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### Contacts / *Kontakti*

Editorial correspondence should be addressed to / *Pošto za uredništvo revije naslovite na:*  
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e-mail: [editord@guest.arnes.si](mailto:editord@guest.arnes.si)  
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Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: [sonja.kurincic@guest.arnes.si](mailto:sonja.kurincic@guest.arnes.si)

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Zoran Slavnic

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## A Spectrum of Non-Belonging - Refugees, Human Rights and Political Pragmatism

This article represents the analysis of the life history of one of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina who came to Sweden with Croatian passport and, as such, initially received a negative decision to her request for asylum, and then a temporary residence permission for a period of six months. The analysis covers three geographically and temporally separate phases of this refugee odyssey: life during the war and flight, then refugee life in Croatia, and finally refuge in Sweden. The main aims of this article are twofold. Firstly, it aims to show the way refugees themselves look at their refugee life and the role of the various macro-, mezzo- and micro-actors, who in every way influence their life. Secondly, it tries to demonstrate all the possible strategies which the governments of Western Europe try to develop in "solving the refugee problems" in situations where the gulf between their humanitarian rhetoric and real pragmatic politics becomes uncomfortably deep.

Keywords: refugees, ethnic conflicts, immigration, welfare state, citizenship, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Swedish refugee policy

## Spekter nepripadnosti - begunci, človekove pravice in politični pragmatizem

*Članek prinaša analizo življenjske zgodbe begunke iz Bosne in Hercegovine, ki je na Švedsko prišla s hrvaškim potnim listom in zato sprva dobila negativen odgovor na prošnjo za azil, nato pa dovoljenje za začasno prebivanje za obdobje šestih mesecev. Analiza pokriva tri geografsko in časovno ločene faze te begunske odisejade: življenje med vojno in beg, begunsko življenje na Hrvaškem in azil na Švedskem. Članek ima dva cilja. Prvič, prikazati kako begunci sami doživljajo svoje begunsko življenje, skupaj z vlogami različnih makro-, mezo- in mikro-dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na njihovo življenje. Drugič, članek poskuša zajeti vse možne strategije, ki jih za »reševanje begunskih problemov« razvijajo vlade zahodnoevropskih držav v situacijah, kjer postaja prepad med človekoljubno retoriko in realno pragmatično politiko neprijetno globok.*

*Ključne besede: begunci, etnični konflikti, imigracije, socialna država, državljanstvo, Bosna in Hercegovina, švedska begunska politika*

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**Correspondence address:** Zoran Slavnic, Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society (REMESO), Department of Social and Welfare Studies (ISV), Linköping University, SE 60174 Norrköping, Sweden, e-mail: zoran.slavnic@liu.se

*We become aware of the existence of a right to have rights / ... / and a right to belong to some kind of organized community, only when millions of people emerged who had lost and could not regain these rights because of the new global political situation / ... /*  
(Arendt 1968, 296–297)

## 1. Introduction

During the summer of 1993 the Swedish Government made the decision to issue permanent residence permits for about 50,000 Bosnian refugees, who were then in Sweden as asylum seekers. At the same time, the decision was made to impose visa requirements for B & H<sup>1</sup> citizens. However, as the war in B & H was still in full swing, and as from early 1993 it was extended by the conflict between Croats and Bosniaks, the number of people who were fleeing from their homes increased even further. In this situation, given on the one hand that the war was creating new refugees, and on the other that in the countries where the majority of refugees had hitherto usually been sent, an increasing number of legal obstacles was being created, as a consequence refugees were forced to seek new avenues for acquiring refugee status in those countries. Since visas were not required for Croatian visitors to Sweden, some 5,000 B & H citizens who had the right, on various bases, to seek and obtain Croatian citizenship and consequently passports, used this opportunity to come to Sweden with Croatian passports and after entering the country, sought asylum there.<sup>2</sup>

Although the majority of these people actually came from war-torn B & H, and even though B & H residence addresses were entered in their Croatian passports, the Swedish Government decided that these refugees should be considered Croatian citizens; and since Croatia was obliged to help them they were to be sent back there. Almost a year after this decision had been made, after the renewal of war operations in Croatia and after numerous protests against the initial decision in Sweden itself, the above-mentioned decision was amended from visas to temporary residence permits (*tidsbegränsat uppehållstillstånd* – TUT) for a period of six months, until 31 November 1995. Yet another year was to pass after the expiry of this permit for the Swedish Government to make a final decision on the expulsion to Croatia, but this time for only 2,500 B & H Croats.

In the period August 1995 – February 1997, I conducted fieldwork on four occasions and interviewed 30 refugees. I also talked to some 20 representatives of various organisations and institutions that were in contact with these refugees in one way or another. The refugees were interviewed in two Swedish towns, Karlskrona and Malmö, and with some of them I talked on several occasions during this period.

The life history of Jasna, which is the subject of analysis in this article, is that of one of these refugees. If we apply the methodological distinction between “exemplary” and “symptomatic” life histories (Ålund 1991), then we can say that

Jasna's history is an "exemplary" one for those citizens of B & H who have mixed ethnic identities. However, at the same time, this history is also "symptomatic" with respect to everything that this group of B & H refugees – i.e., those with Croatian passports who obtained temporary protection in Sweden – was forced to go through. In her history the difficulties of a new "normal" life (in B & H, Croatia and Sweden) overlap with feelings of exclusion from the social and cultural life streams in all the environments that she experienced as an undesirable, isolated and frequently exploited "alien". Her visions of a return home are connected to her normal previous life and result in discrepancies between her personal wishes and the rough, short-term pragmatism of the various régimes and authorities involved, who are burdened with an ethnic categorisation of individuals and groups. At the same time her history reveals the gloomy background in which a refugee's experience was created, and it is connected to the establishment of a new profiteering in which the refugees' life has become a new currency of war and post-war economies (Duffield 1999).

## 2. Prologue: Collapse of a Normal Life

When I met her first (in the summer of 1995) she was 35 years old. She was born and grew up in an industrial town in Central Bosnia, where she had lived with her husband and two children until the war broke out. She worked as a bank clerk for 12 years. She had never belonged to those to whom a sense of ethnic belonging meant a lot in life. This may have been even more so because she came from a mixed marriage, her father being a Serb and her mother a Croat. Besides, she, herself, was married to a Bosniak. All these factors together classify Jasna among those who represented a very significant part of the essence of B & H before the war. This was a generation which grew up during the 1960s and 1970s in urban areas of the republic – the generation for whom life under conditions of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity presented a very normal state, which nobody considered as questionable, unnatural or temporary.

To explain this we have to understand the way that inter-ethnic relations were treated in the former Yugoslavia before the war. On the one hand there was a public political discourse that tried to integrate all the citizens of the multiethnic state on the principles of national, religious, cultural and political equality. On the other hand, although a competition among the national political élite for real power was going on behind this ideological façade (Goati 1997), a significant number of people, especially those who grew up in urban areas during this period, accepted the multiculturalism just mentioned as their own symbolic universe (Berger et al. 1973), or as an all-embracing social definition of reality which served as a compass for them in their daily relations with others, as well as in trying to find the meaning of life in general.

These kinds of value orientations, however, lost both formal and real political support after nationalistic parties came into power, especially after the outbreak of war. Those with the above-mentioned views, even when they were of the same ethnic background as those in power in certain areas, became outsiders in a same way as members of minority ethnic groups in these areas of Yugoslavia, and especially of B & H. The new all-embracing definition of reality, which now became dominant and which had the full institutional support of the authorities (most frequently even a formal one in a legal sense), was based on the new principles according to which the focus was given to ethnic homogeneity and inter-ethnic exclusivity (Slavnic 2000).

By deciding to leave, Jasna definitely refused to jeopardise her basic life principles for the apparent safety which she would obtain in return from the “new authorities”. She preferred to leave, seeking protection and a new kind of safety in a world which she believed to be organised on the same principles as her own. That was a central motive for Jasna’s departure and surely the most radical decision in her life hitherto.

### 3. The Beginning of the War: the Forming and Closing of Ethnic Circles

The everyday life of a modern human being is, according to Giddens,<sup>3</sup> determined mainly by the existence of a sense of “ontological security”, which can be defined as a sense of continuity and order between things and events in the environment one is living in. This sense is possible only within the predictable “routines” on which everyday life has been organised. The predictability of these routines contributes to maintaining human beings’ ontological security, while it is primarily protected by “trust” and “tact”, states Giddens. Thus, a contemporary human being cannot enjoy peace and safety, i.e., a normal everyday life, unless there is trust in other people (relying on their reliability and honesty or love), a trust in “abstract systems” (relying on experts’ knowledge and technology) and finally, also an orientation towards the future (organised and controlled) as a tool for connecting the past and the present. However, in order for this whole system to function, according to Giddens, a modern human being develops a whole range of skills for communicating with other people (i.e., “tact”). “Tact” (respect for the needs and requirements of the people with whom communication is established) not only contributes to the production and reproduction of everyday human beings’ interactions, but it also corrects and mitigates possible disturbances in these interactions, which, if they develop, can lead to conflict and consequently bring ontological security into question. However, in certain life situations, namely “critical situations” (such as, for instance inter-ethnic clashes), these disturbances are of such an intensity that they cannot be softened by “tact.”



Then we have a situation of a radical disturbance of the normal everyday life which an individual is used to and feels safe in. This is when times of anxiety, fear and helplessness begin.

All this had a very significant effect on Jasna. She strongly believed that society was rationally organised. She was convinced that, as she was responsible for performing her job, others were behaving as she was, especially those responsible for the functioning of important social institutions. She expected to get the salary she deserved regularly each month for her work. With that salary she expected to provide for the normal life of her family, and that she would get assistance in local health institutions if she became sick; and, if her safety or property was in danger, that she would get help from the police. She also expected that, in situations when the only alternative to the political compromise was a civil war, politicians would quite naturally try to avoid the war. Finally, she could not even imagine that professional soldiers could be so "irresponsible" as to start shelling the civilian population in the town in which they themselves lived. However, with the outbreak of the war this whole construction, which had created normal everyday life, broke apart, and the outset of war caught Jasna unprepared and scared:

/ .../ For me everything was scary. First, on 19<sup>th</sup> May, they shot 19 airplane rockets at the town. That was terrible. Everything had started earlier in Sarajevo, but unless it happens to you, one simply cannot believe that the same thing can happen in your town as well. And that is exactly what happened. When it started in Croatia, you did not believe it would come to Bosnia. When it started in Sarajevo, you did not believe it would come to your town as well. But all of a sudden it started. Then it became frequent, almost every day we were shelled. I was shivering with fear all the time. But I still went to work, although I had to run all the way from one building entrance to another / .../

Obviously, Jasna was still trying to perform the daily routines with which she was building her own personal security and that of her family under normal pre-war conditions. She was going to work regularly, although for more than a year, she worked for only some DM 3 (€ 1.50) of monthly salary. For this money she could buy three eggs per month. By doing this, she probably sub-consciously tried to postpone a complete disintegration of the world that she lived in before the war. However, the situation became more and more difficult. It was particularly difficult for her to see her children deprived of regular schooling – the only reliable investment on which people such as Jasna can build their future. Besides, the family descended into a state of literal starvation.

It is really hard to believe, but there were situations, not that we were completely without anything to eat, but we had only flour, and I prepared some kind of curd-cake or something else made of dough, for breakfast, lunch and dinner.

A general feeling of insecurity in town was also growing, especially for ethnically mixed families in the situation of strained ethnic polarisation.

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Nobody hurt me personally, probably because I was not a nationalist. I did not provoke anybody, so I remained in a normal relationship with those friends whom I had known previously, and I did not come into contact with other people during those times. The only problem was when one was in such a situation for too long. Then one had to meet with other people: when we were in the basements that we used as shelters we heard them saying that all Serbs should be killed, or if the conflict was between Croats and Muslims, that all Croats should be killed, and so on. I personally could not take part in those exchanges, but with time, it got to you and you could not endure it any more.

Moreover, as time went by, life became more and more difficult, and the end was nowhere in sight. The time came when it had been almost a year since the war started. Eventually, one of the family friends from Croatia contacted them and offered to be hosts for them, if they decided to leave B & H. But Jasna was still indecisive.

/.../ the situation was getting worse and conflicts between Croats and Muslims could be seen on the horizon. I felt terribly at that time. My town was somehow in the middle. Serbs were on one side and Croats on the other. I was constantly afraid that somebody might come into my home who would not care who or what you were. And this is why the children were crying non-stop. So finally we decided to go in whatever way we could.

#### 4. The Various Dimensions of Chaos

Immediately upon reading Jasna's first descriptions of her departure from her home town one can notice a kind of discontinuity. That is, the picture the reader forms about Jasna's situation as a whole, her motives, her strategies and her plans for future, is all of a sudden disturbed by her statement that she prepared everything for the trip in one day and that her intention was to remain in Croatia only for a month, and only to get some rest. This is obviously in opposition to the depth of suffering she went through together with her family, during more than a year of living under wartime conditions, as well as in opposition to the care with which she planned every detail of the trip. However, this "spare line" for expressing Jasna's own motives for departure is actually a second part of her "basic line" (which is planned in detail), that is, the viewpoint behind which stand her real motives and goals, as well as real strategies for solving her own particular problem. Actually, this is some kind of a mental preparation for departure, a rationalisation, prepared in advance, of the situation for her own and sake of others in case of failure. But this is not all. This is only a beginning of creation

of the strategy, which we, together with Giddens (1984), can classify among the “strategies for facing a critical situation”. Jasna joins the mass in a flight and faces an experience where the life of a refugee hangs by a thread of coincidences, under conditions of hopelessness and unpredictability. At the same time it is a framework for establishing a new “normal” life.

And then one day I heard on the radio that a special convoy was to be organised. That was a twenty-kilometre long convoy. Vehicles were from everywhere. The wounded, the dead were also a part of the convoy. / ... / I got prepared in one day only. The plan was to leave for a month and take a rest from everything, and then to return. It never occurred to me that I was leaving for good, that is, for a long period of actually staying away from home. As soon as the convoy started, a “madness” began. The UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces], which were supposed to safeguard us, were nowhere in sight. Eventually two vehicles showed up, only to disappear again. The general atmosphere was such that as soon as we started I wanted to go back. It took us six days to get to Croatia. We were even shot at on the way. During the night you would just see some people appearing in front of the bus (nobody knew who they were or which army they belonged to, but all had those bands round their heads like “Rambo’s”), and the convoy had split up long before and only single vehicles were moving down the road, several kilometres apart.

In this story Jasna went through some dimensions of the hell in which one finds oneself during a war. These are dimensions of fear, humiliation, helplessness, but also include the emotion of a “real” ethnic belonging.

Anyway, after six days we came to the border. However, once there, we saw several buses returning from the border itself. Men on board were stripped naked and women and kids from three buses were squeezed into one bus. Standing side by side packed into one bus they showed the rest of us that “you will not enter Croatia.” But we went on further, towards the border. At the actual border crossing we stopped. People on the bus started singing and crying out of happiness since we finally made it, after such a difficult trip. Someone came onto the bus to check our documents. I had a guarantee letter for entering Croatia / ... / since I did not want to travel in uncertainty. I was afraid anyway. Then three soldiers came in with their guns pointed and said: “Those who are now going to be told to leave the bus, should leave without a word. If anyone says one word, the whole bus will be sent back.” I was a bit scared at that very moment, but then again I thought: “I have documents, so there’s no problem.” However, I have a Muslim surname, which cannot be missed.

In this war ethnic belonging was the first criterion that designated the gulf between safety and protection on one side and torture and expulsion on the other. A second criterion was ethnic purity. Every ethnic mixture brought nothing but problems. Although not a Bosniak herself, Jasna was been treated as one since her husband was a Bosniak.

When they approached me, a soldier read no more than my surname and said: "Missus, take your bags and get out." He did not even look at the documents. Till that moment kids were not quite crying, but now both started screaming. And I was actually the only person with kids on the bus, as nobody else had dared to take kids on such a risky trip. I wanted to say that simply I had all the necessary documents: "I have ...." He interrupted me and yelled: "Missus, I said if one word was uttered everybody would be out. Take you bags and get out." The bus driver took my bags out and put them outside. This did not happen only to me. Almost half the bus was thrown out – all those who were not pure Croats. Then the buses took off and we who remained behind, from all three buses, gathered at one place not knowing what to do next.

If we now try to summarise this situation, we can see that on one hand we have "ethnic belonging" and "ethnic purity" that completely define reality. Exclusion of all outsiders and "mixed" people was brutal, deep and complete, but because of the chaotic war situation, it was neither general nor systematic. On the other hand this fact, actually, enables people to cope with particular situations.

Then I enquired what I could do. I had made some enquiries beforehand, in case they were to throw us out at the border, and I had been told that there were always taxi drivers ready to transport you for DM 300. So, I had prepared this money for such an option. I went to the place where the taxis gathered and asked if anyone was willing to take us to Croatia (but one had to whisper all the time). They said they would, but for DM 300. This was the amount of money I had to pay to be driven just 2 kilometres to the border and to be left on the other side. As I did not have any other option, I accepted it. Then I and another woman with two kids squeezed into the taxi. After a while we came to the border. The taxi driver went out and whispered something to the border guards for some time. Then they approached us and searched through our bags, they even checked my make-up, deodorants and the like. Eventually they let us through by giving us only a five-day permit of stay in Croatia.

Jasna arrived in Zagreb the next day without a dime in her pocket. This was when the second phase of uncertainty began: the phase of struggle for survival under conditions of poverty and refugee stigma. She spent ten months in Zagreb under very difficult financial and social conditions. At that time the general situation in Croatia was very difficult, especially for refugees. The state, which was at war itself, had at the same time to care for almost 300,000 refugees from B & H alone (Valenta et al. 2011). Besides, the general political climate in Croatia was not very much different from the one in B & H.

All this resulted in a very ambivalent behaviour of the state towards refugees. On one hand refugees were registered by the appropriate state bodies and institutions, thus the state was fulfilling its obligations in accordance with domestic and international laws and humanitarian conventions; this then became the basis for the international promotion of the Croatian refugee policy and politics in general, as well as the basis for securing international financial assistance (usually

in hard, stable currency, which was so needed at the time), in order to be able to care for these refugees.

However, on the other hand, the refugees themselves frequently had little benefit from this assistance and the refugee cards gave them more headaches than concrete benefits. Additional problems for Jasna began when the conflict between Bosniaks and Croats started in B & H. This merely shows that refugees, obviously, cannot avoid the political dimensions of a conflict in the country of their origin even when they are outside of its borders, where once again they become the victims of ethnic categorisation.

/ ... / It was horrible to listen to what was going on and wherever we stayed we had a lot of problems. For instance, at one place I stayed, everything was all right with those people and we visited each other. They considered me as one of them, a Croat, until one day my husband called over the phone and introduced himself. Then they made a whole circus out of it (this was actually the time of conflicts between Bosniaks and Croats). They were saying: "We are feeding their wives here and they are killing our people there". They refused to talk to me from that moment.

