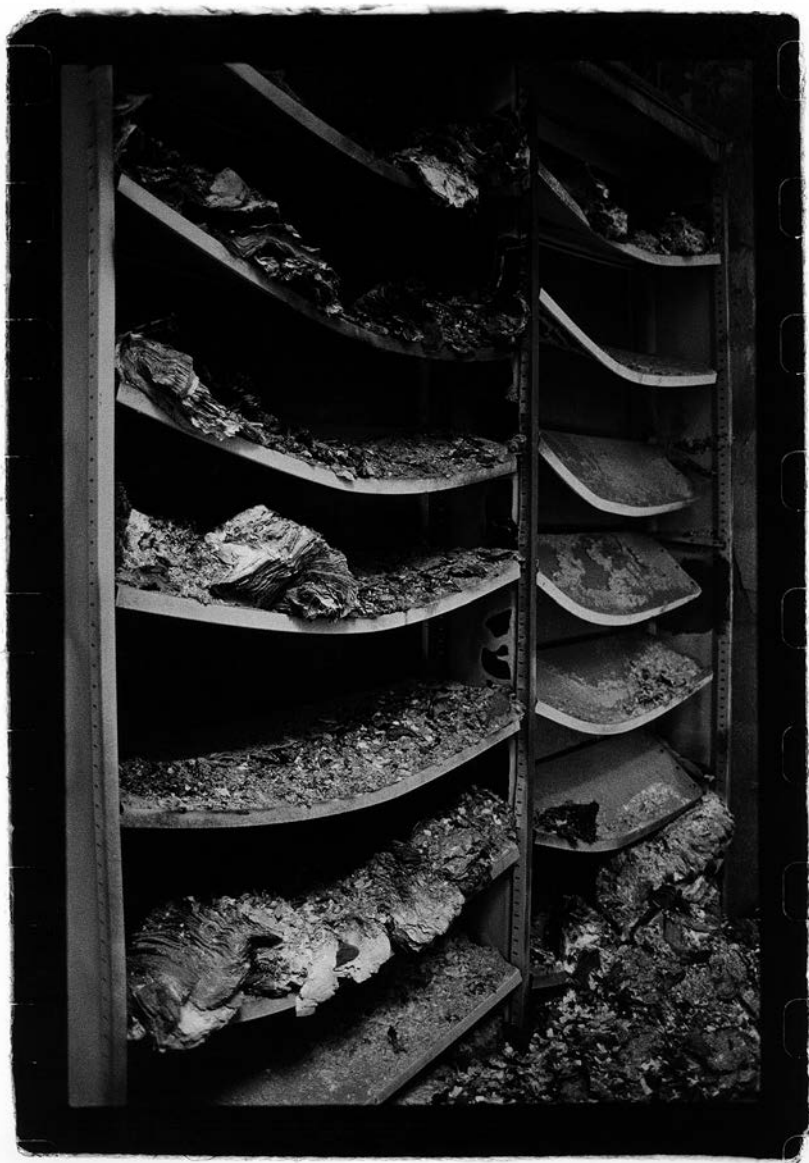
Zdanje Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke u Sarajevu, poznatije kao Vijećnica, je nesumnjivo najznačajniji kulturni spomenik austrougarskog razdoblja uništen tijekom 44-mjesečne opsade grada, započete u travnju 1992. godine. Sagrađena je u pseudo-maurskom stilu. Od otvaranja u travnju 1896. godine do Prvog svjetskog rata bila je sjedište gradske uprave. Od 1910. do 1915. bila je sjedište prvog Bosanskog sabora (Skupštine), između dva rata služila je kao Okružni sud i gradska Vijećnica, a nakon Drugog svjetskog rata postaje Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka.

Granatiranje i spaljivanje Vijećnice u kolovozu 1992., u kojem je izgorjelo tisuće knjiga, izazvalo je zgražanje i žestoke osude međunarodne javnosti te je proglašeno "kulturnim sakaćenjem" Sarajeva i "brisanjem prošlosti" Bosne.

Uništavanje sarajevske Vijećnice indirektno je obuhvaćeno prvom optužnicom protiv Radovana Karadžića i Ratka Mladića, kao i "bosanskom" optužnicom protiv Slobodana Miloševića, u paragrafima koji ih terete za "namjerno i bezobzirno uništavanje vjerskih i kulturnih objekata (...) poput džamija, crkvi, biblioteka (...)". O granatiranju i spaljivanju Vijećnice bilo je riječi na raspravi za potvrđivanje optužnice protiv Karadžića i Mladića u lipnju 1996. godine, kao i u dokaznom postupku po "bosanskoj optužnici" na suđenju Miloševiću.

Međutim, nitko nije proglašen krivim. Milošević je umro prije izricanja presude, a Vijećnica je izbrisana – točnije precrtana – u izmijenjenim optužnicama po kojima se sudilo Karadžiću i Mladiću. Vijećnica je obnovljena 2014. godine i danas je turistička atrakcija te služi u komercijalne svrhe, a ne kao javna ustanova.

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Vijećnica, Nacionalna biblioteka, Sarajevo, 28. kolovoz 1992.

Vijećnica, National Library, Sarajevo, August 28, 1992

Foto / Photo by Milomir Kovačević

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Milomir Kovačević

Sarajevo: National Library

The National and University Library in Sarajevo, known as Vijećnica (City Hall), is the most important monument of the city's Austro-Hungarian cultural heritage destroyed during the course of the 44-month siege, which began in the spring of 1992. Opened in 1896, the landmark edifice was designed in the pseudo-Moorish style, and until the World War I housed the Sarajevo city administration. From 1910 to 1915, Vijećnica was the seat of the first Bosnian Parliament (Bosanski sabor). Between the two world wars it served as the district court and city hall. After World War II, it housed the National and University Library.

The shelling of the National Library in August 1992 set the building ablaze and destroyed millions of books, prompting general outrage and international condemnation. Shelling was qualified as the 'cultural mutilation' of Sarajevo and an attempt to 'erase Bosnia's history'.

In the first indictment against Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, as well as the 'Bosnian Indictment' against Slobodan Milošević, they were charged for 'intentional and wanton destruction of religious and cultural buildings (...) including (...) mosques, churches, libraries (...)'.

The shelling and burning of the Vijećnica was discussed during the public hearing on the confirmation of the indictment against Karadžić and Mladić in July 1996, and during the Prosecution case at Milošević's trial on incidents charged in the 'Bosnian Indictment'.

However, no one was convicted. Milošević died before judgment could be rendered, and the destruction of the National Library was deleted – actually crossed out - from the list of Scheduled Incidents to the amended Indictments on which the Karadžić and Mladić trials ultimately proceeded. Vijećnica was restored and re-opened in 2014, serving today as a commercial venue for tourism and entertainment, instead of an open public institution for learning.

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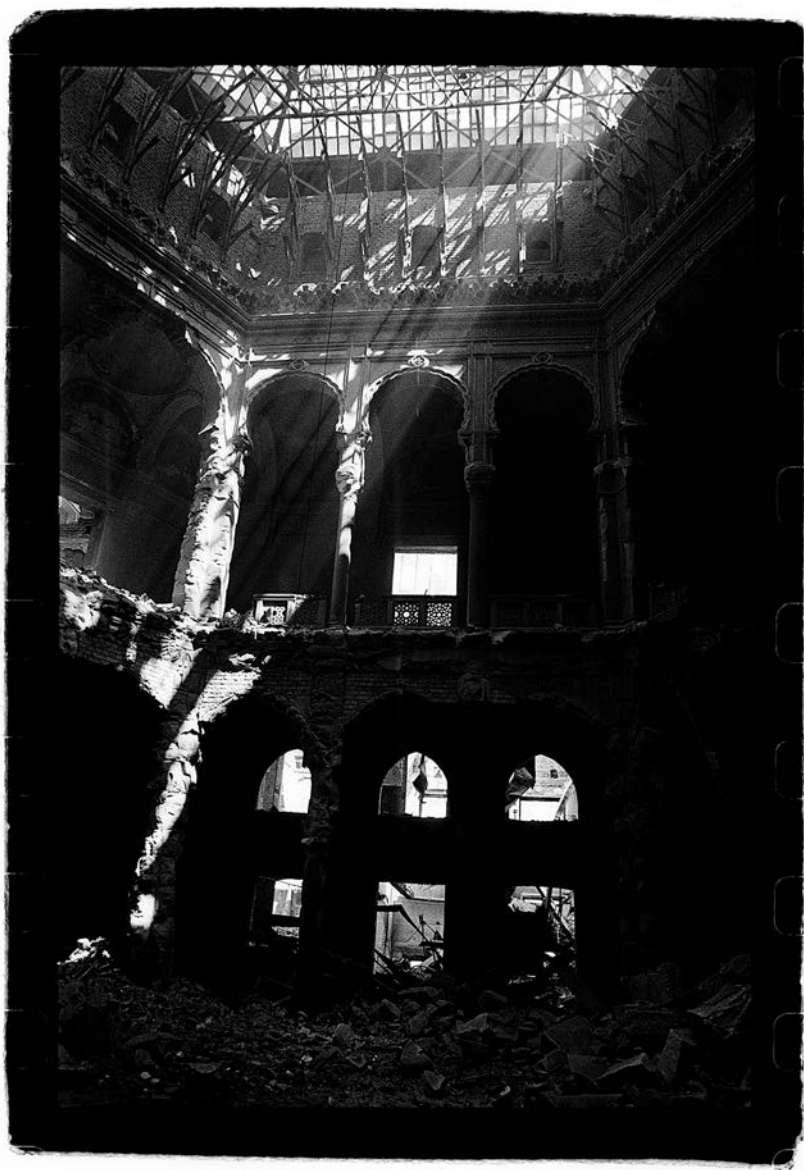


Vijećnica, Nacionalna biblioteka, Sarajevo, 28. kolovoz 1992.

Vijećnica, National Library, Sarajevo, August 28, 1992

Foto / Photo by Milomir Kovačević

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Milomir Kovačević



Vijećnica, Nacionalna biblioteka, Sarajevo, 28. kolovoz 1992.

Vijećnica, National Library, Sarajevo, August 28, 1992

Foto / Photo by Milomir Kovačević

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Milomir Kovačević

Mostar: Stari Most

Stari most u Mostaru je sagrađen 1566. godine na mjestu visećeg drvenog mosta preko kojeg su trgovci oprezno prelazili Neretvu od pamtivijeka. Napravljen je od hercegovačkog kamena zvanog "tene-lija", prema nacrtu instanbulskog mimara Hajrudina, učenika slavnog graditelja Sinana. Grad na Neretvi nazvan je po bedemima koji ga čuvaju s obje strane rijeke – mostarima.

Prema legendi luk mosta i njegov odraz u vodi zajedno tvore krug života.

Kad je most pao, Neretva je, kažu svjedoci, bila krvavo crvena zbog materijala od kojeg je izgrađen. Možda zbog toga Mostarci kažu da je "Stari", kako nazivaju most, "ubijen" kad je 9. studenog 1993. godine srušen tenkovskim granatama Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO) s brda Stotina.

Razaranje Starog mosta, koji je zbog svog kulturnog i povijesnog značaja u bivšoj Jugoslaviji bio spomenikom od posebnog nacionalnog interesa, obuhvaćeno je optužnicom MKSJ-a protiv ratnih vođa bosanskih Hrvata, ali ne kao uništavanje povijesnog spomenika, već u točki optužnice koja ih tereti za "razaranje ustanova namijenjenih obrazovanju i religiji".

U prvostupanjskoj presudi Raspravno vijeće utvrdilo je da su Stari most srušile snage HVO-a u napadu na istočni Mostar kako bi potkopale moral muslimanskog stanovništva za koje je most imao poseban simbolički značaj. Vijeće je većinom glasova kvalificiralo rušenje Starog mosta kao bezobzirno razaranje koje nije opravdano vojnom nuždom.