Subsequently, Jasna again found herself in a situation where on one hand she did not experience even a part of what made her become a refugee at a first place, and on the other hand she had exhausted all the possibilities of her current situation, so that she was compelled to make yet another radical decision. There were only two alternatives. Either she went back home, to a war where she would face the very same material problems and moral dilemmas because of which she left her home town, or she would proceed with searching for her lost security and dignity.

When she became really desperate, not knowing how to solve her problems, somebody advised her: "Well, why don't you go to some other country?". She was told that many were leaving for Sweden; and that she probably would not be sent back from there since she had small children and she had been in a war-stricken country for such a long period. "Sweden is good for children and, generally speaking, it's a most humane country." But she was still suspicious and cautious. Finally, she made the decision to go. This decision was made in the very same way as the one to leave B & H, that is, when all the other possibilities to stay had been exhausted. There is another similarity to the situation before her first departure: once again Jasna made detailed and long preparation for leaving.

/ ... / For six weeks in a row I went to the bus station to make enquiries with bus drivers who were driving to Sweden. These drivers always told me not to worry since nobody had been sent back. When I finally made the decision to go, I borrowed money for the trip. Actually, I heard that I needed to have some money with me since otherwise I could have been sent back while crossing Austria or Germany, whose authorities were allegedly afraid that some of the refugees might stay in their countries. In any case, I had DM 400 as a reserve, just in case something happened to the kids on the journey. Well, that's how we set out on the trip / ... /

## 5. Encounter with the North-Western European Normality of Refugee Life

There were no problems whatsoever during the journey. After their arrival they were taken to the big reception centre in Malmö which was intended for the temporary accommodation of refugees until they should obtain more permanent accommodation. The next day they were given an apartment to share in one of housing areas of Malmö. Jasna was happy as she finally found a world that functioned properly: A world where there was order and rules were respected. This was a world in which the environment was such that she was sure she would find again her inner peace and safety. After all:

*/.../ soon we started receiving financial assistance which was enough for us. I was saving some money from that assistance, so in two months I managed to return all the money I had borrowed. Finally, I did not owe anything to anybody. That is how I am; I'll rather eat less, but I'll repay my debts on time. After all, those people were so good to us and they helped us by lending us money.*

Generally speaking, that whole period was fine for Jasna as well as for the kids. Her children finally started attending school; they also went to a swimming pool, so they were overjoyed. In addition they were satisfied with their accommodation, an apartment they shared with another woman. This situation lasted for some two months. In a meantime, Jasna was interviewed by the police. They asked her about everything and she gave them detailed descriptions. After two months they were moved to a refugee camp near the south Swedish town of Hässleholm. The accommodation was worse there, as they did not have their own apartment. However, this did not bother them too much, since they expected their case to be definitely solved soon.

### 5.1 Dimensions of Helplessness: Refugees in a Legal Labyrinth

All of a sudden, two families from the camp received invitations to see a lawyer. Others had no clue as to what was going on, so they made some enquiries with responsible refugee camp officers. The answer they had was: “/.../ you know, a lawyer will help you get your residence permits earlier.” This calmed them down; a majority was however closely watching what would happen to those who received invitations to see a lawyer. They analysed and discussed these cases among themselves, looking for the reasons why a lawyer was assigned to those people. After a while, another woman went to see a lawyer. Afterwards she explained that she was told that some people might possibly be sent home, but there was a chance for her to avoid that outcome if she managed to acquire some additional documents from Croatia. As this woman had a Croatian address and



not a Bosnian one in her passport, nobody from the camp was very much excited about that either.

Yet not long afterwards six more invitations to see a lawyer came to the camp and one of them was for Jasna. At first, Jasna saw this as a consequence of her insisting to solve her case earlier, in order to be able to be reunited with her husband as soon as possible. So she took it calmly again. She was the first one for an interview.

/ ... / The interview started with his checking the data of my case, and then he said: "You know what, the situation is as follows. 99 per-cent of you will be returned and you must be ready for that. You will be all expelled from this country." As he said it, I froze. Then I thought that the man might be crazy. What's wrong with him? To be returned! I had never even thought about that. The whole the time I had been thinking only how I could get a permit as soon as possible. And the only question was time: whether I was going to get it immediately or maybe after two months. "Where are they going to send us?", I asked because it was not clear to me. "To Croatia", he said. "Why?", I enquired. "Because you are Croatian citizen." Then I tried to explain to him that I was from a mixed marriage, that I was alone with two kids / ... / He told me that he could understand my situation and that he maybe might help me, but a majority of Croatian passport-holders would be sent back, for sure.

When she left a lawyer's office, Jasna was shaking all over from the shock. She only managed to say to the others: "He said they would send us all back". They did not believe her, although her appearance made them feel fearful and insecure. However, the lawyer gave more hope about the future to all the others who were interviewed after Jasna that day. He told everyone that they might possibly be sent back, but hopefully everything was going to be all right. In any case, he was not as direct and negative as he had been towards Jasna.

Jasna was in shock for quite a long after the first meeting with the lawyer:

/ ... / as soon as we got back to the camp, I started crying and did not stop for fifteen days. I did not even eat anything. Other people thought that I was really going to die. I also took on an unnatural black colour. They tried to comfort me. They were telling me how I had misunderstood everything because the lawyer had given them different information. I just kept on saying how he told me that 99 per-cent of us were going to be sent back. / ... / altogether, that was killing me. My son was also crying non-stop, as he saw me crying. And I could not change my behaviour and regain my self-control. And he was crying and crying. Then many other women from the camp started crying, as well, when they saw him crying. Really, it was very difficult for the kids / ... /

## 5.2 In the Shadow of Uncertainty: The Struggle to Stay, Mobilisation, Refugee Culture and New Co-Operation Networks

It was an additional burden when the psychosis which was created in the camp because of the danger of possible expulsion had become a reality. Nothing else was a subject of discussion in the camp. They only talked about who was the next to have an appointment with the lawyer, and then what they were told. Several weeks afterwards, when Jasna had recovered a little, she asked for a meeting with some refugee camp officer, who also tried to comfort her. Events had however already succeeded each other rather fast. People started getting negative decisions only ten days after meeting the lawyer. Before long, Jasna received one, as well. Only a few days before that, she visited the lawyer again, but this time he talked longer with her and promised to do everything to help her. After receiving her negative decision, she met her lawyer for the third time. She asked him to write a one more request. He did indeed write the request and sent it by fax. He also put the note "URGENT" on it. Only half an hour later, however, the answer came that there was no reason whatsoever to postpone her return, as she was a Croatian citizen and Croatia was obliged to take care of her.

There was a panic in the camp. Some of its residents had already returned to Croatia. Others were trying their best to avoid the same destiny. Among other things a hunger strike was organised. Jasna took part in it, as well. Journalists were also invited. In the meantime, Jasna contacted the Red Cross. She also called some of her acquaintances from the former Yugoslavia who had lived in Sweden for quite a long time. She hoped that they could have some influential friends who could help. All of them promised to do something, but to no avail:

*/ ... / Only then I realised that nothing could be done to help. We also ceased with our hunger strike in the meantime, as it did not have any effect at all. They proceeded with sending people back. A decision on my expulsion was already in the hands of the police. At that time, I had already decided to hide, as I did not have any other option. Several days before I was scheduled for return, I left the camp.*

This was a beginning of a new experience; hiding from the Swedish government officials and the beginning of co-operation with civil societies (NGOs) and Swedish families. All this also contributed to establishing a new identity, while she was stretched between a feeling of helplessness and a struggle for the right to stay.

The period in hiding lasted for more than ten months. First they hid with some friends who offered them an apartment, which actually belonged to their son who travelled a great deal so the apartment was empty most of the time. They spent three months there. Jasna had earlier managed to save some two thousand Swedish kronas and that was all they had for that three months. They were forced



to a maximum saving routine. The above-mentioned friends helped them from time to time with food, but they did not give them any money. At the same time Jasna was trying to get permanent and more reliable assistance from a church. In November, they moved in with a new host, still in Malmö, where they stayed until after Christmas. One problem was that those people frequently had guests and it was dangerous to keep refugees in the house. This is why each time that guests were coming, they had to move temporarily to another apartment. Eventually, those who were helping them came to the conclusion that it would be the best if they stayed in the apartment until further notice. And so it was: that is where they stayed until the Government announced the decision for a temporary residence permit, in May 1995. Here is how Jasna describes this period:

/ ... / The people who were helping us were really kind to us. We had place to stay and food to eat. Still, the worst was the pressure and constant fear. Can you believe that for ten months, almost eleven, we never left the house because I was so afraid? I spent the whole time by the window. Each time the main entrance opened, I panicked with fear. At the time, I still did not speak Swedish, so it made me even more insecure. Whoever parked in front of the house (firemen, postman, garbage collectors), I was afraid. I even did not allow my kids to watch TV; we were whispering all the time.

Shortly after that, the church decided to help them and they managed to stay there until May 1995, when they got temporary residence permits for six months.

### 5.3 The Temporary Permit

After the announcement about a temporary permit, Jasna reported to the Swedish Immigration Board (SIV) again. The problem of accommodation was solved as follows: Jasna found an apartment and the SIV subsidised the rental value with one thousand Swedish kronas. Although the apartment was small and modestly furnished, and they had to pay part of the rent themselves from the assistance they were getting for food, Jasna and kids were satisfied with this kind of solution. Besides, the children again started attending school and Jasna started a language course. Nevertheless, when talking about their situation, she mentioned problems connected to "temporariness". They were still special citizens, singled out from normal life and the necessary assistance that was guaranteed to "old" refugees and "normal" citizens.

/ ... / The kids were good at school. They already knew some Swedish, so it made their lives easier. I, for one, asked for a psychologist immediately in order to get some advice after everything I had been through. My son, for instance, was very sensitive, he was afraid of everything and cried easily. He was annoyed with everything. For example, it took me ten minutes every morning to put his socks on, because it irritated him. The same was with my daughter. They also had difficulties in socialising with other kids.

They almost did not talk to anybody. It concerned me a lot. But I was told I could not get a psychologist. I also asked that I and the kids might go for a teeth check-up. The answer was the same. Thus, the temporary residence differed from our earlier situation only in the fact that we did not have to hide any more. Otherwise, we could not plan anything.

Regarding their future, definite solution of their case, Jasna is pessimistic. She points at new manipulations of refugees whereby they become a currency, used by various countries and various political interests in achieving their goals, without the slightest possibility for them to take any part in creating their own future. This is actually the essence of the practice of temporary protection policy.

## 6. (Non-)Belonging; Causes and Consequences

Jasna's refugee odyssey illustrates several complex social processes connecting micro/macro, global/national, local/individual levels. Firstly, her experience of war and of her escape from her home town is an example of what the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina looked like and its potential impact. The refugees were displaced by means of a systematic and planned deprivation of the feeling of ontological security, i.e., the confidence in the people among whom and the system in which they lived. What remained were only the fear and uncertainty. In Jasna's case, these feelings were further strengthened during her stay in Croatia – which finally made her decide to leave for Sweden.

Secondly, her experience of being refugee in Sweden well illustrates the Swedish new refugee policy established in the mid-1990s, which was based on temporary refugee protection and repatriation.<sup>4</sup> The rhetoric in this new refugee policy tried to focus on the argument that its main aim was helping refugees in a better and more effective way. This argument is based on the assumption that by being removed from their national communities, refugees become automatically deprived of their identity, traditions, and culture (Malkki 1995). Hence, the best possible solution of the refugee tragedy was – according to this discourse – repatriation, when the situation in their homeland normalized. In its concrete everyday practice, the new refugee policy appeared to focus in the first place on the protection of the Swedish borders, while real help to refugees to deal with their tragedy was of secondary importance (Aleinikkoff 1995).

In fact Jasna was exposed to a sort of twofold expulsion. She was deprived of her right to belong to her homeland, while at the same time she was refused protection in Sweden. In order to explain the reasons for this sort of expulsion, we need to recall Hannah Arendt's (1968) discussion of ambivalent relations between contemporary ("liberal democratic") nation-states and human rights. It is the problem of the conflict between the sovereignty of the individual and the sovereignty of the people, a problem that neither liberal political theory nor "liberal" political praxis have yet resolved. The Declaration of the Rights of Man

and of the Citizen, the fundamental legacy of the French revolution, was according to Arendt (*ibid.*, 290) a turning point in history regarding individual human rights. It represented a definite emancipation from the God or any authority other than Man himself/herself as a source of, as well as the ultimate goal of, law. Since "Men are born free and remain free and equal in rights", and "The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and immutable rights of man", no special law was needed to protect the Rights of Man, because all laws are supposed to rest on these rights, explains Arendt (*ibid.*, 291). The sovereignty of the people was at the same time proclaimed as a rule in the name of Man, and it was reducible to the sovereignty of the (individual) Man. In practice however – since individual rights could only be effectively guaranteed and protected by the nation state – the Right of Man has become a part of the right of people to sovereign self-government (*ibid.*, 291). Thus, as Bridget Cotter (2005) summarized it, the conflict between the nation and the individual results in the nation winning, as the state has become an instrument of "the nation", rather than a protector of the individual. An individual's right to have rights may be guaranteed only for those who belong to nation-states.

There are number of consequences that the above-described, and unresolved, contradiction produces in the contemporary world. Jasna's story sheds light on several of them. First, it gives us an alternative perspective on the relationship between the war in the Balkans and its international context. The predominant dichotomous image of the civilized and democratic West versus the savage and undemocratic Balkans appeared to be very questionable. Instead of this image, one may argue that the war in the Balkans constituted a legitimate quest of the Balkan peoples to achieve what all other civilized peoples already possess, namely sovereign, self-determining nation states. Or, conversely, the "border closure policy" by the West can also be understood as a sign that Western European nations are not so far from "Balkan savageness". In this context it could be said, with a paraphrasing of Schierup (1995), that a necessary condition for "de-Balkanization" of the Balkans is "de-Balkanization" of Europe. Indeed, judging from the way in which Jasna was received in the West, it became clear that universal principles of humanism, solidarity and democracy only existed as a cover for the realization of these countries' own particularistic national interests.

Secondly, her story questions the dominant concept of the relationship between nationalism and modernity. According to the prevailing notion of modernity today, with roots in Parsons's evolutionary macro-theory from the 1950s, ethno-national movements and social exclusion are considered to be a pre-modern phenomenon on the one hand (Imhof 1997), while the "Western society" on the other hand is regarded as a sociologically ideal type for the "modern age" (*ibid.*, 58). At the same time, modernity is, according to Joas (1999), constructed as a peaceful project in itself. This picture continues to be reproduced in the dominant public, political and scientific discourses, not least

despite the fact that a number of eminent scientists (Bauman 1989; Wieworka 1997; Joas 1999; Joas 2003; Imhof 1997; Barkawi & Laffey 2001) have already pointed out that nationalism, racism, war and violence are permanent parts of modernity and not just by-products of its historical development patterns (Joas 1999, 457). In this context, refugees are not kind of anomaly in the international states system: they are creation of and an integral part of this system (Haddad 2003).

Jasna's life story calls into question even the currently dominant perception of the relationship between nationalism and democracy.<sup>5</sup> Nationalism is for most of us completely incompatible with democracy. Political activities in a democratic society must be based on a political ethics that focuses on responsibility (the ethics of responsibility<sup>6</sup>), which among other things means that democratic countries are inherently peaceful. By the way, it is well known that democracies do not wage war against each other, as is often argued by protagonists of this view. In contrast, nationalist politicians in undemocratic countries base their political activities on so-called conviction ethics, or ethics of absolute ends. In reality, however, this is not about the dilemma between the ethics of responsibility and the ethics of ultimate ends, but about the question of what is the highest principle of political responsibility. In our time, which both Jasna's history and also the results of relevant research (see e.g. Joppke 1999, 262) clearly indicate, the highest principle is arguably the nation and national interests. Nationalism is thus not merely the historical basis that all currently known democracies are built on, but also, in terms of everyday politics, it is always superior to democracy. Here I mean that we are always willing rather to sacrifice some of our democratic principles rather than some of our national interests. The current trend in the reduction of our Western democratic procedures and liberal citizenships and human rights in connection with the so-called "war against terrorism" is perhaps the best example of what I state here.

## 7. Instead of a Conclusion

Jasna's story however is not just a story of the 1990s, at least not to the extent that it relates to the radical changes in the Swedish immigrant policy in this period. These changes were, in fact, just the beginning of what is today one of the main features of our everyday life, not only in Sweden but also in most other Western countries.

Changes in immigration policy since then are necessarily linked to the wider political and economic processes of the withdrawal of the welfare state, accompanied by erosion of social rights and labor re-commodification (Slavnic 2010; Munck et al. 2011). Tighter immigration control did not prevent or even reduce immigration, but it criminalized it instead, with all its consequences (intended or unintended) (Jordan & Düvell 2002; Anderson 2010). The

increased insecurity and legal uncertainty to which immigrants have increasingly been exposed, make them vulnerable, and places them in a position that Bernhard et al. (2007) call a "precarious legal status". Later on this legal status even frames their position in the labor market (Anderson 2010), providing unlimited opportunities to their employers to continue exploiting them (Jordan & Düvell 2002; Jones et al. 2006; Wright & McKay 2007).

Furthermore, relevant research (see, e.g., Goldring & Landolt 2011) shows that their subordinate status in the labor market continues even after they have resolved their legal status and become "full citizens". So their precarious citizenship status continues to be the engine of their further precarisation and exploitation on the labor market (Munck et al. 2011). To paraphrase Foti (2005), they become "hireable on demand, available on call, exploitable at will, and fireable on a whim." In this sense, precarisation is not related to only one sphere of the life, such as work, but encompasses all aspects of life of this new class (which is called the "precariat") as well as their past, present and future (Barbier et al. 2002; Tsianos & Papadopoulos 2006).

This is what is happening at the level of the individual fate of these people. On a broader level, the current structural processes of growing precarization are part "of the latest phase of migration /which/ dovetails with the rise of neoliberal capitalism, for which migration serves as an important vehicle for the flexibilization of labour markets and a depreciation of the cost of labour" (Munck et al. 2011, 254–255; see also Castles 2011; Schierup & Ålund 2014; Likic-Brboric et al. 2013). Mass migration still seems to be a necessary precondition for capital accumulation (Hardt & Negri 2000; Bauder 2006). Another aspect that needs to be emphasized here is that it is not immigration and immigrants as such that contribute capital accumulation, but the immigrants' deprived position in the labour market. Their exclusion is what makes them attractive for a capitalist economy. By being systematically pushed into the secondary sectors of the labour market, migrants help stabilize it for non-migrants (Bauder 2006). At the same time and in long run they also help the neoliberal reconstruction of labour market as such, which means worsened working conditions and work protection for all.