Nakon obustave oružanih sukoba na istom je mjestu privremeno sagrađen, viseći most, sličan onom starom iz vremena prije mimara Hajrudina. Desetljeće kasnije, 2004. godine, od preostalih ruševina i

istog hercegovačkog kamena, sagrađen je novi Stari most koji je 2005. uvršten na UNESCO-ov popis svjetske kulturne baštine. Mostarski krug života ponovno je cjelovit.

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Stari most 1968. / The Old Bridge 1968 / Izvor: MKSJ / Source: ICTY

Mostar: The Old Bridge

The Old Bridge in Mostar was built in 1566 to replace the rickety wooden structure that merchants and tradesman had been using to cautiously cross the river Neretva. Built from locally quarried stone from the Herzegovina called tenelija, the Old Bridge was designed by Mimar Hayreddin from Istanbul, an architect who learned his trade from the famous Ottoman builder Sinan. The town of Mostar was named for its 'bridge keepers', two fortified towers called Mostari that guarded the Old Bridge on either side of the river.

Legend has it that the arch of the Old Bridge outlines one half of the circle of life, and its reflection in the water the other. When the bridge fell, witnesses said that the river turned red, as if from blood, and the cause was in materials used for the bridge. Maybe this is why Mostar inhabitants say that the Old Bridge was 'killed' when tank shells fired from Stotina hill by Croatian Defence Council (HVO) forces destroyed it on 9 November 1993.

The Old Bride was recognized in the former Yugoslavia as a monument of special national significance because of its enormous cultural and historical importance. Bosnian Croat warlords indicted by the ICTY were charged for the destruction of the bridge, but the attack was not qualified as destruction of a historical monument. It was part of a count charging 'destruction of institutions dedicated to education and religion'.

In the first-instance judgment, the Trial Chamber found that the HVO forces intended to destroy the Old Bridge during the offensive on the East Mostar and thereby destroy the morale of Muslim population for whom the Old Bridge held strong symbolic meaning. The Chamber found by a majority that the destruction of the Old Bridge was the crime of wanton destruction not justified by military requirements.

After the end of hostilities, a makeshift suspension bridge was erected over the River Neretva, similar to the one that was there before the bridge built by Mimar Hayreddin

Ten years later, in 2004, a new Old Bridge was built from salvageable pieces of the original bridge and new pieces of the same stone from Herzegovina. The Old Bridge is on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 2005. The Mostar circle of life is complete again.

SENSE – Transitional Justice Center



Bez naziva, studeni/prosinac 1993. / Untitled, November/December 1993

Stari Most, Mostar / The Old Bridge, Mostar

Foto / Photo by Wade Goddard

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Wade Goddard





Bez naziva, studeni/prosinac 1993. / Untitled, November/December 1993

Stari Most, Mostar / The Old Bridge, Mostar

Foto / Photo by Wade Goddard

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Wade Goddard



Bosna i Hercegovina

MKSJ nije postojao ni u planovima kada je Bosnu i Hercegovinu, između aprila i avgusta 1992. godine, pogodio prvi i najrazorniji val uništavanja povijesnih, kulturnih i vjerskih spomenika.

Kršenjima ljudskih prava u bivšoj Jugoslaviji u to se vrijeme jedino bavio specijalni izvijestitelj Generalnog sekretara UN-a, Tadeusz Mazowiecki. U jednom od izvještaja iz 1992. godine upozorio je da je sukob u Bosni i Hercegovini obilježen sistematskim razaranjem vjerskih objekata i drugog kulturnog nasljeđa.

Nakon Mazowieckog, oglasila se i Komisija stručnjaka UN-a, osnovana 1992. godine kako bi utvrdila utemeljenost medijskih izvještaja o zločinima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Svrha razaranja kulturne baštine, zaključili su stručnjaci UN-a, jeste brisanje kulturnih, društvenih i religijskih tragova identiteta određenih etničkih i vjerskih grupa.

U februaru 1993. godine Parlamentarna skupština Vijeća Evrope i stručnjaci za kulturnu baštinu u izvještaju o situaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj upozoravaju da je u toku "kulturna katastrofa u srcu Evrope".

Izvještaji Tadeusza Mazowieckog, Komisije stručnjaka UN-a i Vijeća Evrope prvim su tužiteljima i istražiteljima MKSJ-a poslužili kao svojevrsni putokaz u istragama.

Razaranje kulturne i vjerske baštine uvršteno je u 16 optužnica, uz ubistva, protivpravna zatvaranja, deportacije i druge zločine. Optuženi su politički, vojni ili policijski dužnosnici bosanskih Srba i bosanskih Hrvata, jedan zapovjednik Armije BiH i jedan direktni izvršitelj, koji je priznao da je lično minirao džamiju u Ahmićima.

U presudama, uništavanje kulturne i vjerske baštine najčešće je kvalificirano kao element progona na političkim, rasnim i vjerskim osnova-

ma i zločin protiv čovječnosti, ili kao kršenje zakona i običaja ratovanja, a u nekoliko slučajeva i kao teška povreda Ženevskih konvencija.

SENSE - Centar za tranzicijsku pravdu

Bosnia and Herzegovina

When the first and most devastating round of destruction of historical, cultural and religious monuments took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the spring of 1992, the ICTY was not even conceived.

The sole international representative reporting on the human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia ongoing at the time was the UN Secretary-General's special rapporteur, Tadeusz Mazowiecki. In his 1992 report he warned that the systematic destruction of religious buildings and other cultural heritage sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina was emblematic for the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The UN Commission of Experts, established in October 1992 to verify media reports on the crimes in the former Yugoslavia, echoed Mazowiecki's warnings. The aim of the destruction of cultural heritage in the region was to erase every trace of the cultural, social and religious identity of specific ethnic and religious groups, the UN experts concluded.

In February 1993, in its First Information Report on war damage to the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and cultural heritage experts warned of the unfolding 'cultural catastrophe in the heart of Europe'.

The reports submitted by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UN Commission of Experts and the Council of Europe served as guidelines for the prosecutors and investigators of the ICTY when they launched the first investigations in 1994.