All these processes are helped by actual citizenship policies. Citizenship and the regulation of labour markets are inseparable from each other, where citizenship appears to be a legal mechanism that sorts workers into different, hierarchically organized categories (Bauder 2006, 26). Non-citizens (but also precarious citizens) are systematically pushed towards the lower end of this hierarchy. Non-citizens, as people per definition lacking citizenship rights, are rightless, powerless and vulnerable and this is exactly what makes them easy to slot into the toughest sectors of the labour market. This is also what makes them attractive for advanced capitalist economies today. "[T]hey are valuable just because they are vulnerable" (Bauder 2006).



Jasna's story seems to be illustrative of these current political, economic and social processes. The precarious legal status that she experienced in the mid-1990s was to become the key characteristic of current immigration and labour market policies – not only in Sweden, but in most of the so-called “advanced economies”. Capital accumulation has always been based on exploiting human labour – what is new in current trends is that it increasingly relies on exploiting human dignity, also.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- <sup>2</sup> For a short description of the situation of this group refugees, as well as related statistics, refer to Slavnic (2000).
- <sup>3</sup> For the notions “ontological security”, “routine”, “trust”, “abstract systems”, “tact”, “critical situation”, which will be used in this text, see Giddens (1984; 1990; 1991).
- <sup>4</sup> For a more detailed account on the trends in Swedish immigration and refugee policy at that time, see Slavnic (2000; 2008).
- <sup>5</sup> Nationalism is not only segregated from democracy, but also, as Wimmer & Glick Schiller (2002) point out, geographically far removed from our democratic societies and link it primarily with the savage Balkans, as in our example.
- <sup>6</sup> On relationship between Max Weber's “ethics of responsibility” and “ethics of ultimate ends” see Slavnic (2004).

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Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc

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## Memory after Ethnic Cleansing: Victims' and Perpetrators' Narratives in Prijedor<sup>1</sup>

Although war crime courts have compiled ample evidence about the ethnic cleansing of non-Serbs organised by Serbian forces in the municipality of Prijedor at the beginning of the 1992–95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the criminal events are still remembered in thoroughly different ways by the victims' and perpetrators' communities. This paper reconstructs the trajectory of war memorialisation through commemorations organised by both victims' groups and local Serb officials. While the victims generally agree with the narrative of the ICTY, the Serb officials deny the systematic persecution of non-Serbs. Though both historical narratives have altered slightly over time, this resulted from the interaction between the two memory cultures, rather than the court judgements.

Keywords: ethnic cleansing, war, Bosnia and Herzegovina, collective memory, commemorations, mnemonic community, ICTY

### Spomin po etničnem čiščenju: narativa žrtev in storilcev v Prijedoru

*Čeprav imajo sodišča za vojne zločine zbrano obsežno dokazno gradivo o etničnem čiščenju Nesrbov, ki so ga v občini Prijedor na začetku vojne v Bosni in Hercegovini (1992–1995) izvajale srbske sile, se skupnosti žrtev in storilcev v mestu zločinskih dogodkov še vedno spominjajo popolnoma različno. Članek rekonstruira pot memorializacije vojnih dogodkov na podlagi analize komemoracij, ki so jih priredili tako skupnosti žrtev kot srbski krajevni občinski uradniki. Medtem ko se žrtve na splošno strinjajo z narativom v sodbah, srbski uradniki večidel zanikajo sistematično preganjanje Nesrbov. Čeprav sta se zgodovinska narativa obeh strani s časom malce spremenila, je to prej posledica interakcije med obema kulturama spominjanja kot razsodb sodišč.*

*Ključne besede: etnično čiščenje, vojna, Bosna in Hercegovina, kolektivni spomin, komemoracije, mnemonična skupnost, ICTY*

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**Correspondence address:** Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc, The Peace Institute – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies, Metelkova 6, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: jovana.mihajlovic@gmail.com

## 1. Introduction

Prijedor, a provincial town in north-western Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), became known worldwide for the camps where Serb forces held local non-Serbs captive in the early stages of the 1992–95 war in BiH. In fact, it was the divulging of the camps' existence and inhumane conditions in which the inmates were kept, revealed by a group of international journalists, which caused public outrage in Western societies, eventually leading to the establishment of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)<sup>2</sup> (Scharf 1997). Though the Tribunal in The Hague and the War Crimes Chamber of the Court of BiH convicted 28 individuals so far, creating a detailed account of the events in Prijedor, conflicting interpretations exist among the local public. The officials of Prijedor Municipality, dominated by Serbs, avoid acknowledging the systematic persecution of non-Serbs during the war, while the members of the victims' ethnic groups generally agree with the findings of the courts. However, both victims' and Serbian official narratives have altered slightly over time, as the analysis below demonstrates. In the following sections, I systematically examine the interaction of these conflicting memories within Prijedor's "commemorative arena" (Duijzings 2007).

The dominant paradigm within the memory studies discipline holds that the "content" of collective memory comes out of the process of social interaction (Olick 2003, 6). Thus the content of memory, as a repository of narratives about the past, changes over time, since new meanings are added to previous memories (Olick & Robbins 1998; Jurić Pahor 2007). As collective memory is an intra-group process, it unites the remembering collective or mnemonic community (Zerubavel 2003, 4). By engaging in mnemonic practices, an individual confirms and "practices" his/her belonging to the community, and by constant repetition of this process the lines of the community are demarcated. Thus the collective memory is intrinsically connected to and an indispensable part of any conception of collective identity. While those in a hegemonic position design what is usually called the "official memory", a group that feels excluded or alienated from the official stance may become cohesive enough to "mobilise its counter-memories into an oppositional narrative" (Ashplant et al. 2004, 21). In this way the shared memories function as differentiation makers between social groups (Olick & Robbins 1998, 111).

I chose to analyse commemorations following Connerton's suggestion that "if there is such a thing as social memory, we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies" (1989, 71). I was guided by the analytical framework which differentiates commemorations by examining which social group, through which institution (such as an official body or civil society organisation) promotes which particular narrative, addressed to which arena (such as the local community or the transnational public) (Ashplant et al. 2004, 16–17).

In order to reconstruct the pattern of memorialisation, I searched through both Serbian and Bosniak media,<sup>3</sup> predominantly newspapers, on the particular memorial days from 1996 until today, collecting a representative sample of 124 news-items. The articles were examined with a twofold aim: to collect factual information on commemorative practices, and to reconstruct what historical narratives the “commemorative entrepreneurs” promoted. In analysing the narratives as presented in media reports, I applied method of media frame analysis (Scheufele 1999), focusing on several key elements: the naming and labelling of the events, actors and places; the “emplotment”, or how elements are given meaning through their integration into a narrative plot (Ricoeur 1984); and how the narratives allot guilt and responsibility to the actors. The analysis made on the basis of newspaper articles was complemented with interviews with the organisers of the victims’ commemorations and observations made upon the visit to memorial sites.

## 2. Adjudicated Narrative of the Events

In the following section, I present the narrative of the events that unfolded in Prijedor in the spring and summer of 1992, as adjudicated by the ICTY. The narratives of the observed judgements generally concur, with differences appearing only at the level of details.

The outcome of the first multi-party elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina (in late 1990) were “little more than a reflection of an ethnic census of the population” (ICTY 1997, §64), meaning that the major parties were ethnically defined. In the case of Prijedor it resulted with the Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) dominated party winning a narrow margin over the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS).

In the situation when Slovenia and Croatia had gained independence in 1991, Bosniak and Croatian representatives in Bosnia opted for separation from the rump Yugoslavia, while the Bosnian-Serb party opposed it. The SDS, led by Radovan Karadžić, claimed to have the right to secede what they perceived as “Serbian” territories of BiH and to incorporate them into a country that would gather all Serbs in one state – Greater Serbia. The SDS claimed as “Serbian” not only the municipalities where Serbs constituted the largest group, but also those where they would have been in the majority had there not been genocide against Serbs in the Second World War. Prijedor fell into the second category. As BiH independence became imminent, the SDS, supported by military forces from Serbia, began establishing physical and political control over the municipalities where it had not already gained control by virtue of elections (ibid., §101). Through a well-organised campaign, the Serb forces swiftly took over power in Prijedor on the April 30, 1992, facing no resistance (ibid., §137). Non-Serbs<sup>4</sup> were forced to leave prominent positions in public institutions and the economy, they were fired from their jobs, their children were barred from schools, and

they were prevented from travelling outside the municipality (ibid., §150). In subsequent weeks, the Serb forces attacked Bosniak-dominated villages within the municipality, where self-defence has been organised (ibid., §139–144), and the villagers were captured: the men were generally taken to the Omarska and Keraterm camps and the women to the Trnopolje camp.

On the May 30 “a small group of poorly armed non-Serbs /unsuccessfully attempted/ to regain control of the town of Prijedor” (ibid., §151). The resistance was swiftly crushed by the Serb forces. The non-Serbs were then ordered by radio to mark their homes with white sheets thus indicating their surrender, and were subsequently systematically taken to the camps. “After the cleansing of Prijedor any remaining non-Serbs were required to wear white armbands to distinguish themselves” and their “disappearance became an every-day experience” (ibid.).

Officially, the Omarska and Keraterm camps were “provisional collection centre[s] [*sabiralište*] for persons captured in combat or detained on the grounds of the Security Services’ operational information” (ICTY 2001, §17). All the staff involved in the running of the camps were strictly forbidden to provide any information about them.

The Omarska camp was located inside the Ljubija iron-ore mine, and held around 3,000 prisoners at one time, primarily men, but also 36 to 38 women (ICTY 1997, §155). The conditions at the camp were atrocious: the prisoners were held in large numbers in very confined spaces which were kept enclosed even in the summer heat; they received only one poor meal a day (on the way to which they were beaten), were often denied or given faulty water and were restricted in the way of lavatories (ibid., §157–161). Not only were the detainees kept in inhumane conditions, but “an atmosphere of extreme mental and physical violence pervaded the camp” (ICTY 2001, §45). Prisoners were called out for interrogations, during which they were ruthlessly beaten and abused (ICTY 1997, §163). In the evenings, groups outside of the camp were free to engage in sessions of brutal violence against the inmates and rape of women. A separate small “white house” was “a place of particular horror” (ibid., §166), which was “reserved for especially brutal treatment of selected prisoners,” often ending in murder (ibid., §156). The situation in the Keraterm camp, a ceramic factory at the outskirts of Prijedor, was even worse (ibid., §168–170).

The Trnopolje camp was designated for women, children and older men, situated in a former school building and local cultural centre of the hamlet. It was “at times at least, an open prison,” and actually served as a gathering centre for civilians who were to be deported (ICTY 1997, §176). The conditions were insanitary, inmates were forced to camp outdoors in makeshift shelters, and hunger and dysentery were constant (ibid., §177). The Serb soldiers informed the inmates “that they were being held there for their own protection against Bosniaks extremists” (ibid.). There were no organised interrogations in the

camp, but beating and killings did occur, as well as regular rapes, including that of young girls (ibid., §175).

By September 1992 the Serb officials had closed the camps: the majority of the inmates were deported to other parts of Bosnia (outside Serb control) or to third countries, while many men were summarily executed. The approximate number of overall death toll of non-Serbs is close to 3,900 (Tokača 2012, 179).

### 3. Commemorations in Prijedor

By the delineation created by the Dayton Peace Agreement, Prijedor remained part of the Serb dominated entity<sup>5</sup> – the Republika Srpska – allowing continuity of political institutions in the municipality. The Serb leaders maintained the war-time official position that the camps were actually

collection centres [*sabirni centri*] which assisted in the transportation of the inhabitants who did not recognise the [Serb] local government, and due to their lack of loyalty to it asked for resettlement to other countries, which in the context of armed conflict demanded a special arrangement for their transport (Jović 2001, 24).

In addition, they completely obliterated from the public memory the systematic campaign of discrimination and persecution of non-Serbs, to which the camps were only the functional element. Since virtually all non-Serbs were effectively “cleansed” from the Prijedor municipality, immediately after the war there was nobody to remember the Prijedor camps at the sites where they operated.

The emergence of victims’ commemorations is directly connected to refugee return. While the first visits of Bosniak refugees were obstructed (Kahrimanović 2006, 11), the coming into the power of a less nationalistic political option in Prijedor changed the policy regarding their return (Sirječić 2004, 38). By the early 2000s Prijedor was often cited as an example of good practice regarding refugee return (Maričić 2004c, 10) and was perceived by foreign diplomats as an example of multi-ethnic peaceful coexistence (Maričić 2004b, 2). Nevertheless, beneath this seemingly peace-building success story lay deep divisions regarding perceptions of the recent past.

#### 3.1 The Pattern of Victims’ Commemorations

The first commemorations organised by victims took place in 2003. Since then, commemorative events grew in number, forming a yearly repetitive pattern. Put in chronological order, they narrate the victims’ perspective of the events in Prijedor: the May 24, the attack on the Bosniak villages and opening of the Trnopolje camp; the July 21, the especially brutal massacre of men in Keraterm camp; August 6, the day when British journalists visited the Omarska camp, which led to its



closure; and August 21, the execution of the detainees who had been transported from the camps at a mountain cliff. All of these commemorations are organised by victims' families and former detainees, with no institutional support. Outside the commemorative days, apart from the withered flowers there are few physical reminders at these sites – Bosniak victims' memories were (and largely remained) "invisible" in the region of Prijedor.

I will base my analysis of victims' narratives on the example of the most prominent and the largest commemorations organised by the victims' community – the one at the site of the Omarska camp. On these occasions, the organisers would lay wreaths in front of the "white house", the place where the most severe tortures and killings took place, while survivors (and occasionally peace activists) would make speeches. Compared to many other commemorations, it stands out since no high profile religious or political representatives are present. The praying of the Al-Fatiha is individual or in smaller groups, and is neither collective nor organised by the Islamic community (unlike at many other commemorations). The event has never had a stamp of an official institution and no national or ethnic symbols are present. Only on three occasions have Bosniak and Croat members of the state Presidium been present, but they have made no political speeches. The only representatives of the Prijedor institutions are the local Bosniak politicians, one of whom was a former detainee himself. No prominent Serbian politician has ever attended. Therefore, this and all other "Bosniak" commemorations in Prijedor are genuinely grassroots affairs. In addition, they are predominantly financed through the private donations of the former inhabitants of the region, who are scattered around the world by the war, and themselves apparently will never return.

It should be noted that Prijedor is geographically outside the entity where the Bosniaks are in the majority – the Federation of BiH. In practice, this means that the Bosniak victims have had no institution in their municipality or entity that would be sensitive to their need for memorialisation. Differently from the Srebrenica memorial ceremony, where the international community has fully supervised a memorial to Bosniak victims within the Serb-dominated entity (Duijzings 2007), there was no such "memorial intervention" in the case of Prijedor.

### 3.2 The Victims' Narrative

The victims describe Omarska camp as a site of extermination, drawing symbolical historical parallels. They name it "the first concentration camp [*koncentracioni logor*] in Europe after the Second World War" (Katana 2010, 2) and "a factory of death" (*Dnevni avaz* 2006, 3). Bosniak journalists have compared it to Auschwitz (Katana 2009, 3) and the Holocaust (Ahmetašević 2004, 35).

The aim of the camp is described as the imprisonment and liquidation of individuals simply because of their ethnicity. As one of the female interns stated:

“nobody could mistakenly think that Omarska was just a badly run prison. It was a criminal enterprise, which deliberately functioned with the aim of destroying the minds, bodies and souls of the people who were held captive” (Zgonjanin 2005, 3). Reading Bosniak newspapers and magazines, one is hardly able to understand that the two camps (Omarska and Keraterm) were formally established as “interrogation centres” (ICTY 2001, §17), as claimed by war-time Serb officials.

A significant part of the victims’ narratives is the participation of the local Serb population in the crimes, and the general “silent approval” the Serb public gave to the persecution of non-Serbs. They often remarked that local population must know where the remaining mass graves are. The victims also drew attention to the fact that many of the direct perpetrators still have not been prosecuted and are employed in the police and security forces; while many war-time officials, including the members of the Prijedor Crisis Staff which founded the camps, still hold prominent public positions.

Drawing from longitudinal media reporting, one can observe how the persecution of the non-Serbs has been framed in various ways. It was initially Bosniak (and international) journalists and commentators who named the events in Prijedor as “ethnic cleansing”, “extermination” and “genocide”. The narrative of the detainees who survived focused primarily on their suffering in the camp, the ruthless behaviour of the guards and the brutality of the tortures which they endured. Sometimes they narrated about the systematic discrimination of non-Serbs in Prijedor, such as harassment and dismissal from work. Occasionally, they would frame Serbian conduct as “pure fascism”.

In reporting about the events related to Prijedor, Bosniak media often reproduce photographs of emaciated detainees that foreign journalists took upon their visits to the camps in August 1992. This sent a subliminal message, drawing parallels to the well-known images from the Nazi concentration camps. For comparison, among 74 articles in the only Serbian newspaper that reports on the commemorations (*Nezavisne novine*), there is not a single photograph from 1992.

### 3.3 Denying While Acknowledging

In the period immediately after the war, the best way to describe the reaction of the local Serb officials to any initiative to remember the fate of non-Serbs in Prijedor is “offensive denial”. For instance, in 1996 a group of international peace activists wanted to visit a humanitarian organisation in Prijedor and plant a “tree of peace”. Upon the call by mayor Milomir Stakić, on the local radio, “to prevent the visit of Bosniak fundamentalists”, some local Serbs violently attacked the group, while the local (Serb) police did not react (Tabaković 1996, 8). At that time, the mayor was the same as the one who established the camps in 1992, and who was eventually convicted before the ICTY to a 40-year sentence.

However, over time the denial changed from an “offensive” to a more passive one. Since the start of his mandate in 2003, the incumbent mayor, Marko Pavić, constantly navigated his position between formally acknowledging the camps’ existence, and actually denying the systematic persecution and killing of the non-Serbs in the Prijedor municipality. This is reflected in his reactions to the many appeals to turn the “white house” in Omarska into a memorial, for which his authorisation is needed. While generally supporting the idea that everybody has a right to commemorate, he asserted that the creation of the memorial would disturb otherwise the good multi-ethnic relations and the high ratio of returning refugees (Kovačević 2005b, 6), implying that a memorial to Bosniak victims would “hurt Serbs’ feelings”. He opposed the creation of an Omarska memorial made in a civil petition (cf. K. 2005, 5), which was quite cynical given that no such decision was made when memorials dedicated to Serbs were erected. Furthermore, the Municipality sponsored memorials of this kind (M. 2002, 5). At the same time, he protested that a memorial to Serbs killed in Sarajevo has not been erected and stating that this was a condition for the construction of an Omarska Bosniak memorial (cf. Keulemans 2007, 31).

Aside from the political games regarding the memorial, mayor Pavić has avoided openly speaking about the camps. Once he responded to a foreign journalist: “You and I don’t know what happened in Omarska and Trnopolje. I wasn’t there, and neither were you. /.../ Until it is established who are the perpetrators and who are the victims, the people in Omarska do not want memorial centre. Only after the history is established may the place be marked” (ibid.). By that date, however, twelve individuals had been convicted before the ICTY, and five of them had pleaded guilty. Several trials have come to closure since then, but they did not alter the mayor’s position. It should be also noted that the incumbent mayor was the war-time head of the local postal service, which financially helped the Serb take-over of the municipality (ibid.); hence, his claim of not knowing what had happened in the camps is more than dubious.

The complexity of the clash between the Bosniak victims’ and Serbian official perception of the past is better understood when we examine the deeper layers of collective memory. May 9, the Day of Victory against Fascism, is one of the rare holidays that is celebrated in both entities of BiH.<sup>6</sup> However, the date has been additionally commemorated as Detainees’ Day [*Dan logoraša*] in the Federation of BiH, making a symbolical connection between the fascism of the Second World War with the “Serbian fascism” of the 1990s. Hence, for the former detainees, this is one more temporal *lieu de mémoire* on which they have regularly visited the sites of the Prijedor camps. For mayor Pavić this was “political provocation” since he regarded as offensive the parallel between the two fascisms (B. 2011, 8).



### 3.4 The Serb Commemorations in Prijedor

The day when the SDS took over the local government and declared the “Serbian municipality of Prijedor”, April 30, has been celebrated as Prijedor Municipality Day from 1993 to 2003. For instance in 1997, “Prijedor’s Liberation Day”, as it was then named, was marked with a commemorative Mass to the “fallen soldiers of the fatherland wars” and the laying of wreaths to both the Serbian soldiers from the last war and the Partisans from the Second World War. At the commemorative ceremony in the local parliament, Milomir Stakić recalled the day “when Serbian rule was established without spilling a drop of blood” (D. 1997, 4). Therefore, during and immediately after the war the local Serbs regarded April 30 as the day they should be proud of. After mayor Stakić was indicted, the celebrations were less lavish, but still the Municipality invested more than 50,000 € to build a memorial in the city centre dedicated to the fallen Serbian soldiers (M. 2002, 5).

In March 2003 Bosniak members of the local parliament initiated the change of the official holiday, arguing that April 30 was the day when “democracy was torn down and when persecution, torture and killing of Bosniaks and Croats started” (Kovačević 2005a, 11). Eventually, the issue ended up before the Constitutional Court of Republika Srpska, which ordered the date to be changed since it was discriminatory, not representing all three “constituent nations” – that is Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs (Z. 2005, 14). Bosniak representatives suggested that the pre-war official holiday – May 16, the Day of liberation of Prijedor from fascist occupation in 1942 – should be re-enacted (Maričić 2004a, 12). That year local Bosniaks organised an unofficial commemoration in front of the monument to local partisan heroes, thus claiming the inheritance of the heroic Partisan anti-fascist tradition.

For a few years Prijedor did not have a public holiday, until May 16 was re-enacted as an official holiday in 2006. Though Serbian politicians were otherwise practising the (re)memorialisation of the (Serbs’) suffering during the Second World War, it seems that in this particular case they were reluctant to adopt an old anti-fascist holiday just because the initiative came from Bosniaks, but even more so, because it annulled the memorial culture they had created since 1992. Mayor Marko Pavić gave a reconciliatory tone to the first old-new commemoration by stating that “as in the years before the last war, we are again gathered in freedom, peace [and] unity” (K. 2006, 12). Nevertheless, the pattern of the commemoration sent another message: by laying wreaths to both Partisan and Serbian fallen soldiers, the local officials again turned a presumably non-national common commemoration into an exclusively Serbian one.

Here some contextual background is needed. The region beneath the Kozara Mountain, where Prijedor is situated, bears strong traces of the Second World War trauma (cf. MacDonald 2002, chapter 5). Here, the Serbian population was

forced into a mass exodus, and many of them perished in the nearby Jasenovac concentration camp, the largest place of extermination within the quisling Independent State of Croatia. While the official history in Tito's Yugoslavia narrated this persecution in the framework of the Partisan anti-fascist struggle (Karge 2009), the Serb nationalistic narrative framed it in ethnic terms, as a genocide against Serbs (Marković et al. 2004). Indeed, the Serb population massively supported and participated in the Partisan forces (Hoare 2011), and contemporary Serb officials have a fully legitimate right to remember it. However, by commemoratively tying the Partisan forces to the Serbian Army from the last war, they not only piggyback on the glorious tradition of the Partisans, they also attach to them the meaning of Serbian freedom-fighters. Hence the Serbian narrative understands anti-fascism as a predominantly (Serbian) national, not an ideological (anational) project.

The same year when the old/new municipal public holiday was enacted, the local Serb Organisation of the Families of the Interned and Fallen Soldiers and Missing Civilians, together with the local Serb veterans, started memorializing May 30 as the "defence of Prijedor" from the attack of Bosniak paramilitaries – the "Green Berets" (*Nezavisne novine* 2006, 14). Though it is not an official holiday, the mayor and a range of higher political officials regularly attend this event, giving it prominence. This is a perfect example of an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm 1992), never celebrated beforehand and obviously created as a substitute for the earlier day of Prijedor's "liberation" in 1992. The organizers of the commemoration saw it as a reminder "that other ethnicities in Prijedor also possessed an army," which supported certain political goals (*Nezavisne novine* 2006, 14). Therefore the narrative frames the events in Prijedor as a civil war between equal armies which had conflicting political aims. Even more, the narrative clearly blames Bosniaks for starting the conflict, and implicitly justifies the Serbian conduct afterwards, as in the words of the Serb victims' representative: "the first gunshot demanded an identical reply and the tragedy unfolded" (Bulić 2008). Though the Serbian crimes remain unmentioned, they are nevertheless excused: "Bosniaks have to take responsibility that they, consciously or not, in practice started the spiral of violence that continued from then on," as a member of the RS Government stated at one of the commemorations (*Glas Srpske* 2012). Here the narrative emplotment tries to imply that the Green Berets' attack caused the subsequent Serb violence. In other words, it implies that the establishment of the camps was the consequence of Bosniak conduct, as if Bosniaks brought their fate on themselves. This interpretation of events obviously contradicts the narrative of the ICTY judgements, as a representative of the Bosniak victims noted: "by May 30 the three death camps have been already up and running, while Bosniak towns / ... / were already razed" (Kovačević 2009, 9).

In addition, by laying wreaths to the "defenders of Prijedor" and the Partisan heroes on May 30, the Serb officials put the local Bosniaks (Green Berets) from

the last war, and the Ustasha fascists from the Second World War, in the same cohort of enemies, building a “continuum of Serb suffering” in the collective memory. This historical parallelism helps Serb representatives reject the narrative of ethnic cleansing policy from the 1990s, as adjudicated by the ICTY and supported by the victims.

### 3.5 The White Armbands

Generally there have been no changes in the victims’ narratives about the Prijedor events. However, over the years of constant appeals for the acknowledgement of the crimes that happened to them, Bosniak victims been transformed into engaged activists. For the victims it was essential to prove not only that they suffered in the camps, but also that it was a part of a systematic campaign of persecution with genocidal aims. The victims’ associations therefore planned a series of commemorative events in 2012 under the title “Genocide in Prijedor – 20 years” (Padalović 2012). Mayor Marko Pavić refused to give consent to the public events unless the word “genocide” was erased from the tile of the commemorations (ibid.). As a sign of protest, one of the activists (whose father and brother were both killed in Omarska) silently stood on Prijedor’s main square with a white ribbon tied around his arm. The white armband harks back to the order (immediately after crushing of the non-Serb resistance) issued on Radio Prijedor that Bosniaks hang white cloths on their houses and wear white armbands in order to distinguish themselves and declare their surrender, as narrated in several judgements (ICTY 1997, §151; ICTY 2001, §14).

The “White Armband” initiative proved to be very self-conscious. In their proclamation they declared that the act of Serbian officials in 1992 “was the first time since 1939, when Nazis ordered Polish Jews to wear yellow armbands with the David star, that the members of certain ethnic group were marked for extermination in such a way” (Katana 2013, 5). By making a historical parallel to the Holocaust, they supported their claim that the events in Prijedor should be entitled genocide.

Further, the organisations initiated a global campaign to wear white armbands on May 31 as a sign of solidarity with the discriminated victims of Prijedor and in a protest against genocide denial. That year and the next, civil and peace activists from the region, and around the world, responded to the appeal by publicly wearing the armbands, photographing themselves and posting it on social networks. In Bosnia, generally only the population in the Federation of BiH responded, while citizens of Prijedor generally ignored the whole affair (ibid.). Still, it should be noted that a few brave activists (ethnic Serbs, for that matter) from the town joined the civic initiative “Because it concerns me” [*Jer me se tiče*] (Oslobođenje 2013), as well as several human rights organisations across the Republika Srpska.

Despite the formal ban, the initiative managed to organise several commemorative performances that year and the next. For instance, the day before the Omarska commemoration, the activists silently walked across Prijedor's centre holding schoolbags with names of 102 children who were killed in the municipality, after which they formed a large word 'genocide' with the schoolbags laid on the pavement (Arnautović 2012). Similarly, on another occasion they laid 266 white body-bags used for exhumed human remains with the names of 266 women and girls who had been killed (Katana 2013, 5). After realising that they were unable to forbid these public performances, local officials decided to ignore the events. Upon a journalist's request for a comment on White Armband Day, Mayor Pavić commented that it is "yet another gay parade" (*Nezavisne novine* 2013), obviously considering it to be unfounded political exhibitionism.

These events were the first occasions when the victims' narratives were physically present in the town of Prijedor. Previously, the victims' commemorations took place for the most part away from the public eye, especially that of the local Serb public: the Omarska mine complex is outside the Omarska village; Keraterm is in the Prijedor outskirts; Korićani Cliffs are in the wilderness of the Mountain Vlašić; while the commemoration in Trnopolje is held at the centre of the village, but the settlement is small and secluded. It is in these ways that the White Armband initiative tries to pierce the omnipresent silence about, and avoidance of, those victimised by the Serbs in Prijedor.

## 4. Conclusion

When we analyse conflicting narratives about the past in Prijedor, we may observe how they both deviate from the narrative of the ICTY judgements, though in quite different directions and scope. The judgements leave no room for suspicion that the take-over of the Prijedor municipality, the subsequent military activity and formation of the camps was anything but part of a well-conceived plan that aimed at the ethnic cleansing of the Prijedor area. However, though several indictments charged individuals with complicity in genocide, thus far no judicial panel has found proof that what happened in Prijedor fits the legal definition of genocide. It remains to be seen what will be the judges' decisions on this question at the end of the trials of the political and military leaders of the Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić.

On the one hand, the narrative of the Serbian officials consistently denies or ignores the fact that the policy of persecution against non-Serbs did take place. Where the narrative admits that some criminal events did occur in the Prijedor camps, they are framed as reactions to the armed attack of local Bosniaks, hence as defensive measures.

On the other hand, in the Bosniak victims' narrative, the accusation of ethnic cleansing by the Serbian side is often intertwined with blame for committing

genocide. The two are perceived as different stages within the same continuum, as if ethnic cleansing is a “milder” form of genocide. The two are however similar, but not insignificantly different types of crimes. Both ethnic cleansing and genocide may involve the same criminal acts, such as murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, rape and persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds. Nevertheless, genocide is aimed at destroying the unwanted group as such (ICTY 2009, Article 4, §2), while ethnic cleansing targets “superfluous” individuals with the aim of purging them from a territory (Lieberman 2006). This would be an irrelevant legal detail, had not the term “genocide” obtained emotionally potent symbolism (cf. Cushman 2004). In the legacy of international Holocaust memorialisation (Rothberg 2009) genocide became “the crime of crimes”, creating the impression that other types of crime are somehow a “lesser evil”. Therefore, not even those victims who generally support the ICTY narrative, agree fully with the judgements.

Certain variations in the narrative are, however, noticeable over time. Immediately after the war the Serbian narrative celebrated the take-over of the municipality as a victorious event; subsequently the Serbian officials, at least declaratively, admitted that crimes did take place in the camps (by recognising victims’ right to a memorial); and finally, the narrative turned back to legitimising Serb war-conduct, not as a victory, but as a necessary defence in the civil war situation. Nevertheless, the constant feature of Serbian interpretations is that all of them deny the systematic persecution of non-Serbs in the municipality. Maybe precisely this constant denial has led victims’ associations to increase their insistence that the camps were only part of the systematic policy of discrimination, which was fascist in nature, and acquired a genocidal aim. Therefore, it seems that changes in the narratives are the outcome of their mutual interaction, rather than a result of the ICTY judgements. Still, the two positions towards the court’s narrative – the victims’ insistence on a certain interpretation (genocide) of the crime and the almost complete lack of acknowledgement that the crime of persecution did take place – stand on different moral grounds. While the former is a matter of interpretative nuance, the later is a matter of denying proven facts about the crimes.

The discipline of memory studies devotes major attention to the influence of social interactions within a mnemonic community on the (re)creation of the “content” of the collective memory. While the usual approach focuses on the divisions between the “official” and “oppositional” or “counter memory”, this paper focuses on their mutual interaction. It finds that the dialogue between the “dominant” and the “dominated” memories affects the content of the both memorial narratives, invariably of their different hierarchical positions.



## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> This paper is an abbreviated part of the doctoral thesis "Public Narratives of the Past in the Framework of Transitional Justice Processes: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina", which will be defended at the Faculty of Social Sciences (FDV), Ljubljana, as part of a junior doctoral fellowship funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).
- <sup>2</sup> The official title of the institution is the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991; however, the shorter version is internationally accepted.
- <sup>3</sup> International and local analysts agree that the media landscape in Bosnia and Herzegovina is ethnically fragmented (cf. IREX 2001; IREX 2013), meaning that the media have an evident ethnic prejudice or rather a clear ethnically profiled audience.
- <sup>4</sup> The discriminatory measures targeted all non-Serbs which, in the municipality of Prijedor, were predominantly Bosniaks.
- <sup>5</sup> The term "entity" is used here and below for both the quasi-independent political units of Republika Srpska and the Federation of BiH, which together constitute BiH as a state.
- <sup>6</sup> The state of BiH does not have law on public holidays, due a lack of consensus over the issue as to which days should be celebrated (Bošković 2011). Instead each entity celebrates its own holidays, reflecting conflicting perceptions of the past and concepts of statehood.
- <sup>7</sup> In Serbian (and not only Serbian) discourse nationalist sentiments are strongly connected with homophobic attitudes (Stakić 2011). In such a setting, naming an event "gay parade" conveys the intention of putting it in a negative context.

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Kristina Riman

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## Naznake identiteta u hrvatskom i slovenskom putopisu Ivana Macuna

U 19. stoljeću oblikuju se moderne nacije i izgrađuju se jezični korpusi pojedinih naroda. U takvom okruženju pitanje jezika, ali i nacionalnog identiteta, javlja se i među južnoslavenskim narodima. Ivan Macun slovenski je preporoditelj koji je pristajao uz ilirsku ideju Ljudevita Gaja o integraciji slovenskog i hrvatskog jezika. U radu se promatraju dva putopisa Ivana Macuna koja su osobito poticajna za razmatranje pitanja autorovog odnosa prema vlastitom identitetu. Autor se otkriva kroz usporedbe s identitetima i kulturama drugih koje promatra i opisuje, iskazujući kroz svoje viđenje ljudi i prostora i svoju sliku. Drugi pristup razotkrivanju autorovog identiteta proizlazi iz primjene teorije recepcije pri razmatranju radova pisanih za slovensku i hrvatsku publiku. Analizom dvaju njegovih putopisa nameće se zaključak da je Macun svjestan svojega slovenskog identiteta, ne poistovjećuje se s ostalim južnoslavenskim narodima, ali naglašava važnost njihovog međusobnog povezivanja.

Ključne riječi: Ivan Macun, jezik, putopis, identitet

## The Indications of Identity in the Croatian and Slovene Travelogues of Ivan Macun

*In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the modern nations were shaped and the language corpora of individual nations were built. In such an environment, the question of language and national identity appeared among the South Slav peoples, too. Macun was a Slovene reformer who espoused the Illyrian idea of Ljudevit Gaj about the integration of the Slovene and Croatian languages. In this paper we look at two travelogues by Macun that are particularly inspiring for the consideration of questions of the author's relationship to his own identity. The author reveals himself through comparisons with other identities and cultures that he observes and describes, expressing his image through views on people and space. Another approach to uncover the author's identity is derived from the application of the theory of reception when considering a work written for the Slovene and Croatian audience. The analysis of his two travelogues leads to the conclusion that Macun was aware of his Slovene identity and he did not equate himself with other South Slav peoples, while he emphasized the importance of their interconnection.*

**Keywords:** Ivan Macun, language, travelogue, identity

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**Correspondence address:** Kristina Riman, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Odjel za odgojne i obrazovne znanosti, Ivana Matetića Ronjgova 1, 52100 Pula, Hrvatska, e-mail: kristina.riman@gmail.com

## Navajanja identitete v hrvaškem in slovenskem potopisu Ivana Macuna

*V 19. stoletju so se oblikovale moderne nacije in jezikovni korpus posameznih narodov. V takšnem vzdušju se je jezikovno vprašanje, kot tudi narodna identiteta, prebudila tudi med južnoslovanskimi narodi. Ivan Macun je bil slovenski narodni buditelj, ki je podpiral ilirsko idejo Ljudevita Gaja o integraciji slovenskega in hrvaškega jezika. V delu se analizirata dva Macunova potopisa, ki sta predvsem spodbuda za razmišljanje o vprašanju avtorjevega odnosa do lastne identitete. Avtor se odkriva skozi primerjavo z identiteto in kulturo drugih, ki jih gleda in opisuje ter na ta način izkazuje svoj vidik ljudi, prostor in svojo podobo. Drugi pristop odkrivanja avtorjeve identitete pa izhaja iz primerjave teorije recepcije pri analizi pisanih del za hrvaško in slovensko občinstvo. Z analizo dveh potopisov lahko sklepamo da se Macun zaveda svoje slovenske identitete, ne enači se z ostalimi južnoslovanskimi narodi, vendar poudarja pomembnost njihovega medsebojnega povezovanja.*

*Ključne besede: Ivan Macun, jezik, potopis, identiteta*

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### 1. Uvod

U 19. stoljeću, u razdoblju romantizma u Europi, oblikuju se moderne nacije, formiraju se narodni jezici i ustanovljuju političke granice. Bilo je to vrijeme građanskih pokreta nacionalnoga buđenja i prijelaza iz feudalnog u kapitalističko društvo. U takvom su ozračju europske zemlje izgrađivale i usustavljivale svoje jezične korpuse. Slavistika je u to vrijeme bila mlada znanost koja je tek trebala upoznati predmet svojeg istraživanja, sakupiti građu i razvrstati je.