Destruction of cultural and religious heritage – in addition to charges of murder, unlawful detention, deportation and other crimes – was alleged in 16 ICTY indictments. Many Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat political, military and police officials were accused, as well as one commander of the Bosnian Army, and one direct perpetrator who confessed that he personally blew up the mosque in Ahmići.

ICTY sentences usually qualified destruction of cultural and religious monuments as an element of persecution on political, racial and religious grounds and the crime against humanity, as violation of the laws or customs of war, and in a couple of cases as grave violation of the Geneva Convention.

SENSE – Transitional Justice Center



Crkva Blažene Djevice Marije, Stup, Ilidža / Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Stup, Ilidža
Izgrađena 1892., srušena u svibnju 1992. / Built in 1892, destroyed in May 1992

Foto / Photo by Damir Šagolj
Izvor: MKSJ / Source: ICTY



Čaršijska džamija (Hadži Selmanova džamija) u Srebrenici / Čaršija mosque (Haji Selman mosque) in Srebrenica
Izgrađena 1836., obnovljena 1990., srušena u srpnju 1995.

Built in 1836, restored in 1990, destroyed in July 1995

Foto / Photo by Alexander Zemlianchenko, Associated Press, 1996 / Izvor: MKSJ / Source: ICTY



Povratnik / Revenant

Srušena džamija u Donjoj Misoči, općina Ilijaš / Destroyed Mosque in Donja Misoča, Ilijaš Municipality

Izgrađena nakon drugog svjetskog rata, srušena 1992. / Built after the WW II, destroyed in 1992

Foto/ Photo by Danilo Krstanović, Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Renata Krstanović



Kosovo

Usredotočivši istragu gotovo isključivo na ulogu Slobodana Miloševića u masovnim deportacijama i ubistvima kosovskih Albanaca, Tužilaštvo MKSJ-a je 1999. godine propustilo da istraži sistematsko razaranje kulturnih i verskih objekata na Kosovu. Međutim, zahvaljujući inicijativi dvojice američkih stručnjaka za kulturnu baštinu Balkana, Andrása Riedlmayera i Andrewa Herschera, razaranje kulturnih i verskih objekata ipak je bilo predmet triju kosovskih suđenja pred MKSJ-om.

Prvo suđenje, bivšem predsedniku Srbije i Jugoslavije Slobodanu Miloševiću je, zbog smrti optuženog, okončano bez presude. Na ostala dva suđenja, optuženi politički, vojni i policijski zvaničnici Srbije – s izuzetkom oslobođenog Milana Milutinovića – proglašeni su krivim, pored ostalog, i za progon na političkim, verskim i rasnim osnovama putem bezobzirnog razaranja kulturnih spomenika i verskih objekata kosovskih Albanaca.

Prema dokazima izvedenim na ovim suđenjima, na Kosovu je 1999. godine delimično ili u potpunosti razoreno 225 od ukupno 607 verskih objekata sa popisa lokalne Islamske zajednice. U zaključcima iz presuda, izbor verskih objekata kao meta napada nesumnjivo dokazuje diskriminativne namere počinitelaca s ciljem trajnog uklanjanja pripadnika etničkih i verskih grupa čiji su spomenici i svetišta uništavani.

Odbrana optuženih srpskih zvaničnika ukazivala je kako su na Kosovu napadani i pravoslavni verski objekti, što Tužilaštvo nije poricalo. Naprotiv, u izveštaju veštaka Tužilaštva Andrása Riedlmayera i Andrewa Herschera, stoji da je na Kosovu 1999. godine razoreno ili oštećeno više od 80 pravoslavnih crkava i manastira.

Međutim, budući da se većina tih napada odvijala nakon zaključenja Kumanovskog sporazuma u junu 1999. godine s kojim je okončan oružani sukob na Kosovu a time i mandat MKSJ-a da istražuje i procesuir

ratne zločine, Međunarodni sud nije razmatrao slučajeve namernog uništenja pravoslavne baštine.

SENSE - Centar za tranzicijsku pravdu



Hasan-agina džamija, Rugovo, općina Đakovica
Mosque of Hasan Aga (Hasan Pashë Jemishçiu), Rogova, Gjakova Municipality
Izgrađena 1580., uništena 01. aprila 1999. / Built in 1580, destroyed on April 1, 1999
Izvor: MKSJ / Source: ICTY

Kosovo

ICTY prosecutors focused their investigation almost exclusively on Slobodan Milošević's role in the mass deportations and murders of Kosovo Albanians, and failed in 1999 to investigate the systematic destruction of cultural and religious sites in Kosovo. However, due to the efforts of two American academic experts for the Balkan cultural heritage, András Riedlmayer and Andrew Herscher, the destruction of cultural and religious property was eventually addressed in three trials relating to Kosovo at the ICTY.

First trial, of the former Serbian and Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević, ended prematurely with his death. In the other two trials Serbian political, military and police officials, with the exception of Milan Milutinović, who was acquitted, were found guilty on charges that included persecution on political, religious and racial grounds through the unjustifiable destruction of cultural monuments and religious facilities of Kosovo Albanians.

According to the evidence presented at those trials, as many as 225 of the 607 religious facilities registered by the local Islamic Community were completely or partially destroyed. The ICTY judges concluded that religious buildings were targeted with clear discriminatory intent on the part of the perpetrators.

It is clear, the judges noted, that they had a common goal: to permanently eliminate members of the ethnic and religious communities whose monuments and shrines were destroyed.

Lawyers who defended Serbian officials claimed that the Orthodox religious facilities in Kosovo were targeted as well, a claim which the Prosecution did not deny. Moreover, the report by Prosecution experts Riedlmayer and Herscher states that more than 80 Orthodox churches and monasteries in Kosovo were damaged or destroyed in 1999. But most of those attacks occurred after the signing of the Kumanovo

Agreement in June 1999, with which armed conflict in Kosovo and the mandate of the ICTY to persecute war crimes ended. Consequently, the cases of intentional destruction of Orthodox heritage went unaddressed by the Tribunal.