Slavenski jezici govorili su se na širokom zemljopisnom području, obuhvaćali su velik broj govornika i objedinjavali velik broj kulturno različitih značajki. To je područje zapadnoeuropskim narodima bilo nepoznato, egzotično i dojmljivo. Ne čudi, stoga, što je njemački filozof Johann Gottfried Herder pisao o Slavenima kao nepoznatom i egzotičnom narodu. Herder je, međutim, za cijelu Europu, pa tako i za slaviste, značajan po svojoj ideji o jeziku kao socijalnom fenomenu koji je povezao s narodom kao posebnom individuom. Iako su pojedinci koji čine narod povezani običajima, tradicijom, mitologijom, religijom i usmenom književnošću, Herder je insistirao da je upravo jezik onaj faktor koji pojedince kojima je to materinski jezik najbolje povezuje u zajednicu koja se zove narod.<sup>1</sup>

Herderovu teoriju o jeziku kao kriteriju u raspoznavanju naroda preuzeo je Nijemac August Ludwig Schlözer. On je promotrio slavenske govore pa je, s obzirom na jezične značajke slavenskih govornika, ustanovio koji sve slavenski narodi postoje. Schlözer je izvršio utjecaj na Josefa Dobrovskog, češkog jezikoslovca kojeg su smatrali »ocem slavenske filologije«. Preuzeo je i nadopunio Schlözerovu podjelu slavenskih jezika, pri čemu je, naravno, smatrao da govoreći o jezicima govori o narodima (Katičić 2001; Zajc 2006, 22). Na Dobrovskijeve

se teorije oslonio slovački jezikoslovac Pavel Josif Šafarik, koji je pokušao dati cjeloviti povijesni pregled slavenskih jezika i književnosti.<sup>2</sup> Novu dimenziju u promatranju slavenskih jezika dao je Jan Kollar koji je pisao o imenima, podrijetlu i povijesti slavenskog naroda i njegovih plemena, te iznosi ideju o političkom udruživanju slavenskih naroda, odnosno o jednom književnom jeziku za sve Slavene (Zajc 2006, 33–34).

Anita Peti-Stanić propituje odnos jezične zajednice i ističe neprimjerenost njezinog izjednačavanja s narodom. Kriteriji za određivanje neke zajednice kao jezične zajednice potrebni su za tumačenje povijesti južnoslavenskih jezično-standardizacijskih procesa. Načelno, južnoslavenski se narodi mogu smatrati književnojezičnom zajednicom ako je glavni kriterij njezinoga određenja sporazumijevanje. Zaključuje da su se ti jezici mijenjali jer su uglavnom povezivali zajednice kojima je to povezivanje bilo potrebno, najčešće radi golog opstanka (Peti-Stanić 2008). U kontekstu mađarizacije i germanizacije, procesa koji su se intenzivno provodili u hrvatskim i slovenskim zemljama u 19. stoljeću, upravo se inzistiranje na zajedničkome jeziku činilo dobrom strategijom kojom slavenske zajednice mogu zadržati svoju samostojnost unutar vladajućih naroda.

Miroslav Hroch govori o procesu nastajanja nacije, pri čemu posebnu pozornost poklanja »malim nacijama«, neravnopravnim, najčešće potlačenim etničkim grupama, kao što je to bio slučaj sa slavenskim zemljama u okviru Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Naciju, pri tome, definira kao veliku društvenu rupu koju karakterizira kombinacija nekoliko vrsta odnosa, a njezino nastajanje (kod »malih naroda«) započinje nacionalnim buđenjem kod grupe intelektualaca koji se bave kulturom, poviješću i jezikom potlačenog naroda (Hroch 2006).

Problemom jezika, njegovog usustavljanja i određenja u 19. stoljeću bavili su se i slovenski i hrvatski teoretičari. Jezično je određenje za njih bilo središte nacionalnog interesa jer je predstavljalo potvrdu njihovog nacionalnog identiteta. Najveću zaslugu u stvaranju standardnog književnog jezika, ali i očuvanju i širenju ideja o ujedinjenju svih Hrvata na temelju ideje o hrvatskom nacionalnom jedinstvu imao je Ljudevit Gaj. Prihvativši bezrezervno ideju o ujedinjenju svih Slavena, Gaj je očekivao da će se ovom sveslavenskom pokretu pridružiti i ostali Južni Slaveni. U *Kratkoj osnovi horvatsko-slavenskog pravopisanja* Gaj je konstatirao postojanje zasebne slovenske individualnosti te je računao na sudjelovanje Slovenaca u ostvarenju sveslavenske ideje (Gaj 1830, 43). Međutim, 1830. godine se u preporodnim gibanjima u slovenskim pokrajinama javljaju različite orijentacije koje su izazvale prepirke oko oblikovanja jedinstvene latiničke grafije i oblikovanja slovenskoga standardnoga jezika. Preporoditelji iz Koroške i Štajerske bili su skloni povezivanju s hrvatskim susjedima i težili su integraciji, naročito radi brojčane nadmoći Nijemaca i sve jače germanizacije (Stančić 1989). U tom nastojanju posebno su se istakli: Stanko Vraz,<sup>3</sup> Davorin Trstenjak,<sup>4</sup> Oroslav Caf, Krunoslav/Štefan Kočevar, Franc Miklošič, Josip Muršec, Josip Dobronič, Urban Jarnik, Matija Majar, Jurij Kobe, Jakob Krašnja, Matej Ravnikar i kasnije, Ivan Macun.

Budući da su navedeni autori prepoznali ideju o mogućnosti jezične integracije sa susjednim, hrvatskim narodom i zalagali se za nju, zanimljivim se činilo promotriti koliko je ta ideja ostavila traga u njihovom literarnom stvaralaštvu. Naime, ako se kao polazište uzme temeljna Herderova ideja da je jezik kritični faktor na temelju kojeg se prepoznaje i definira pojedini narod, tada bi se iz konkretnih radova pojedinih autora trebalo moći iščitati njihov identitet s obzirom na pripadnost određenom narodu.

Osobni identitet se temelji na ideji o jedinstvenosti svakog pojedinca i na njegovoj različitosti od drugih ljudi. On se temelji na tome kako svaki pojedinac vidi sebe, a za to je potrebna i usporedba s drugima. Prema teoriji socijalnog identiteta, članstvo u grupi kod pojedinca se javlja osjećaj pripadnosti. Nacionalni identitet je važan dio socijalnog identiteta koji proizlazi iz osjećaja pripadnosti određenoj nacionalnoj skupini (Phinney 1990). Postoji nekoliko teorija koje pokušavaju objasniti izvore i doživljaj nacionalnog identiteta. Zajednički nazivnik modernista je njihovo uvjerenje u modernost nacija i nacionalizma; kod etno-simbolista to je naglasak kojeg stavljaju na svoja objašnjenja etničkih prošlosti i kultura; na kraju primordijalistima zajednički nazivnik je njihovo uvjerenje u dugotrajnost i prirodne osnove nacija (Özirimli 2000).

U ovom smo radu odabrali dva putopisa Ivana Macuna, Slovenca koji je zagovarao jezičnu integraciju s Hrvatima i koji je dobar dio života proveo izvan svoje domovine Slovenije, kao primjere tekstova na kojima ćemo provjeriti svijest o identitetu i pripadnosti autora slovenskoj zajednici ili široj, panslavističkoj ideji. Odabrali smo tekstove autora koji je u povijesti prepoznat kao preporoditelj i u tom smislu valja podsjetiti na razmišljanje Miroslava Hrocha o formiranju nacije kao o djelovanju pojedinaca čije domoljublje polazi od svijesti o pripadnosti jednoj većoj zajednici; *patriotima* koji su najviše razvili nacionalnu svijest i bili spremni aktivno nacionalno djelovati. Procjenjujući koji su to objektivni odnosi koji su utjecali na intenzitet širenja nacionalne svijesti, Hroch navodi da ih se može identificirati samo neizravno, kroz ponašanje i djelovanje određenih osoba (Hroch 2006). Nadalje, Joep Leerssen smatra književne tekstove značajnim medijem pri oblikovanju i širenju nacionalnih stereotipa. Devetnaesto stoljeće ističe kao doba procvata nacionalnog mišljenja i u skladu s time upozorava da su filolozi književnost držali istinski govorom duha naroda. Pri tome, Leerssen naglašava da treba uzeti u obzir kontekst književnoga teksta, ali i ciljanu publiku (Leerssen 2009a; Leerssen 2009b).

Ivan Macun rođen je 23. siječnja 1821. u Trnovcima. Gimnaziju je završio u Mariboru, nakon čega je u Grazu studirao filologiju i pravo. Kao profesor je podučavao u srednjim školama u Celju, Trstu, Zagrebu, Ljubljani i Grazu. Pod utjecajem Stanka Vraza, za kojega je sakupljao narodne pjesme, došao je u dodir s ilirizmom. Propagirao je slovenski jezik. Pisao je školske udžbenike, stvarao slovensku jezičnu terminologiju, pisao je jezikoslovne i kulturno-političke članke koje je objavljivao u slovenskom, hrvatskom i njemačkom tisku. Umro je u Grazu 1883. godine.



Godine 1850. izdao je prvi dio antologije južnoslavenske književnosti *Cvetje slovenskiga pesništva*. U uvodu je objavio kratak pregled poezije, a osim toga djelo sadrži stručne rasprave, narodne pjesme, pjesme Prešerna, Vodnika i drugih slovenskih, hrvatskih i srpskih autora. Djelo je dobilo negativne kritike, u prvom redu Metelka i Bleiweisa, zato nikada nije bilo priznato kao školsko gradivo. Nakon ovog izdanja Macun je objavio i nastavak na hrvatskome jeziku *Kratko krasoslovje o pesništvu* 1852. godine u Zagrebu. Naime, Macun je niz godina djelovao kao profesor klasičnih jezika u Hrvatskoj.<sup>5</sup>

Njegovo najtrajnije i za Štajerce najznačajnije djelo je *Književna zgodovina Slovenskega Štajerja*, koje je izdao u Grazu 1883. godine. U njemu navodi pisce koji su živjeli i stvarali u Štajerskoj.

Macun je u djelu *Cvetje slovenskiga pesništva* po uzoru na njemačku romantičarsku poetiku u slovenski jezik uveo nov, širi pojam lirike. Po njegovom je mišljenju za lirske pjesme značajno to da pjesnik ispovijeda svoje unutrašnje osjećaje i da su u prvom redu namijenjene pjevanju, odnosno da ih se može pjevati. U Beču je izdao djela *Kratka slovnica jezika gerčkoga* i *Kratka slovnica jezika nemačkoga* (Šlebinger 2009).

Znatan utjecaj na Macuna imao je Stanko Vraz, pa je u duhu ilirske ideje Macun napisao i niz radova na hrvatskom jeziku. Tako je u hrvatskom časopisu *Naše gore list* objavio prikaz svojega putovanja u Sloveniju pod naslovom *Prizor slovenskoga žitja u Bliedu*, a u ljetopisu Slovenske matice objavio je putopisni tekst na slovenskom jeziku, *Pogled v Pohorje*.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Prizor slovenskoga žitja u Bliedu

Putopisni tekst *Prizor slovenskoga žitja u Bliedu* Macun je objavio u zagrebačkom zabavno-poučnom časopisu *Naše gore list*. S obzirom na naslov teksta, a i završnu rečenicu *To ti je prizor slovenskoga žitja u Bliedu* (Macun 1861b, 234), očekivalo bi se da će autor pisati o ljudima koji žive na Bledu. Međutim, s obzirom na vrijeme u kojem je tekst nastao, ne iznenađuje što se, iako ima i putopisnih dionica, ovdje u prvom redu radi o domoljubnom tekstu, izvještaju s putovanja čiji je cilj domoljubna misija susreta sa sunarodnjacima i istomišljenicima. Budući da je cilj putovanja istaknuti slovenstvo i (jugo)slavenstvo, autor je iskoristio svaku priliku za isticanje ljepote slovenskih zemalja, njihove prošlosti i uglednih sunarodnjaka domoljuba.

Na samome početku teksta stoji vremenska odrednica »U sried kolovoza 1861«, koja je kasnije još točnije navedena, pa proizlazi da je autor na putovanje krenuo 14. kolovoza. Kao neposredan povod za putovanje, a time i pisanje izvještaja s tog putovanja, autor pomalo nejasno navodi najavu događanja na Bledu, koji će biti u neposrednoj vezi s idejama panslavizma. Pri tome Macun navodi i svoju političku i domoljubnu motivaciju. Autora je zametalo što su se javili »svi oni mazači, ogovarajući nas Jugoslavene, a napose Slovence« (Macun 1861a, 224), pa je odlučio putovati na Bled.

Bilo je teško ustanoviti o čemu se zapravo radilo jer je to, iz današnje vizure povijesti, ne osobito poznat događaj. Riječ je, naime, o »Vseslovenskom shodu«, susretu kojega je, po svemu sudeći, organizirao dr. Lovro Toman, državni poslanik i odvjetnik iz Radovljice. Na susretu se slušalo domoljubne pisce i pjesnike, a najboljima bi se dao lovorov vijenac. Toman je želio od Bleda napraviti »slovensku Olimpiju«, a susreti bi se odvijali svake godine. Događanju su bili nazočni narodnjaci iz okolice Ljubljane, Kranja, Trsta i ostalih krajeva u kojima je postojalo preporodno gibanje (Dežman 2004, 365).

Ovim se tekstom Macun otkriva kao rodoljubni putopisac koji najavljeno putovanje poduzima kako bi branio stavove Slovenaca. Time autor zapravo najavljuje patriotski dopis u kojem se može očekivati isticanje važnosti služenja domovini. To se može tumačiti potrebom da se u samoj najavi putovanja stvori u obzoru čitateljskog očekivanja pojam Hrvatske, ali i pojam južnog slavenstva. Time se vidokrug čitateljeva iskustva, ukoliko ima užu percepciju i identifikaciju sebe kao Hrvata, širi na shvaćanje i promatranje autora, koji se deklarira kao Slovenac, a i sebe, kao pripadnika južnoslavenske zajednice.

Želeći s njim uspostaviti što bliskiji odnos i zainteresirati ga za svoju temu, Macun se obraća čitatelju. To, međutim, nije klasično komuniciranje, već su to motivacijska pitanja koja autor postavlja samome sebi u ime pretpostavljene publike. Iako jasno kaže da putuje na Bled, iz čega bi logično proizašlo da se radi o mjestu, Macun ima potrebu postaviti pitanje na neobičan način, kao da putopis namjenjuje čitatelju koji za njegovo odredište nikada nije ni čuo: »A šta je Blied? Pak gdje je taj Blied? pitat će čitatelj, koj bude opazio taj opis« (Macun 1861a, 224). S obzirom na prethodni odjeljak u kojem ističe da ga smeta to što netko ogovara Slovence, jasno je da se Macun osjeća u prvom redu pripadnikom slovenskoga naroda, iako je svjestan onih ideja koje govore da bi se svi južni Slaveni trebali ujediniti pa koristi termin Jugoslaveni. Iz njega izbija nacionalni ponos prema ljepotama svoje zemlje već u nastavku teksta u kojem se nude osnovne informacije o njegovom odredištu: »Blied ti je selo ležeće tik jezera... rajski prediel, prvi i najkrasniji perivoj Kranjske zemlje, ležeći kojih pet urah na istoku od Triglava, kneza slavenskih gorah« (Macun 1861a, 224). Autor nudi geografske odrednice za snalaženje onim čitateljima koji nisu za Bled nikada čuli, ali pretpostavlja da im je poznato gdje se nalazi Kranjska zemlja i Triglav, planina koju smatra poznatom među svim Slavenima pa ju naziva »knezom slavenskih gorah«. U ovoj metafori može se naslutiti Macunova sklonost uvažavanju elemenata slovenskog, odnosno slavenskog folklora i mitologije utoliko što je Triglav ime troglavog božanstva iz slavenske mitologije.

U nastavku, tekst obiluje informacijama o političkoj situaciji u Sloveniji u vrijeme Bachovog apsolutizma. Navodi opasnost od germanizacije, koja je stalno prisutna u slovenskim krajevima, pa navodi kako postoji mogućnost da će »jato njemačkih gavranah priljetiti sa zastavom njemačkom te pozobati slovenske piliće« (Macun 1861a, 224). Iako je ilirski pokret nastao u prvom redu kao hrvatski

otpor mađarizaciji, ne čudi autorova potreba da svakom prilikom napadne tuđinskog vladara koji provodi germanizaciju na slovenskim prostorima. Macun se legitimira kao Slovenac, a iako je upoznat s ilirizmom, prilikama u Hrvatskoj i opasnosti od mađarizacije, logično je da ideje o jedinstvu i slobodi formulira na onaj način koji mu se čini prihvatljivim za krajeve kojima prolazi, a koje muči germanizacija. Osim toga, takvi se postupci mogu tumačiti i kao želja autora da djeluje na horizont očekivanja svoje publike utoliko da uzmu u obzir da se i ostali južnoslavenski narodi muče s istim problemima koje imaju i oni.

Ovdje, ujedno, autor nudi malo cjelovitije objašnjenje razloga svojega putovanja, koje je upućenom čitatelju njegova vremena po svemu sudeći bilo jasno, ali je današnjem recipijentu, neupućenom u politička zbivanja druge polovice 19. stoljeća, potpuno nejasna. Iz toga proizlazi da je Macun o svojem putovanju pisao u prvom redu kao novinski izvjestitelj. U svojem se izvješću Macun predstavlja kao slovenski rodoljub, koji želi sudjelovati u političkim zbivanjima svojega vremena, ali želi i publiku uputiti u njih, pogotovo ako se odvijaju u njegovoj domovini.