SENSE – Transitional Justice Center



Musli-agina - Crvena džamija, Peć / Mosque of Musli Aga – Red Mosque, Pejë/Pec
Izgrađena 1749. (1775.), srušena u maju 1999. / Built in 1749 (1775), destroyed in May 1999

Izvor: MKSJ / Source: ICTY



Hadum džamija Sulejman-age, stari bazar Đakovica / Hadum Mosque donation by Hadum Sylejman Efendia – Hadum Aga, Core of the Old Bazar, Gjakova
Izgrađena 1594./95., uništena 24. marta 1999. / Built in 1594/95, destroyed on March 24, 1999
Izvor: MKSJ / Source: ICTY



Neprocesuirano

András Riedlmayer

MKSJ i sudovi država bivše Jugoslavije uspostavili su pravne presedane procesuiranjem ratnih zločina nad kulturnom baštinom, osobito u slučajevima hotimičnih napada na sakralne objekte raznih nacionalnih i vjerskih zajednica. Međutim, s obzirom na razmjere razaranja, uspješno procesuiranih napada razmjerno je malo.

Već 1993. godine, to je razaranje opisano kao 'kulturna katastrofa u srcu Europe' (Vijeće Europe, Prvi informativni izvještaj). U ovom se poglavlju navode neki od slučajeva koji i dalje nisu procesuirani.

Jedini slučaj u Hrvatskoj koji je bio predmet suđenja pred MKSJ-om bilo je granatiranje dubrovačkog Starog grada. Napad je izvršila Jugoslavenska narodna armija (JNA) 6. prosinca 1991., najgoreg dana u višemjesečnoj opsadi. Međutim, nitko nije procesuiran za uništavanje kulturne baštine u Vukovaru, kao ni za brojne napade na rimokatoličke i srpske pravoslavne crkve tijekom rata u Hrvatskoj od 1991. do 1995.

Razaranje kulturne baštine u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1992. do 1995. obuhvatilo je napade na najvažnije biblioteke i muzeje, a sustavno je uništeno više od 1200 džamija i stotine crkava. Optužnice MKSJ-a obuhvatile su tek manji dio tih napada suživši ih na svega nekoliko desetaka općina. Zločini kao što su uništenje svih 16 džamija i



Kupola katedrale Sv. Jakova, Šibenik, Hrvatska / The Dome of the Cathedral of St. James, Šibenik, Croatia
Građena 1431.-1536. / Built 1431-1536 / Oštećena 16. 09. 1991. / Damaged on September 16, 1991
Od 2000. godine uvrštena je na UNESCO-ov popis svjetske kulturne baštine
Since 2000 on the UNESCO World Heritage List
Foto: Konzervatorski odjel Šibenik (Ministarstvo Kulture RH, UZKB –F)
Photo: Conservation Department Šibenik (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, UZKB –F)

šest katoličkih crkava i samostana u Banja Luci ili razaranje baštine svih triju zajednica u Jajcu ne spominju se u presudama Tribunala. Na sudovima u BiH ratni zločini nad kulturnom baštinom razmatrani su u vrlo malom broju predmeta.

Tijekom sukoba na Kosovu 1998. i 1999., u napadima srpskih snaga uništeno je ili oštećeno više od 200 džamija, islamskih knjižnica i drugih kulturnih i religijskih objekata kosovskih Albanaca.

U presudama MKSJ-a obrađeno je tek desetak napada. U Srbiji nakon rata, za ratna razaranja albanske kulturne i vjerske baštine na Kosovu nitko nije sudski gonjen niti je bilo inicijativa za obeštećenje.

Iako tijekom rata u ljeto 1999. nisu zabilježeni napadi na srpske pravoslavne objekte na Kosovu, nakon što je u lipnju te godine potpisan Kumanovski sporazum kosovski Albanci uništili su ili oštetili desetine pravoslavnih crkava i manastira. Ni pred MKSJ-om ni pred lokalnim sudovima nitko nije odgovarao za te napade.

U etničkim nemirima na Kosovu 17. i 18. ožujka 2004., pet godina nakon rata, oštećeno je još 35 srpskih pravoslavnih crkava i manastira, međutim pravda je tek djelomično zadovoljena. Na sudovima UNMIK-a i Kosova podignuto je oko 200 optužnica protiv izgređenika koji su sudjelovali u nemirima u ožujku 2004. Ukupno 143 optuženika proglašena su krivima, a 67 je osuđeno na zatvorske kazne dulje od jedne godine. Najviša kazna bila je 16 godina zatvora.

Međutim, razaranjem crkvi ili manastira bavilo se samo sedam sudskih predmeta. U Kosovskom parlamentu odlučeno je da se pravoslavni objekti oštećeni u nemirima obnove javnim sredstvima.





Kneževa palača, Zadar, Hrvatska / Rector's Palace, Zadar, Croatia

Stanje nakon ratnih razaranja u listopadu 1991. / After the war devastation in October 1991

Građena 13. – 19. st., oštećena u listopadu 1991. / Built from 13th to 19th C, damaged in October 1991

Foto: Pavaša Vežić, 5. listopada 1991. (Ministarstvo Kulture RH, UZKB –F)

Photo by Pavaša Vežić, October 5, 1991 (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, UZKB –F)

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Pavaša Vežić

Unprosecuted

András Riedlmayer

The ICTY and the courts in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia have broken new legal ground by prosecuting war crimes against cultural heritage, especially deliberate attacks on the sacral sites of the different ethnic and religious communities. However, the number of such incidents that have been successfully prosecuted is relatively limited, given the scale of the destruction.

The latter was already in 1993 characterized as ‘a cultural catastrophe in the heart of Europe’ (Council of Europe, First Information Report). Included in this section are some examples of such incidents that still remain to be prosecuted.

In the case of Croatia, the only such incident that has been the subject of trials at the ICTY was the shelling of the Old Town of Dubrovnik, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, by the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) on 6 December 1991, the worst day of a months-long siege.

However, there have been no prosecutions thus far for the destruction of cultural heritage in Vukovar, or for the many attacks on Roman Catholic and Serb Orthodox churches during the 1991–1995 war in Croatia.

In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the cultural devastation from 1992 to 1995 included attacks on major libraries and museums



Franjevačka crkva sv. Petra i Pavla, Mostar, Bosna i Hercegovina
Franciscan Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Izgrađena 1875., uništena u travnju/svibnju 1992. / Built in 1875, destroyed in April/May 1992
Foto / Photo by Ćiril Ćiro Raič, 1992 / Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Andrés Riedlmayer

and the systematic destruction of more than 1200 mosques and of hundreds of churches. But cases prosecuted before the ICTY covered only a subset of these attacks and were geographically limited to a few dozen Bosnian municipalities. Crimes such as the destruction of all 16 mosques and of 6 Catholic churches and monasteries in Banja Luka, or the destruction of the heritage of all three communities in Jajce, never became the subject of Tribunal judgments. There have been few prosecutions in Bosnian courts so far that have addressed war crimes against cultural heritage.

During the 1998–1999 conflict in Kosovo, more than 200 mosques, Islamic libraries and other cultural and religious sites of the Kosovo Albanian population were destroyed or damaged in attacks by Serbian forces. However ICTY judgments specifically deal with only about a dozen of these. There have been no postwar prosecutions in Serbian courts of those responsible for the wartime destruction of the Kosovo Albanian cultural and religious heritage, and no initiatives to provide compensation.

Although there were no attacks on Serb Orthodox sites in Kosovo recorded during the war, during the summer following the June 1999 Kumanovo Agreement ceasefire dozens of Orthodox churches and monasteries were destroyed or damaged by Kosovo Albanians. None of those responsible for these attacks on Orthodox sacred sites in Kosovo during the summer of 1999 have been prosecuted.

The ethnic riots of 17–18 March 2004 in Kosovo, five years after the war, resulted in damage to another 35 Serb Orthodox churches and monasteries. There has been some measure of justice for these, though not enough.

About 200 indictments were filed against the March 2004 rioters in UNMIK and Kosovo courts; 143 individuals were convicted, among them 67 received prison sentences of more than one year, ranging up to 16 years.

However, only seven of the court cases concerned the destruction of churches or monasteries. The Kosovo parliament decided that the reconstruction of the Orthodox sites damaged in the riots would be financed by public funds.



Saborna crkva Sv. Trojice, Mostar, Bosna i Hercegovina
Serbian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Izgrađena 1873., razorena u lipnju 1992. / Built in 1873, destroyed in June 1992
Foto / Photo by Andrés Riedlmayer (06/2001)
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Andrés Riedlmayer



Dvorac Eltz, Vukovar, Hrvatska / The Eltz Castle, Vukovar, Croatia
Izgrađen u 18. st., teško oštećen 1991. / Built in 18th C, severely damaged in 1991
Foto: Gradski muzej Vukovar / Photo: Vukovar Municipal Museum
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Andrés Riedlmayer





Saborna crkva Svetoga oca Nikolaja, Karlovac, Hrvatska
Serbian Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas, Karlovac, Croatia
Izgrađena 1803., srušena 1993. / Built in 1803, destroyed in 1993
Foto: Eparhija gornjokarlovačka / Photo: The Eparchy of Upper Karlovac
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of András Riedlmayer



Pravoslavna crkva sv. Ilije, Donji Kašić, Hrvatska
Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Prophet Elijah, Donji Kašić, Croatia
Izgrađena 1872., oštećena granatiranjem 1991.-1993. / Built in 1872, damaged by shelling 1991-1993
Foto: Eparhija dalmatinska / Photo: the Eparchy of Dalmatia
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of András Riedlmayer







Ferhadija džamija, Banja Luka, Bosna i Hercegovina

Ferhadija Mosque, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Izgrađena 1579., razorena u svibnju 1993. / Built in 1579, destroyed in May 1993

Foto / Photo by Aleksandar Aco Ravlić (05/1993)

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Andrés Riedlmayer





Pravoslavna crkva Uspenija Bogorodice, Jajce, Bosna i Hercegovina

Serbian Orthodox Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Građena 1930.-1935., minirana u listopadu 1992. / Built in 1930-1935, blown up in October 1992

Foto: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika BiH

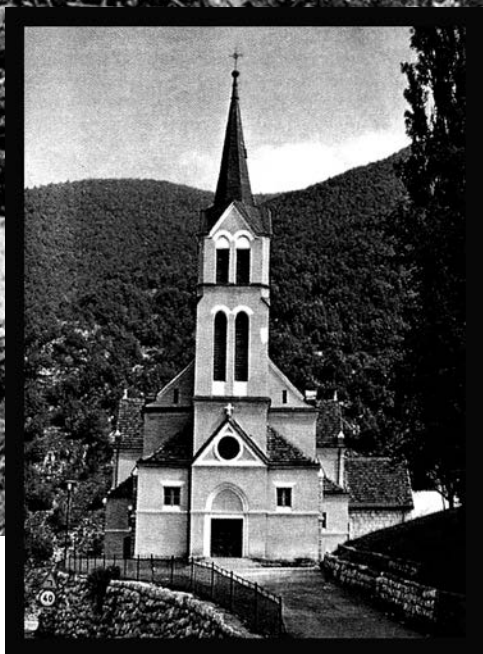
Photo: The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of BiH