Autor nije jasno naznačio odakle započinje putovanje, ali na kraju putopisa piše »istim se putem vratismo u bielu Ljubljanu« što znači da je slovenska prijestolnica vjerojatno bila i mjesto početka njegovog putovanja. Tek navodi da su sjeli »na kola pak u Kranj, što ga Njemci zovu Krainburg, a mjestance ležeće baš kano na klisurastoj rti medju Savom i utičucom u nju Kokrom, iliti Kukrom, koje nekad imadjaše u sebi gospodare zemlje kranjske« (Macun 1861a, 224). Pri tome nije osobitu pozornost posvetio opisu krajolika, već je naglasio strašnu vrućinu radi koje su se kupali u »Kukrinom koritu«. Govoreći o nastavku putovanja prema Kranju, Macun navodi još jedno mjesto koje su posjetili. Radi se o spomeniku slovenskom pjesniku Prešernu za kojeg autor piše: »po cieni prvom možda pjesniku liričnom, pisavšem kojim nariječjem jugoslavenskim. Napis izrazuje kako si je želio što mu udes i podieli, da v domači mu zemlji truplo leži« (Macun 1861a, 224) Od putopisa je logično očekivati da će prikaz putovanja biti takav da čitaoci mogu pratiti njegov tijek. Međutim, nejasno je gdje se nalazi spomenik Prešernu koji Macun spominje, jer je spomenik ovom slovenskom velikanu, koji još i danas stoji u Ljubljani pred franjevačkom crkvom, podignut nekoliko godina nakon objave ovoga teksta. Najvjerojatnije se radi o posjetu Prešernovom grobu u Kranju jer, iako to nije naglašeno, impresivni nadgrobni spomenik postavljen je već 1852. godine. Ovakva nedorečenost u opisu putovanja u raskoraku je i s početnim autorovim obraćanjem publici. Iz početnog pitanja »A šta je Blied?« autor po svemu sudeći ne očekuje da je pojam u vidokrugu očekivanja njegove publike, te da ga ondje tek treba uvesti, a s druge strane propušta točnije opisati i ispriopovijedati trenutke putovanja koji bi pretpostavljenim čitateljima, barem iz današnje perspektive, mogli biti još manje poznati. Možda bi trebalo uzeti u obzir da Macun piše o pjesniku kojeg smatra jednim od najboljih slovenskih lirskih pjesnika, ali i južnoslavenskih pjesnika uopće, pa postoji mogućnost da

su rodoljubi, koji o ovom putovanju čitaju, dobro upoznati sa svim zbivanjima vezanim uz Prešerna. Načinom na koji piše o njemu Macun sebe, ali i Prešerna, s hrvatskom publikom povezuje pojmom jugoslavenstva, pa stoga pjesnikove riječi ne citira na ilirskom (hrvatskom) jeziku, već na njegovom materinskom, slovenskom, što je sve u skladu s ondašnjim jezičnim i narodnosnim prilikama.

Nakon, čini se, cjelodnevnog putovanja, pri čemu se o samom putu zapravo i ne doznaje mnogo, slijedi opis noći u gostionici. Putnike je pri odlasku na spavanje omeo dolazak bečkih, gradačkih i praških studenata koji su iz Ljubljane također putovali na Bled. Isticanje upravo ovih gradova ponovno je u službi podsjećanja na razdoblje u kojem žive, a koje je obilježeno preporodnim gibanjima, kao i na misiju koju si je autor zadao. Spomenuti su gradovi bili žarišta romantičarskih misli i ideja koje su slavenski (hrvatski i slovenski) studenti koji su se ondje školovali upijali i izvještavali inteligenciju u domovini o njima.

Ističući jezike koji su se čuli u njihovom međusobnom čavrljanju, autor spominje i neke svoje suvremenike, označujući ih inicijalom: »Tu biaše glas mladoga slovenskoga pjesnika K., pa opet feuletoniste Z., štono je kratkimi nu ostrimi riečmi opisao u Novicah mučitelje Slavenah na državnom saboru u zavjetju Hainovim« (Macun 1861a, 224). Sve njih suvremeni čitatelji, koji se kreću u istim krugovima kao i autor, mogu prepoznati. Tek dvojicu spominje imenom: prof. Mandelca<sup>7</sup> i Erjavca,<sup>8</sup> »jedina zastupnika prem Slovenca svih onih što su obećali bili, da će doći iz Hrvatske« (Macun 1861a, 224). Iz toga proizlazi da su se Slovenci u Hrvatskoj poznavali i međusobno komunicirali upravo po nacionalnoj osnovi. Po svemu sudeći, dijelili su slične ideje i razmišljali o zajedničkim aktivnostima. Iz ovoga se može zaključiti i da su, unatoč deklarativnom zajedništvu, Slovenci nedovoljno složni kada negdje trebaju javno istupati i braniti svoje stavove. Također, možemo zaključiti da nitko od autorovih suputnika nije Slovenac koji živi u Hrvatskoj jer bi on to, bez sumnje, istaknuo.

Sljedeća postaja bila je u Radoljici (Radovljici). Pišući o tom mjestu, autor ponovno ističe njegov njemački naziv. Opisujući ovo *starodavno* mjestašce, Macun govori o prirodi koja ga okružuje i konačno opis koristi u funkciji prikaza putovanja. Način na koji piše o pejzažu ukazuje na to da je putopis romantičarski jer, nakon što geografski točno opiše položaj mjesta, navodi i motive slavne prošlosti i sadašnjosti:

To su ti sjedišta starih slovenskih bogovah, probudivši nam Vodnika, Prešerna, Kopitara, Tomana i ine; tu je narav u svemu veličanstvu, to su čuvari slovenskoga duha, slovenske narodnosti; među njimi bo najkrepčiji bila dio golemoga nekada, nu sada na sjeveru malo ne do gorah stegnutog slovenstva (Macun 1861a, 225).

Ovdje Macun jasnije upozorava na elemente slovenske mitologije na koje je diskretno ukazao spominjući Triglav kao kneza slavenskih gora, a na koje će još upozoravati kada bude pisao o Bledskom jezeru.

Macun s društvom nastavlja put uz Savu Dolinku i stiže do mjesta s kojeg vide cilj svojega putovanja: »evo ti pred nami u svoj milini bliedsko jezero, cilj naših željah, alem dragi kamen slovenske, možda i sveslavenske zemlje« (Macun 1861a, 225). Dalje slijedi kratak opis jezera i staroga Bledskoga grada koji se nalazi na stijeni iznad jezera. Tom opisu dodaje još jedan: »A kao najveća krasota toga jezera na zapadno-južnoj strani kano labud u busenu stoji klisura siva i na temenu joj biela crkvice, kipeća u zrak poput dima dižućega se od žrtve k nebu« (Macun 1861a, 225). Promatrajući ljepotu pejzaža koji ga okružuje, Macun se prisjeća najpoznatijeg slovenskog pjesnika, Franca Prešerna koji »u liepoj slovenskoj pripoviesti Krst pri Savici na kratko opisuje tu pokrajinu, dodavši prije, šta je Črtomira, paganskoga branitelja Slovenstva vodilo, da ide na taj otok, gdje već onda bijaše hram, posvećen Živi, boginji ljubezni« (Macun 1861a, 225).

Nakon što je čitatelja upoznao s prirodnim ljepotama, autor se usmjerava prema gradiću koji se smjestio na obali jezera. Macun ističe da se radi o turističkom mjestu: »Svake godine dolaze amo gosti, da ozdrave ili se okriepu više od prekrasne naravi nego li od toplicah sa mlačnom vodom oko 18 gradih« (Macun 1861a, 226). Slijedi izvještavanje o putu kojim se kreće tako što nabraja kuće kraj kojih prolazi (»Prešernova kuća, Riklov zavod hydropatični, drvena palačica na svajcarsku, Mallnerova kuća, Niemeyerova vila«). Iz komentara o pojedinim zgradama, koji se odnose na stanare ili njihove goste, može se pretpostaviti da je Macun dobro upoznat sa zbivanjima u tom mjestu ili se usput informirao kod lokalnog stanovništva.

Autorovo društvo srelo je skupinu seljaka iz Bohinja. To je Macunu poslužilo za isticanje još nekih prirodnih ljepota poput slapa Savice, ali i izgleda i osobitosti ljudi: »/... / gledajući krasni uzrast gorostasnih tih junačkih gorenacah bohinskih, morao bih priznati, da u takova naroda imade duševne i tielesne snage« (Macun 1861a, 226). Iako u tekstu ne obraća posebnu pozornost prikazu ljudi, Macun na još jednom mjestu ističe karakteristike slovenskoga naroda koje se odnose na pobožnost, a iskazane su u primjedbi »prispiedsmo u selo Bliedsko sa župnom crkvom, dubkom već napunjenom pobožnoga svieta« (Macun 1861a, 226).

Skupina djevojaka i momaka došla je pozdraviti Lovru Tomanu, slovenskog pjesnika kojeg je Macun s društvom već želio pozdraviti, ali ga nije bilo kod kuće. Ovdje se autor ponovno obraća pretpostavljenoj publici, iz čega se nedvojbeno može iščitati da se obraća hrvatskoj publici: »Pozdrav biaše dvojak; jedno pjesma i to čuj svieta hrvatski – pjesme štokavske kano: Ja sam Slavjan, slavski sin; prodrieše dakle ove pjesmice spojene sa krasnimi hrvatskimi napjevi čak do zabutih tih, najzapadnijih stranah jugoslavenstva!« (Macun 1861a, 226)

Drugi dio putopisa autor je posvetio Lovri Tomanu s kojim su se našli na Bledu. Autor ističe zdravicu Tomanu:

Pisac ovih redakah zahvalnicu napije g. Tomanu u ime svih sabranih u veselom tom društvu, primamljenih jedno krasotom rajskoga toga slovenskoga predjela a drugo



slavenskim čuvstvom, da se razveselimo jednom slavenski; te misli da će svi prisutni jednoglasno pristati uz njegovu zdravicu, koju u ime članovah g. Tomanu jedno kano nekakom domaćinu a drugo kao narodnom našem zastupniku napija; kano domaćinu, koji napivši se iz rajske gorenske zemlje pjesničkoga duha, liepo nas napije u svojoj domovini; a kano zastupniku narodnom, budući da je on jedini napio se slavenskoga mlika izmedju svih poslanikah, da zastupanju u Beču poslaviše ih; a tim da ga veća hvala ide, što je on jedini stojeći kano tvrda skala, kojano će i u buduće biti kano što dosada, štit, dika i nada kranjske; pa recimo slovenske zemlje (Macun 1861b, 233).

Zanimljiv se čini način na koji autor govori o sebi i svojoj zdravici. Ovakvim prepričavanjem u 3. licu gubi se neposrednost pričanja i mogućnost da se čitalac poistovjeti s pripovjedačem, kao što je to bilo moguće u onom dijelu teksta u kojem se autor obratio čitatelju ističući svoj dojam, što je omogućilo poistovjećivanje obzora očekivanja pripovjedača i čitatelja. Ovdje autor radi odmak što može biti u cilju poistovjećivanja autora, lika i pripovjedača, ali i mijenja kut promatranja u čitatelja koji se više ne može poistovjetiti s autorom teksta na onaj način na koji je, u nekim prethodnim trenucima, mogao. Također, vrijedilo bi promisliti o jeziku na kojem je Macun doista održao zdravicu, za razliku od jezika na kojem piše. Budući da piše za hrvatsku publiku, djelo koje će biti objavljeno u hrvatskom časopisu, logično je da će ga pisati na hrvatskom jeziku. Mogućim se čini da je Macun svoj zapisani govor preveo sa slovenskoga jezika, što bi bilo logično. Naime, ako je u slovenskoj zemlji, na slovenskom govornom području, jasno je da će, kao Slovenac, koristiti svoj materinski jezik kako bi izrazio poštovanje svojem zastupniku u neprijateljski nastrojenoj njemačkoj skupini u austrijskom Saboru. U ovoj se zdravici Macun očituje i s obzirom na svoj nacionalni identitet. Tijekom cijelog djela, uz manja odstupanja, Macun ističe svoje slovenstvo, ali u kontekstu slavenstva. Ovdje Macun ističe kranjsku zemlju i slovenskog poslanika u Beču. Bez obzira što Macun u govoru ne zaboravlja slavenstvo, on u prvom redu piše o Sloveniji, a moguće je i da je originalni, slovenski govor ne samo preveo, nego i preradio za širu, slavensku publiku, utoliko što hrvatskoj publici neće biti naročito zanimljivo izviješće s putovanja koje je poduzeo Slovenac radi veličanja slovenstva i slovenskih interesa. Međutim, ako se te čitatelje u svakom trenutku podsjeti da su Slovenci i Hrvati slavenska braća, ovakvo izviješće može biti zanimljivo i može potaknuti publiku da zaželi osjetiti isto zadovoljstvo potaknuto borbom za zajednički, slavenski cilj, te na neki teško uhvatljiv način doprinosi osjećaju bliskosti tih naroda, što, jasno, nije zajedništvo, ali je svakako više od samog geografskog položaja koji ih definira kao susjede.

Nakon zdravice Tomanu, uslijedila je zdravica Janezu Bleiweisu koju je, po svemu sudeći, izrekao netko drugi, a ne putopisac, inače se pretpostavlja da bi i ona bila detaljnije prepričana u tekstu. Zdravice i govori koje je Macun u ovome tekstu još opisao obiluju isticanjem slovenstva i slavenskih ideja, pa cjelokupni tekst dobiva predznak političkog programa koji je upakiran u putopisni tekst. Naročito to do izražaja dolazi u Tomanovom govoru u kojem izlaže o temi koja se tiče hrvatskog naroda. On govori o »literaturi Jugoslavenah«, spominje



đakovačkog biskupa Josipa Jurja Strossmayera, utemeljitelja Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti i nastavlja: »I nas Slovenacah plemeniti Mecenat nije zaboravio, pozvao je i nas u maternji njezin naručaj« (Macun 1861b, 233).

Macun piše o pejzažu u romantičarskom duhu, opisuje noćni ugođaj na jezeru ističući, pri tome, domoljubne motive: »Sunca nestane, zvijezde krugom kruže pred očima, pjesme ore se, društvo diše svetim nadahnutjem slavenskim, a jezero mirno sluša sva ta čudesa / .../« (Macun 1861b, 234) Pišući o vožnji jezerom, Macun se ne zadržava samo na mitološkoj prošlosti Slovenaca, već podsjeća i na relativno nedavnu prošlost: »Ovaj ti je križ na onom mjestu stavljen, gdje je ženska svjetina bliedska koncem ljeta 1812. prepriečila Francuzom i kukavnim izdajicam domaćim, hotećim na otok, da na korist francuzke vlade opliene bogatu riznicu« (Macun 1861b, 234). Ovim prisjećanjem na događaje iz neposredne prošlosti podsjeća se na domoljublje koje je postojalo u slovenskom narodu i prije preporodnih gibanja, kad su se Slovenke suprotstavile Francuzima. Također, ovo je i prilika da se, neizravno, nešto kaže o ženama koje žive na području Slovenije, a koje su, po svemu sudeći, odlučne i hrabre u obrani svojeg zavičaja, ali i pobožne jer su se ustale u obranu crkvenoga blaga.

Ovaj putopis Ivana Macuna predstavlja patriotski dopis kojim se ovaj rodoljub, po nacionalnosti Slovenac, javio u hrvatskom časopisu. Prikazujući svoje putovanje, Macun osobito ne usmjeruje svoju pozornost na itinerarij, niti na krajolik kojim putuje, već je u usredotočen na svoju misiju, sveslavenski susret na kojem će susresti druge slavenske, u prvom redu slovenske rodoljube. U skladu s tim zadatkom, Macun primjećuje samo ono što se može tumačiti kao dokaz ili svjedočanstvo patriotizma, bilo da se radi o mitološkoj ili stvarnoj prošlosti, ili o sadašnjosti. Ovaj tekst ima vidokrug očekivanja u skladu s političkom i društvenom klimom onoga vremena, utoliko što je više-manje sva hrvatska književnost 19. stoljeća društveno i politički angažirana. Pisali su svi koji to mogu kako bi svoje sunarodnjake osvijestili o tome u kakvim vremenima žive, odakle prijeti opasnost i što im je činiti. Macun s ovim dopisom nije iznimka. Zbog toga je ovaj tekst donekle stran današnjem implicitnom čitatelju jer je velik broj informacija koje Macun nudi nepotpun i današnji ga čitatelj, na temelju svojeg iskustva i očekivanja, ne može nadopuniti bez većeg angažmana. Zbog toga se Macunovo djelo može promatrati samo kao osobno svjedočanstvo jednog društveno i politički angažiranog pojedinca koji u prikazu svojega putovanja nedvosmisleno ističe svoj nacionalni identitet. Iako ističe slavenstvo kao svoju osnovnu odrednicu, ali i pojam nadređen svim pojedinačnim etničkim skupinama, iz njegovih se postupaka i opisa vidi da slovenske zemlje doživljava kao svoju domovinu. Sklon je promatrati Hrvate kao slavensku braću, prihvaćati njihove ideje i odati im priznanje za zasluge, pri čemu želi upoznati hrvatsku javnost s preporodnim aktivnostima koje se odvijaju u njegovoj domovini. Dati uvid u preporodna zbivanja čini mu se važnijim od prikaza ljepota zemlje u kojoj je boravio, a koja obiluje lijepim krajolikom podesnim za romantičarsko

povezivanje s legendama i mitskom prošlošću. Iz njegove autorske strategije vidi se da je veću pozornost posvetio izravnom prikazu stvarnih događaja i onih iz povijesti nego slikovitosti izraza pa on, očito, više namjerava djelovati podacima nego estetskom razinom teksta.

### 3. Pogled v Pohorje

Macunov putopisni tekst *Pogled v Pohorje* objavljen je u Letopisu Matice slovenske. Budući da je pisan slovenskim jezikom, ovaj je putopisni tekst upućen drugoj publici nego što je to bio slučaj s prethodnim izvješćem s putovanja. Budući da je autor objavio i putopisni tekst na hrvatskom jeziku u hrvatskom časopisu, a pisao je o događanjima u Sloveniji, željeli smo usporediti i provjeriti kako će autor prikazati slovenske zemlje i ljude slovenskoj, a kako hrvatskoj čitalačkoj publici.

Svojoj čitalačkoj publici, oformljenoj na romantičarskoj književnosti, Macun želi ugoditi već u prvoj rečenici svoga putopisa najavom da Pohorje nije samo zemljopisni pojam »nego sega globoko v misli, v narono vero in v poslovice daleč okrog / ... / <« (Macun 1869, 86). Macun ovim svojim putopisom ne može ponuditi sliku dalekih krajeva i tako privući čitatelja. On nudi nešto drugo: Pohorje koje uistinu ne može zamijeniti egzotiku nepoznati predjela, međutim, privlačnost koja dolazi od daljine može zamijeniti dojmom koji ostavlja na posjetioca. Macun je »svetega straha poln stopal skozi temne in vedre, nizke in visoke njegove planine« (Macun 1869, 87). Za njega je to »sveta slovenska zemlja«.