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of András Riedlmayer



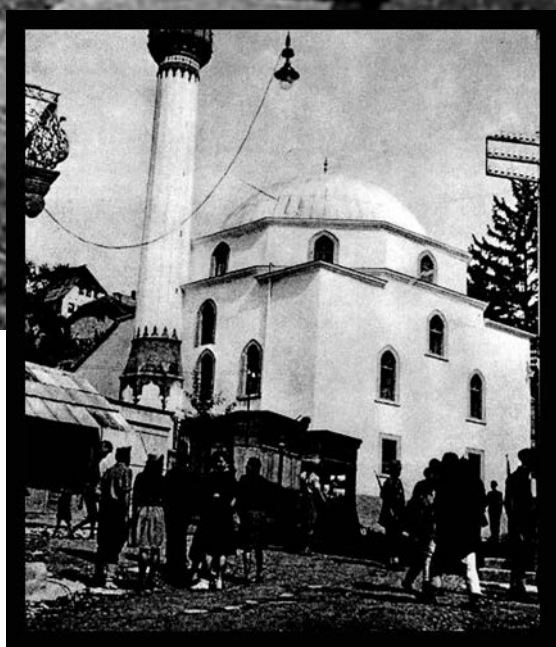


Župna crkva i svetište Sv. Ivana Krstitelja, Podmilačje, Jajce, Bosna i Hercegovina
Parish Church and Pilgrimage Shrine of St. John the Baptist, Podmilačje, Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Izgrađena 1416., pregrađena 1910., srušena krajem 1992.
Built in 1416, reconstructed in 1910, destroyed in late 1992
Foto: Biskupska konferencija BiH / Photo: Bishops' Conference of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Andrés Riedlmayer





Džamija Eme Sultanije, poznata kao Čaršijska džamija, Jajce, Bosna i Hercegovina
Esmā Sultana Mosque, also known as Market Mosque, Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Izgrađena 1749., razorena u listopadu 1992. / Built in 1749, destroyed in October 1992
Foto: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika BiH
Photo: The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of BiH
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of András Riedlmayer





Pravoslavna crkva Bogorodice Odigitrije, Mušutište, Kosovo
Serbian Orthodox Church of the Mother of God Hodegetria, Mušutište, Kosovo
Izgrađena u 15. st., obnovljena u 19. st., razorena u srpnju 1999.
Built in 15th C, restored in 19th C, destroyed in July 1999
Foto: Eparhija raško-prizrenska / Photo: The Eparchy of Raška and Prizren
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Andrés Riedlmayer





Hasan Pašina džamija, Mušutište, Kosovo / Mosque of Hasan Pasha, Mušutište, Kosovo
Izgrađena 1790., obnovljena 1990., razorena u travnju 1999.

Built in 1790, restored in 1990, destroyed in April 1999

Foto / Photo by Sabri Bajgora (06/1999)

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of András Riedlmayer





Arnaudija džamija, Banja Luka, Bosna i Hercegovina

Arnaudija Mosque, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Izgrađena 1594., razorena u svibnju 1993. / Built in 1594, destroyed in May 1993

Foto: Komisija za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika BiH

Photo: The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of BiH

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of András Riedlmayer







Manastirska crkva Blagoveštenja Presvete Bogorodice, Žitomislić, Bosna i Hercegovina
Monastery Church of the Annunciation of the Mother of God, Žitomislić, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Građena između 1566. i 1606., razorena u srpnju 1992.
Built between 1566 and 1606, destroyed in July 1992
Foto: Muzej srpske pravoslavne crkve (1993.)
Photo: Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church (1993)
Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Andrés Riedlmayer



Crkva sv. Petke, Drsnik, Kosovo / Church of St. Petka, Drsnik, Kosovo

Sagrađena 1560. – 1570., oštećena u lipnju 1999.

Built 1560 – 1570, damaged in June 1999

Foto / Photo by András Riedlmayer (10/1999)

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of András Riedlmayer



Uništavanje spomenika NOB-a i antifašizma u Hrvatskoj

Višnja Kisić

Spomenici Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi i antifašističkom pokretu izgrađeni diljem bivše Jugoslavije radovi su nekih od najistaknutijih umjetnika tog vremena – Bogdana Bogdanovića, Vojina Bakića, Dušana Džamonje i drugih – i predstavljaju značajna ostvarenja u području umjetnosti, arhitekture i oblikovanja krajolika. Tijekom devedesetih, osim ciljanog uništavanja kulturne i vjerske baštine s etničkim predznakom, uništavanje ovih spomenika, a s njima i socijalističkog naslijeđa iz jugoslavenskog razdoblja postala je učestala i potentna praksa brisanja sjećanja na zajednički život naroda Jugoslavije, antifašističku borbu i druge ideološke osnove bivše države.

U Hrvatskoj, proces odbacivanja socijalističke prošlosti na poseban je način povezan s radikalnim revizionizmom i odbacivanjem Jugoslavije i antifašizma. Više od 2960 memorijalnih mjesta – spomenika, bisti, skulptura, memorijalnih ploča – koja su komemorirala događaje i ličnosti iz Narodnooslobodilačke borbe u Hrvatskoj i bivšoj Jugoslaviji uništeno je ili izmijenjeno ne samo od strane hrvatskih oružanih snaga, već najčešće od strane građana u razdoblju od 1990. do 2000. godine.



Vojin Bakić (1915.-1992.)

Spomenik pobjedi revolucije naroda Slavonije (1958.-1968.), Kamenska, Hrvatska

Monument to the Revolutionary Victory of the People of Slavonia (1958-1968), Kamenska, Croatia

Foto / Photos by Nenad Gattin

Izvor: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Fotoarhiv Nenad Gattin

Source: Institute of Art History, Photoarchive Nenad Gattin

Ljubaznošću / Courtesy of Ingrid Gattin

* *Spomenik pobjedi revolucije naroda Slavonije*, među najznačajnijim je djelima spomeničke plastike Vojina Bakića, kipara čiji se opus svrstava u sam vrh hrvatske i europske modernističke skulpture. Gradnja Spomenika pobjedi trajala je 10 godina, a u trenutku postavljanja 1968., trideset metara visoka skulptura bila je najveća apstraktna skulptura na svijetu. Spomenik je 21. veljače 1992. nakon pet dana miniranja u potpunosti srušen. Prema svjedočenju očevidaca, spomenik su srušili pripadnici 123. brigade Hrvatske vojske. Danas su na njegovu mjestu vidljivi samo ostaci postolja.

* *Monument to the Revolutionary Victory of the People of Slavonia*, one of the most important memorial works by Vojin Bakić, a sculptor with the body of work placed at the top of Croatian and European modernist art. Building of the Monument to the Victory lasted 10 years, and at the time of its opening, 30 meters high sculpture was the largest abstract sculpture in the world. The monument was completely destroyed after five days of dynamite mining attempts by the soldiers from 123rd Požeška Brigade of the Croatian Army. Today, on its place only the remnants of the pedestal are visible.

Hrvatski dužnosnici nisu učinili ništa kako bi spriječili ove devastacije, a uništavanje spomenika NOB-a u Hrvatskoj nikad nije procesuirano. Danas su razoreni spomenici dokumentirani, ali su ostali uništeni, poništeni i zaboravljivi od strane službene politike i većine hrvatskih građana.

Foto / Photos by Nenad Gattin
(vidi stranicu / see page 87)



Destruction of the memorials to the People's Liberation Movement and anti-fascist struggle in Croatia

Višnja Kisić

Memorials dedicated to the People's Liberation Movement and anti-fascist struggle built throughout SFR Yugoslavia by some of the most eminent artists of that period – such as Bogdan Bogdanović, Vojin Bakić, Dušan Džamonja – represent important artistic, architectural, and landscape masterpieces. During the 1990s, in addition to deliberate destruction of the cultural sites with ethnic prefix, the destruction of these memorials and with them a socialist heritage from Yugoslav period was as well a powerful practice of erasing the memory of coexistence and anti-fascist struggle, and ideological grounds that united peoples of Yugoslavia.

In Croatia, the process of coming to terms with socialist past was intertwined with radical historical revisionism and rejection of Yugoslavia and anti-fascist movement. More than 2960 memorials – monuments, busts, sculptures and memorial plaques – which commemorated events and persons from the Peoples Liberation Movement

in Croatia and the former Yugoslavia were destroyed not only by the Croatian armed forces but mainly by citizens from 1990 to 2000.

Croatian political leaders did nothing to stop devastation, and the destruction of the anti-fascist memorials in Croatia went unprosecuted. Today, the destruction is documented, but the memorials remain ruined, annihilated and forgotten by the majority of Croatian citizens, as well as by the official politics.



Foto / Photos by Nenad Gattin
(vidi stranicu / see page 87)



Spomenik pobjedi revolucije naroda Slavonije (1958.-1968.), Kamenska, Hrvatska
Monument to the Revolutionary Victory of the People of Slavonia (1958-1968), Kamenska, Croatia
Srušen u veljači 1992. / Destroyed in February 1992



Košute, Hrvatska / Košute, Croatia

Igor Grubić, *Spomenik / Monument*, film still, 2015, 50'

Ljubaznošću umjetnika / Courtesy of the artist





Makljen, Bosna i Hercegovina / Makljen, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Igor Grubić, *Spomenik / Monument*, film still, 2015, 50'
Ljubaznošću umjetnika / Courtesy of the artist





Tjentište, Bosna i Hercegovina / Tjentište, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Igor Grubić, *Spomenik / Monument*, film still, 2015, 50'
Ljubaznošću umjetnika / Courtesy of the artist



O autorima

Authors

Helen Walasek

Od 1994. do 1998. godine zamjenica ravnateljica neprofitne organizacije Bosnia and Herzegovina Heritage Rescue (Spašavanje baštine Bosne i Hercegovine) i suradnica Bosanskog instituta u Londonu (1998. – 2007.). Za vrijeme i nakon rata učesnica brojnih misija u Bosni i Hercegovini kao stručna savjetnica Vijeća Europe. Autorica je knjige, *Bosna i razaranje kulturnog naslijeđa* (Ashgate 2015).

Helen Walasek was Deputy Director of Bosnia-Herzegovina Heritage Rescue (BHHR) for which she worked 1994-1998 and an associate of the Bosnian Institute, London 1998-2007. She made many working visits to Bosnia during and after the 1992-1995 war, including as an expert consultant for the Council of Europe. She is the author of *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage* (Ashgate 2015).

András Riedlmayer

Ravnatelj Dokumentacijskog centra za Islamsku umjetnost i arhitekturu u Knjižnici likovnih umjetnosti Sveučilišta Harvard od 1985. godine. Njegov istraživački interes obuhvaća otomansku povijest, islamsku umjetnost i kulturu, kao i zaštitu kulturne baštine u skladu s nacionalnim i međunarodnim pravom. Prire-

dio je brojna stručna izvješća o razaranju kulturne baštine u Bosni i Hercegovini i na Kosovu, a kao vještak devet puta je svjedočio na suđenjima pred MKSJ-om, kao i pred Međunarodnim sudom pravde u predmetu povezanim s genocidom koji je Bosna i Hercegovina pokrenula protiv Srbije i Crne Gore.

András Riedlmayer directs the Documentation Center for Islamic Art and Architecture at the Fine Arts Library of Harvard University since 1985. His research interests include Ottoman history, Islamic art and culture in the Balkans, and the protection of cultural heritage under national and international law. He prepared many expert reports on the destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia and Kosovo, and testified as an expert witness in nine trials at the ICTY and before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the genocide case *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro*.

Višnja Kisić

Autorica knjige, *Governing Heritage Dissonance: Promises and Realities of Cultural Policies* (European Cultural Foundation 2016.), Višnja Kisić je suradnica Centra za muzeologiju i heritologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu i suradnica u nastavi na UNESCO-voj katedri za kulturnu politiku i menadžment. Bavi se istraživanjem politike, upravljanja i tumačenja baštine s fokusom na jugoistočnu Europu i ulogu osporavanja baštine u sukobima i pomirenju.

The author of *Governing Heritage Dissonance: Promises and Realities of Cultural Policies* (European Cultural Foundation 2016), Višnja Kisić is associate researcher at the Center for Museology and Heritology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and lecturer on heritage management at UNESCO Chair in Cultural Policy and Management, University of Arts in Belgrade. Her research interest is in heritage management, policy and interpretation, focusing mainly on Southeast Europe and ways in which heritage contestation play out in politics of conflicts and reconciliation.

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Interaktivni narativ ZATIRANJE ISTORIJE I SJEĆANJA
An Interactive Narrative TARGETING HISTORY AND MEMORY
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