Odmah nakon ovakvog uvoda, autor navodi i poslovice i izreke koje su vezane uz Pohorje, ističući kako su proširene i u krajevima koji su prilično udaljeni od te planine: »Poslal sem ga v Pohorje po smolo; šla je v Pohorje za njega; daleč je kakor v Pohorje« (Macun 1869, 86). Ovo je mjesto u tekstu u kojem se pretpostavlja da je u čitalačkom iskustvu jasan frazem kojeg pisac koristi. Ovaj frazem ne može biti u jezičnom inventaru čitatelju koji ovu planinu poznaje samo kao geografski pojam, a to, dalje, uzrokuje nerazumijevanje autorove potrebe da ode, čak dva puta, u šetnju tim krajem. Naravno, pisac upozorava da je frazem poznat uglavnom Štajercima, čime bitno sužuje svoju publiku. Međutim, time što je frazem poznat Štajercima, Macun ne isključuje hrvatske čitaoce koji žive u krajevima uz granicu sa Štajerskom kao moguće korisnike teksta, utoliko što se može pretpostaviti da je pogranično stanovništvo koristilo slovenski jezik i poznavalo štajersku frazeologiju, barem onu koja se odnosila na toponimiju. Tu mogućnost dozvoljava i Macun: »/.../ te in druge izreke čuješ po jutarnji strani slovenskih gor, in tudi po krajih, odkoder ti nikdar nije videti tega pogorja / ... / <« (Macun 1869, 86).

Da bi se mogao razumjeti interes za Pohorje, treba se prisjetiti činjenica koje su oblikovale obzor očekivanja čitalačke publike za koju je Macun ovo djelo pisao. Još tijekom 19. stoljeća Pohorje je opisano kao mračna šumska divljina, u kojoj vlada velika i strašna tišina. Ovo još neistraženo područje mamilo je romantičarske

pisce koji u Pohorju i njegovim stanovnicima vide arhetip pokrajine koju nije dodirнула civilizacija. U to su vrijeme na Pohorju znali zalutati i oni koje je pratio glas dobrih poznavatelja te planine (Vresnik 2005).

Prvi autorov susret s Pohorjem dogodio se u vrijeme njegova školovanja u Mariboru. Pripovijedajući o svojem školovanju, Macun koristi priliku da ponudi neke podatke o sebi i svojem podrijetlu. Tako doznajemo da je živio »med srednjimi Pesničarji, med katerimi se je rodil pisavec teh vrstic« (Macun 1869, 86). Osim za pokrajinu u kojoj se autor rodio, doznajemo i o njegovom školovanju i o njegovim učiteljima. Očekivano, autor je svoje učitelje podijelio s obzirom na jezik kojim su se koristili, pa tako navodi da »taj čas nisem nikdar slišal iz nobenih ust bivših mi učiteljev ni le ene slovenske besedice, plavalo se je le po nemškem širokom morju« (Macun 1869, 87). Učitelje koji su predavali na njemačkom jeziku autor ne navodi punim imenom, već im navodi samo inicijale. S druge strane, navodi puna imena profesora koji su podučavali na slovenskom jeziku (poput »Zupančiča i Davorina Trstenjaka«), navodeći pri tome da su »tudi Slovence omenjevali kot ljudi, katerih je na svetu / ... /« (Macun 1869, 87).

Nakon evociranja školskih uspomena, što čini svojevrsan okvir ovoga putopisa, autor priča o svoja dva izleta na Pohorje. Na putovanje ga je potaknuo već spomenuti frazem koji je često slušao i u svom rodnom kraju, a koji mu se činio prilično nejasan: »zakaj Slovenci v Pohorje hodijo po smolo« (Macun 1869, 87). Na ovom se mjestu mogu poklopiti obzori očekivanja autora i publike kojoj frazem nije poznat, utoliko što pisac odlazi na putovanje kako bi otkrio značenje frazema, odnosno, sebi, a time i čitaocima koji se poistovjećuju s putopiscem, stvorio iskustvo koje su, po svemu sudeći, prethodne generacije sazele u frazem.

Macun opisuje svoje prvo putovanje na koje je išao u vrijeme kada je radio kao pravnik u Grazu. Putovanje je započeo navečer, a nakon loše prospavane noći, krenuo je na put.

Ubrzo je našao i suputnika, »nekega kmeta iz Mozirja kateri je todi na poti bil proti domu« (Macun 1869, 88). Međutim, suputnik mu nije bio po volji jer

ta človek bil je živa podoba spakedrane takratnje slovenske lege; naučil se je bog naj si ga ve al v velikem Mozirju, al pri vojski al kje nekaj nemški lomiti, pak se mi je neumnež sitni s temi ukradenimi cunjami zmiraj tek zmiraj nudil; čudno me je s početka gledal, da nikakor nisem rad poslušal tega lamanja, te teritvi jezične (Macun 1869, 88).

Nacionalno osviještenom Slovencu suputnik je postao puno draži kada mu je na slovenskom jeziku ispričao narodnu pripovijetku za koju autor kaže da ju je u Velenju zapisao u dnevnik, a u cijelosti je donosi u svom putopisnom zapisu. Iako je, po svemu sudeći, Macun zapisanu pripovijetku smatrao slovenskom narodnom, inačicu ove bajke napisala su braća Grimm. Ne čini se osobito čudnim činjenica da se jedna bajka smatra svojinom njemačke i slovenske usmene književnosti jer su slovenske zemlje stoljećima vezane uz austrijsku kulturu pa je logično da su se

usmenom predajom bajke u svojim osnovnim motivima prenosile u razne krajeve u kojim se govorilo istim jezikom i u kojima su stanovnici dijelili slične kulturne i društvene obrasce.

Seljak je priču dovršio kada su stigli u dolinu, do Slovenj Gradeca, o kojem autor pripovijeda povijest od njegovih početaka, 1316. godine. Najprije podsjeća na raspravu Nijemaca Schreiner i Muchara koji su se sporili o imenu grada koje je tada glasilo Gratz ili Graetz. Također, navodi kako su se vladari nazivali Slovenjgraški ili Windischgratz. Prolazeći po naselju u kojem »ni sem mogel kaj zaslediti domačega, slovenskega«, Macun se prisjeća Trstenjakove rasprave da »ime 'Slovenji' Gradec ni v zvezi z besedo Slovenci nego da se ima izpeljevati od sanskrske korenike 'sru', 'slu' tečem, tedaj 'Vodeni Gradec'« (Macun 1869, 90). Ovdje se autor ponovno legitimira kao domoljub koji ironično ističe germanizirano stanovništvo i germanski duh inače slovenskog mjesta. Ništa privlačno ne vidi Macun niti u župnoj crkvi čiju unutrašnjost, također, opisuju ironično:

ostrmel sem grdih lik in kipov po cirkvi; dobro je, da siromaki ne gledajo toliko v obličje koliko na roke darežljive gospe na velikem oltarju, drugači bi pač gotovo bili pobegli od tega grdo nametanega obraza; tudi beraču nobenemu menda takrat ni mogla priti nikakšna slaba misel, ko je pri sosedu gledal une dve goli tirolski valjuški (Macun 1869, 90).

Drugi put, Macun je putovao na Pohorje dvije godine kasnije, nakon što je neko vrijeme boravio u Celju i naveo da je »malo časa skušal lepo nadarjene mladenčce buditi na čudoređen in znanstven, pak tudi na naroden razvitek /.../« (Macun 1869, 90). Ponovno je putovanje započeo u Velenju gdje je noćio na istom mjestu na kojem i prije dvije godine. Romantičarska književnost na koju je navikla njegova čitalačka publika donosi brojne začudne, u najmanju ruku, neobične likove. Macun na Pohorju nije mogao sresti baš takvu kolekciju žitelja ili prolaznika, on je nastojeći ići tim tragom ipak našao dovoljno neuobičajen lik da je mogao očekivati zanimanje svojih čitalaca. Riječ je o čovjeku što ga je susreo u gostionici koji, iako je bio odjeven kao seljak, nije se činio takvim, pa ga je Macun upoznao.<sup>9</sup> U razgovoru s njim uspio je doznati da se zove Jurij Vodovnik i da piše pjesme. Macun ovdje govori o tome da je 1862. čitao njegov životopis, ali ne donosi podatke o tome, već ističe domoljubne dijelove njegova teksta poput: »na daleč proti izhodu, jugu in zahodu veliko lepih polja, visokih planin štajerskih, hrvaških, kranjskih, kakor tudi nekoliko koroških vidi« (Macun 1869, 92).

Na Pohorju je Macun susreo i čovjeka koji je putovao u Ribnicu. Razgovarajući s njime o pohorskim jezerima, Macun nam prenosi narodna vjerovanja koja kažu da su jezera toliko duboka da nitko nikada nije našao dno, odnosno, da u njima stanuje »povodnji mož, kateri je v teh jezerih doma hudo razsaja in grozno nevihto dela, ča ga kdo vznemiruje« (Macun 1869, 94). Motiv »povodnega

moža« (vodenjaka) potječe iz slovenske narodne bajke iz Prekmurja. Motiv je u umjetničkoj književnosti koristio najpoznatiji slovenski pjesnik France Prešeren. Napisao je istoimeno djelo koje se smatra prvom slovenskom baladom. U baladi je koristio narodni motiv »povodnog moža«, a sadržajnu osnovu za djelo Prešeren je preuzeo iz djela J. V. Valvasora *Slava vojvodine Kranjske*.

Korištenjem bajki i motiva iz slovenskoga folkloru Macun se približava čitatelju čije se književno obrazovanje svodi na usmenu književnost ili je odrastao u okruženju u kojem se uglavnom primalo takvu vrstu književnosti. Budući da je stanovništvo slovenskih zemalja, koje je, po svemu sudeći, većinska publika na koju Macun u ovom tekstu računa, treba imati na umu da se uglavnom radi o seoskom stanovništvu koje nije imalo priliku obrazovati se. Logično je očekivati da će takva publika djelo lakše prihvatiti ako se, barem dio njega, uklapa u obzor njihova očekivanja, koji se formirao na djelima usmene književnosti, u velikoj mjeri temeljenoj na legendi, bajci i pjesmi. S druge strane, sve to može biti i poziv čitalačkoj publici da se prisjeti svoje prošlosti koja je pisana i u legendama koju su starije generacije poznavale, a oni je zaboravljaju.

Macun uspostavlja poseban odnos između pojedinih pojava u prirodi i čovjekovog raspoloženja koje priroda može mijenjati ili podupirati. Opise prirode Macun koristi kako bi istaknuo poneki domoljubni motiv iz slovenske prošlosti. Nakon što je u osnovnim crtama opisao što se sve može vidjeti s vrha Pohorja, Macun se obraća čitatelju: »Al bi Vam šte našteval, katera mesta da se vidiijo? Pojdite sami tam, pak bote videli / ... / << (Macun 1869, 95).

Macun se ovim putopisom predstavlja slovenskoj publici kao slovenski pisac. U ovom je tekstu puno manje izraženo insistiranje na nacionalnom ponosu i isticanju nacionalne svijesti, te veličanje politički angažiranih suvremenika u odnosu na putopis pisan za hrvatsku publiku. U prethodnom se putopisu Macun legitimira kao Slovenac koji je čuo kritike upućene pripadnicima južnoslavenskih naroda, naročito slovenskoga pa je imao potrebu obraniti nacionalni ponos i napisati izrazito nacionalno obojani tekst u obliku putopisne proze. S druge strane, njegov je slovenski putopis motiviran frazemom koji je uobičajen u slovenskoj frazeologiji, a odnosi se na mjesto za koje su iskazivali interes mnogi romantičari. Budući da se radi o prostoru koji je nepoznat, jasno je da golica maštu Macunovih suvremenika. Zbog toga je Macun odabrao upravo ovo, po svemu sudeći opasno odredište.

Atmosferu mističnosti, koja je bila poželjna u okviru romantičarske poetike, Macun održava koristeći mitološke elemente zasnovane na slavenskoj i slovenskoj mitologiji, bajke i legende. To čini tako što prenosi cjelovitu bajku koju mu suputnik pripovijeda, priča o povodnom možu koji živi u planinskom jezeru i podsjeća na jednu žrtvu planine koja je život izgubila u Dravi.

Iako se ovaj putopisni tekst bavi izletom u mistične krajeve, izlet u planine smatra se tipičnim slovenskim itinerarijem. Velik broj hrvatskih Slovenaca legitimira se upravo potrebom za odlaskom u planinske krajeve. Osim toga, Macun



ističe svoju nacionalnu svijest opisujući svoje suputnike. Tu je seljak koji mu nije ugodno društvo dok govori njemačkim jezikom, ali kada progovori slovenskim i to pričajući slovensku narodnu priču, puno mu je draži. Također spominje i pjesnika koji je poznat u pohorskom kraju, naročito po tome što piše nacionalno osviještenu poeziju. Iz njegovih stihova, koje Macun navodi, vidi se da ne insistira samo na slovenstvu, već prihvaća, kao što je to slučaj u putopisu na hrvatskom jeziku i južnoslavensku ideju.

#### 4. Zaključak

S obzirom na sagledane značajke oba putopisa, Macun se identificira kroz slovenski nacionalni identitet. Birajući slovenski itinerarij o kojem piše na slovenskom, ali i hrvatskom jeziku, ističući slovensku nacionalnu svijest i stavljajući je u opoziciju s germanskom, veličanjem istaknutih suvremenika, ali i promatranjem i zapisivanjem svjedočanstava o narodnom životu i kulturi. Osjećaj slovenskoga nacionalnoga identiteta Macun potvrđuje u dijelovima teksta u kojima ističe različitost; on koristi svaku priliku da napadne tuđinskoga vladara, on pristaje uz hrvatsku braću, ali u prvom redu zato što su na istoj strani. Iz onih dijelova teksta u kojima Macun piše o potrebi za zajedništvom u borbi za istu ideju, opet se može iščitati stav prema kojem Macun ne dvoji oko svojega slovenskoga identiteta. Dakle, Macun se identificira kao Slovenac koji uvažava ostale južnoslavenske narode i nema ništa protiv zajedništva s njima, ali bez poistovjećivanja s njima, odnosno, uz zadržavanje svijesti o vlastitom, slovenskom identitetu. Bliskost naroda i njihovih pripadnika je poželjna, ali tek nakon uspostave i osvješćivanja njihovih zasebnih identiteta. Tim jasnim, izdiferenciranim stavom, Macun se odjeljuje od zamagljenih i često neprovidnih ideja o mogućem zajedništvu svih, a poglavito južnih Slavena. Macun jest za bliskost, ali ju pragmatično doživljava kao uvjet opstanka pred germanizacijom i mađarizacijom. To u većoj mjeri dolazi do izražaja u putopisu *Prizor slovenskoga žitja u Bliedu* gdje Macun jasno ističe germansku prijetnju metaforom u kojoj Slovence (ne Slavene) naziva pilićima. Macun za južne Slavene koristi termin Jugoslaveni, ali pri tome Slovence ističe kao zasebni dio zajednice koje povezuje zajedničko podrijetlo. Sličnost s ostalim južnoslavenskim narodima, ponajviše s Hrvatima koji su im bili najbliži susjedi i koji su s njima dugi niz godina dijelili sudbinu u okviru Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, potaknula je Macuna, ali i ostale preporoditelje na zajedništvo kojem je cilj bio udaljiti se od germanskog utjecaja. Pogotovo u novijoj povijesti južnoslavenskih naroda do izražaja dolazi pragmatičnost panslavizma. Unatoč svim onim značajkama koje Macun u svojim putopisima ističe kao temelj za zajedništvo (jezik, običaji, podrijetlo i, uostalom, zajednički protivnik), došlo je do razlaza južnoslavenske zajednice upravo na temelju doživljavanja nacionalnoga identiteta kao odrednice po kojoj su se pojedine socijalne grupe počele razlikovati jedne od drugih.



Misli koje proizlaze iz Macunovih tekstova bliske su etno-simboličkoj perspektivi nacionalnog identiteta, pri čemu se uporište za takav stav kod Macunovih tekstova prepoznaje u činjenici da naglašava ulogu vrijednosti tradicije, simbola i mita. Cijeli putopis *Pogled v Pohorje* usmjeren je upravo na isticanje ljepote ovoga dijela Slovenije. Osim što naglašava ljubav prema slovenskom jeziku i s negodovanjem piše o suputnicima koji su skloni konverzaciji na njemačkom jeziku, Macun velik dio teksta posvećuje i narodnim predajama poput onoj o *Povodnom možu* i ostalim frazemima u kojima se referira na Pohorje. Slično čini i u putopisu *Prizor slovenskoga žitja u Bliedu* u kojem ističe slavensko podrijetlo slovenskoga naroda u priči o Črtomiru, o poganskoj božici ljubavi, Živi i Triglavu, simbolu svih Slovenaca. Velik značaj Macun pridaje i opisima i objašnjenjima suvremenijih simbola kojima je istaknuto slovenstvo poput priča o Slovenkama koje su zaustavile Francuze, te ističe one koje smatra važnima za stvaranje svijesti o slovenskoj naciji: Franca Prešerna, Luku Tomana i ostale. On veliku vrijednost pridaje vlastitome jeziku, mitovima koje opisuje i poslovicama tipičnima za slovenski etnički prostor i na temelju toga se prepoznaje kao Slovenac, blizak Slavenima s kojima dijeli mit o zajedničkom (ilirskom) podrijetlu, ali potpuno otuđen od nadređenog germanskog naroda.

Pišući na hrvatskom i slovenskom jeziku, te objavljujući na oba jezična područja, Macun gradeći identitete prilaže poznavanju tih naroda i razvoju njihovih kultura. Može biti da je upravo to njegovo nastojanje da mu tekstovi budu od koristi za ideju za koju se zalagao, što je, izvjesno za njega bilo iznad postizanja estetskih razina, rezultiralo time da kulturna povijest dvaju naroda bilježi njegovo postojanje, ali se ne bavi njegovim djelom. Stoga, pri valorizaciji njegovoga rada, umjesto naglaska na estetskoj i umjetničkoj komponenti, treba istaknuti njegov doprinos i zalaganje za uporabu narodnoga jezika i širenje ideja o zajedništvu na širu čitalačku publiku kojoj su njegovi tekstovi bili namijenjeni.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Ovakvo Herderovo shvaćanje usmjerilo je cjelokupno europsko promišljanje naroda i nacija (Švoger 1998, 458; Herder 1803).
- <sup>2</sup> On je preuzeo teoriju o tome da Kranjci, Korošci, donji Štajerci i kajkavski Hrvati pripadaju istom jezičnom području (Zajc 2006, 32).
- <sup>3</sup> Stanko Vraz (Cerovec pri Ljutomeru, 1810. – Zagreb, 1851.). Pjesnik, sakupljač narodnog blaga, glazbeni kritičar. Bavio književnošću i filologijom. za vrijeme studija filozofije i prava u Grazu upoznao je Ljudevita Gaja koji ga je oduševio svojim idejama. Njihov razgovor potaknuo je Vraza na putovanje po Hrvatskoj, gdje se predstavljao kao slovenski pjesnik i sakupljač narodnoga blaga. Oduševljen ljudima i krajevima kojima je prolazio, Vraz je s odobravanjem promatrao preporodni zanos koji se širio i sve je više mogućnost razvoja slovenskih zemalja vidio upravo u spajanju s Hrvatskom. S druge strane, Ljudevit Gaj i Dragutin Rakovac vidjeli su u Vrazu osobu koja bi trebala pokušati pridobiti štajerske Slovence za ilirsku ideju. Godine 1839. Vraz se preselio u Hrvatsku. I nakon preseljenja, ostao je glavni propagator ilirske ideje u Sloveniji i održao je vezu s Prešernom. Pokrenuo je i uređivao najozbiljniji književni časopis preporodne epohe *Kolo* u razdoblju od

1842. do 1851. Od 1846. bio je tajnik Matice ilirske. Iako je svoje književno stvaralaštvo započeo u Sloveniji, kao profesionalni književnik ostvario se u Hrvatskoj (Kržišnik-Bukić 2006, 75; Šidak 1988).

- <sup>4</sup> Davorin Trstenjak (Krčevina na Štajerskem, 1848. – Zagreb, 1921.), pedagog i pisac. Bio je ugledni prosvjetni djelatnik koji je radio u Dugoj Resi, Karlovcu, Kostanjevici i Gospiću. Trstenjak je bio priznati pedagog u Hrvatskoj. Redovito se javljao u hrvatskim časopisima, gdje je pisao tekstove kojima je nastojao unaprijediti učiteljsku struku, popraviti status učitelja i osvježiti podučavanje novim nastavnim metodama (Kržišnik-Bukić 2006, 66; Franković 1978).
- <sup>5</sup> Macun je jedan od brojnih slovenskih intelektualaca koji je djelovao i na hrvatskim prostorima. O njihovom životu i djelovanju, ali i pitanju njihovog identiteta pisala je Vera Kržišnik-Bukić koja ističe prisutnost Slovenaca na prostoru cijele današnje Republike Hrvatske (Kržišnik-Bukić 1998). Također, autorica navodi značajan broj intelektualaca, među njima i književnih djelatnika, koji su bili aktivni na prostoru današnje Republike Hrvatske (Kržišnik-Bukić 1994/95, 86) i naglašava potrebu za daljnjim istraživanjem upravo onih pojedinaca koji su živjeli na području grada Zagreba (Kržišnik-Bukić 1993).
- <sup>6</sup> Uz druge slovenske profesore, umjetnike i pisce koji su djelovali na prostoru Hrvatske, Macuna ističe i Vera Kržišnik-Bukić u svojem radu *O slovenih in slovenstvu na Hrvaškem od nekdaj do danes* (Kržišnik-Bukić 2006, 66–67). O njemu i o njegovom djelovanju pisao je Emilijan Lilek, prikazujući i rad drugih Slovenskih profesora koji su podučavali u srednjim školama na prostoru današnje Hrvatske (Lilek 1933).
- <sup>7</sup> Valentin Mandelc (Kranj, 16. veljače 1837. – Karlovac, 12. svibnja 1872.), pripovjedač i prevoditelj. U Beču je studirao klasičnu filologiju i slovenistiku. Kao profesor službovao je u Varaždinu i Karlovcu. Pisao je pjesme, pripovijetke, prevodio je dramska djela, uglavnom s francuskog jezika (Koblar 2009).
- <sup>8</sup> Fran Erjavec (Ljubljana, 4. rujna 1834. – Gorica, 12. siječnja 1884.) biolog i pripovjedač. U Beču je studirao prirodopis, a nakon završenog studija službovao je kao profesor u Zagrebu i Gorici. Mnogo je putovao, naročito po slovenskim krajevima. Zanimao se za prirodu, folklor i narodni izričaj (Grafenauer 2009).
- <sup>9</sup> Vodovnik Jurij, (Skomarje, 22. travnja 1791. – 17. prosinca 1858.). Čitati je naučio kući. Budući da je bio bolehljiv pa je tkaio kod kuće Svoje je pjesme davao ili prodavao i od toga je živio. Opisivao je vlastiti i narodni život na Pohorju (Cvetko 2009).

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László Kupa

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## "How Many Pharmacists of Slovakian Origin Lived in Hungary in the Age of the Tartar Invasion?" Additions to István Bibó's Picture of Central Europe

The Hungarian thinker and politician István Bibó examined the history of Central Europe in several significant studies. He drew attention to the serious social and political problems of the area, including those pathological symptoms which, in his opinion, had led to both World Wars. The ethnic conflicts of the region had been escalating since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, turning into historical traumas and political hysteria in the 20<sup>th</sup>. Bibó considered the Trianon Peace Treaty such a trauma. Therefore, he rejected and raised his voice against the infringements committed by Czechoslovakians and Romanians against their Hungarian minorities. Bibó proposed the consistent application of the principle of self-governance and the introduction of political arbitration for the resolution of ethnic conflicts, but in the long term he believed in the reconciliation of these nationalities. In his view a historical shift of this kind could bring about a positive change for the Hungarian minorities of the formerly Hungarian territories.

Keywords: István Bibó, self-governance, ethnic conflicts, minority rights, political arbitration, international law

## "Koliko lekarnarjev slovaškega porekla je živelo na Ogrskem v dobi tatarskih vpadov?" Prispevki k pogledu Istvána Biba na Srednjo Evropo

*Madžarski mislec in politik István Bibó se je v številnih odmevnih študijah ukvarjal z zgodovino Srednje Evrope. V njih je opozarjal na resne družbene in politične probleme te regije, vključno z bolezenskimi simptomi, ki so po njegovem mnenju povzročili obe svetovni vojni. Etnični konflikti na tem območju so naraščali vse od 18. stoletja naprej in prerasli v zgodovinske travme ter politično histerijo 20. stoletja. Po Bibovem mnenju je bila taka travma Trianonska mirovna pogodba. Prav zato je povzdignil glas proti kršitvam nad madžarskimi manjšinami, ki so jih izvršili Čehoslovaki in Romuni. Predlagal je dosledno uporabo načela samouprave in uvedbo politične arbitraže za reševanje etničnih konfliktov, čeprav je na dolgi rok verjel v spravo omenjenih narodov. Po njegovem mnenju bi tak zgodovinski obrat lahko prinesel pozitivno spremembo za madžarske manjšine na nekdanjih območjih Ogrske.*

*Ključne besede: István Bibó, samouprava, etnični konflikti, manjšinske pravice, politična arbitraža, mednarodno pravo*

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**Correspondence address:** László Kupa, University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities, Rókus Str. 2, H -7624, Pécs, Hungary, e-mail: laszlo.kupa@pte.hu

## 1. Introduction

The unusual title of this paper may be best explained by an anecdote stemming from István Bibó.<sup>1</sup> When the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior was headed by one of his friends, Ferenc Erdei, Bibó was working as the head of the legislation department at the ministry. Originally Erdei had been holding meetings with Soviet General Belyanov, who was responsible for internal affairs at the Allied Control Commission, but in August 1945 he gave this task to Bibó. Bibó recalled this meeting with General Belyanov by saying that “most of these meetings were about astoundingly insignificant things.” Once

I had to present Hungary’s population statistics broken down by historical date, nationality and profession back to as far as 1000. He gave me the categories and asked me the following question: how many pharmacists of Slovakian origin lived in Hungary<sup>2</sup> in 1242, during the period of the Tartar invasion? I already was wise enough to know that in a situation in which I was forced to respond, it was easier to answer a meaningless question with a straight face than to explore its nonsensical nature. So, a piece of paper as large as a screen had the piece of data showing that the number of such pharmacists was seven in the age of Béla IV. Belyanov looked at me, failing to perceive the humour in the answer, and immediately noticed a mistake among the more than two hundred items of data (Huszár 1989, 94–95).

This interview with Bibó is a sort of a *pars pro toto* example for the absurd situations that had occurred in this region during the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the area of ethnic issues.

Although his scholarly work was shaped by the ideas of several excellent internationally renowned scholars (e.g., H. Kelsen, G. Radbruch, P. Guggenheim, G. Ferrero, M. Bourquin), Bibó did not come under their influence to the extent that he would incorporate any elements of their scholarly views into his works.

István Bibó was one of the most significant Hungarian thinkers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; his interests covered several disciplines, such as philosophy, law and political science, administration, politics, history and social psychology. The synthesis of this diverse range of themes alone may be seen as a significant scholarly achievement. One of the main features of his scholarly views was that he extended his research to a complex analysis of the interactions between social structure, social ideas and “mass sentiments”.

After the Second World War Bibó made efforts to contribute both to the development of a more peaceful atmosphere and to the reorganization of scholarly life. In this endeavour he analysed the causes that had led to the Holocaust and rejected any type of collective guilt. He did not agree, for example, with the stigmatisation of Hungarians as a “guilty nation”, nor with the deportation of the Germans in Hungary. He did not submit, either, to the Stalinist régime, which had come to power in the meantime, and his views and his courageous commitment



to them made him one of the most outstanding figures of Hungarian intellectuals of the time.

In the above context, Bibó's views were inspired by the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian intellectual trends which served the development of the institutions of social progress and freedom. At the same time, he was critical of the theories that had an impact on him, rejecting their excessive approaches and those views which were incompatible with his humanistic values (e.g., the views of any form of collective guilt). This intellectual and moral attitude further strengthened Bibó's sovereignty as a thinker and made it an example for others to follow, also.

Bibó's views became widely known only after his death in 1979; the (re) publication of his works began only around this time. However, at the end of the 1980s, on the eve of the introduction of a multiparty system in Hungary, there was hardly any party which did not put at least a few of his thoughts on their agenda. After the initial enthusiasm mentioned above, however, the reception of Bibó's oeuvre appeared to stop short during this period. One of the reasons for this, probably, was the fact that Bibó's views could not be classified with any single ideological trend, world view or orientation, such as liberalism, conservatism, or socialism. The reception of his ideas was however given fresh momentum in the 2000s, especially with the publication of several papers. The year of the centenary of Bibó's birth, 2011, saw the beginning of the publication of Bibó's collective works, offering new opportunities for their reception.

In this paper I will:

- discuss Bibó's concept of the similar and divergent features of social development in Western Europe and Central-Eastern Europe;
- analyse Bibó's interpretation of the difficulties that Central-Eastern European countries had to face in becoming a nation; and, finally;
- present Bibó's proposals and concepts for the resolution of the ethnic conflicts in the region.

## 2. Similar and Divergent Paths of Social Development in Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe

During his painfully short scholarly career Bibó did not write any monograph on Central Europe.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, he was concerned with both the historical and the contemporary issues of the nations in the Central European region, especially those related to Hungary.<sup>4</sup> In Bibó (1986a) he addressed several serious problems of the Central European region, those often characterised as belonging to social pathology, and which had contributed to two world wars. Such problems included, e.g., antidemocratic nationalism, political hysteria and "Hitlerism" itself.<sup>5</sup> However, Bibó was not only concerned with the pathological problems of society. He also addressed several issues regarding the possible ways of resolving

various conflicts of ethnic origin and the opportunities for reconciliation among the nations living in this region.

66 If we want to describe Bibó's Central Europe from a regional point of view, we may establish that it did not cover the relevant region from either a geographical or a historical point of view. Bibó's Central Europe comprised two main "regional units": one of them was Germany, whose history, historical dead-end streets and shocks were examined in Bibó 1986a; the other was the region occupied by "Eastern European small states" like Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland with their "miserable history." We can see that there was "no room" on his map for Romania and Yugoslavia after the First World War, so he did not go deeply into the ethnic conditions of these two countries.<sup>6</sup>

Bibó examined the social development of Central and Eastern Europe in the context of "European social development". In Bibó (1986b) he refuted the statement that the nations and countries of this region are incapable of democratic development in the Western European way by virtue of "their very nature". However, even Bibó did not challenge the view that the countries of the region were very far away from the type of democracy that characterises Western Europe. "The institutions", Bibó writes, "which paved the way for democracy in Western Europe failed to transform the societies of Central and Eastern Europe" (Bibó 1986b, 213).

Bibó also took into account all the important institutions and characteristic features of social development with respect to which the development of Central and Eastern European nations diverged from that of Western Europe. They include the following:

- a feudal system based on contractual relations (as opposed to the "cold, uniformed serfdom" East of the River Elbe in Eastern Europe);
- "civil constitutional form and social methods and forms of communication tamed by Christianity and humanism" were present in Central and Eastern Europe to a "lesser degree" than in Western and Northern Europe;
- in later periods of social development both "the revolutionary working class of the new age" and the emerging class of industrial workers were much less significant in terms of their number and social importance than in Western and Northern Europe (Bibó 1986b).

In contrast to all this, Bibó believed that the humanist, civil and labour movement developments leading to modern social evolution had been established even in this region, although to a lesser extent. On the other hand, he emphasised that the processes of social development taking place in the Central and Eastern European region had their own special features (e.g., the free peasant's lifestyle and the historical antecedents of political freedom) which might equally well have given rise to an independent and heartening "trend of social development" (Bibó 1986b, 213–214).

The first, "tried and tested" way of "social development," the one seen in Western Europe – which, as seen above, was to some extent present in Central and Eastern Europe too – could be "fitted" into the grandiose "freedom programme" that had characterised the western (and northern) part of Europe from the Middle Ages<sup>7</sup> and which was rooted in ancient Greek-Roman culture, as far as some institutions are concerned.<sup>8</sup> In this respect, according to Bibó, the role of Christianity and the clergy in organising society and in "criticising power"<sup>9</sup> was very important, and helped the barbaric principalities of Europe advance to the state of founding and organising state institutions. This transformation process resulted in a system of "freedoms", the "small circles of freedom"<sup>10</sup> secured mostly by various privileges, which were characteristic of the Medieval period. Thus, Bibó's concept of freedom characterised a comprehensive social development that spanned several historical periods and was rooted in the Middle Ages, although he did not think that the emergence of the institutions of freedom in the modern age had no precursors, and he also stressed the differences between these two periods.

In Bibó (1986b) he proposed the same development when he presented the evolution of European nations as he dated the beginning of this process to the early Middle Ages (Bibó 1986b, 188), although he proposed that "modern nations" were established in the 18th century, more precisely at the time of the French Revolution, because he believed that was the time when this "huge force", national feeling as a democratic mass emotion began to emerge, which then 'triumphantly' took possession of the national framework (Bibó 1986b, 191).

### 3. Difficulties in Becoming a Nation in Central and Eastern European Countries

However, the history of the Central and Eastern European nations took a different course. Bibó called attention to two important factors that had a critical influence on the process of the countries in this region becoming a modern nation. One of them lies in the nature of their social development, which had been different from that of Western Europe, though Bibó thought these differences alone could not explain the difficulties in becoming a modern nation and the expansion of aggressive nationalism in the region. They were not able to provide an explanation, even though the large landowners and monopoly capitalists in the region and the "military cliques" operated a power mechanism which would never have been tolerated by "any other country with free thinking and healthy development". However, Bibó too rejected the view that aggressive nationalism had emerged in accordance with the interests of powerful forces because the peoples in these countries "were kept in slavish obedience" to divert attention from important social issues. "This is nonsense / ... /", Bibó wrote.

/If/ this factor were decisive, there would be simple servitude and brutal backwardness here rather than aggressive nationalism. The national feeling, even if it is restrictive and narrow-minded, is sister to a system of democracy, a serious mass emotion, yet people and groups of people firmly embedded in a system of interests can neither stimulate nor experience mass emotions /.../. Serious mass emotions can only be evoked by temperament, and temperament only by real experience (Bibó 1986b, 214–215).

What is then the other critical factor, in addition to the difficulties apparent in social development, which in Bibó's view can explain the history of the countries on their often bumpy road to becoming a nation, a road that was not free from conflicts or even historical cataclysms as well as the emergence and expansion of aggressive nationalism? "Every thread", Bibó argues,

points to some kind of political hysteria, and the first task towards giving an account of political hysteria of this kind is to uncover the historical shocks that upset the development and balance of these countries. These shocks stem from the painful and difficult nature of becoming a nation (Bibó 1986b, 215).

The road to this political hysteria in the region had several different stages. The starting point of this historical process in the case of three (Central and) Eastern European small nations was that each of them had lost their independence, though at a different time, and much of their territory had become part of the Habsburg Empire. The Habsburg Empire was a state "which once and for all upset the course of establishing a state and a nation in Central and Eastern Europe" (Bibó 1986b, 192).<sup>11</sup> On the one hand, there was indeed some sort of an "Austrian consciousness" that the Habsburgs intended to plant in this extremely heterogeneous state, but it was unable to take root since the Habsburg Empire "was not able to dissolve these national units, although it did manage to weaken the nations that made up the state" (Bibó 1986b 193–194).

For the peoples living in the territory of the Habsburg Empire the "national framework" did not coincide with the "political framework", so these emerging nations did not have their own state.<sup>12</sup> The lack of being an independent state meant two things for the three "small states": the ability to create an independent state as well as the opportunity to revive an independent state framework that had existed before. However, the revival of the previously existing independent state was only possible if the prevailing territorial borders were changed, and this in itself involved the danger of territorial disputes becoming aggravated. Bibó thought "/t/his is just the point where the democratic content of Central European nationalism begins to diminish" (Bibó 1986a, 389).

The different nature of linguistic and ethnic borders contributed to the evolution of "linguistic nationalism" to a great extent, which Bibó saw as a "special Central and Eastern European phenomenon". The mistaken idea "that a nation is created when people speaking the same language 'assemble' and found a state"

came from this region. This, however, had never happened in this world before" (Bibó 1986b, 195), for according to Bibó, nation is a "political" (rather than a "linguistic") notion. The nations living in this region

whose historic borders were surrounded by linguistically akin people, or which no longer had historic borders, envisaged the programme of uniting all their linguistic relatives, while those which had people speaking a different language on their historic territory were seeking to establish a single-language national state. Both ambitions involved the same basic objective: to support the instability of political existence using ethnic factors (Bibó 1986b, 196).

According to Bibó, the borders had become "fluid" under the effect of linguistic nationalism, soon resulting in a historical situation in which "all the nations that were reborn here got involved in a border dispute with most of their neighbours. The situation resulted in many wars and disasters and created even greater instability for national existence and territorial status." These were the "developments" that Bibó saw as the main sources of the political hysteria which emerged in the Central and Eastern European nations (Bibó 1986b, 197).

The processes mentioned before – as seen above – were not identical with political hysteria itself but were "merely" its sources. The next important stage on the road leading to political hysteria was the evolution of an "existential concern for the community". Due to "linguistic nationalism", the "fluidity of borders" and "fierce border disputes", the nations living in the region began to worry about "the death of their nation", "the destruction of their nation" because the possibility of "political destruction" seemed to be quite real.<sup>13</sup> It did not mean "wiping out" or "deporting" a nation. The main source of the concern was that "it seemed to be possible to question" the existence of a nation "by means of brutal force and aggression" (Bibó 1986b, 217). National consciousness had to be awakened and kept continuously alive among the people living under these circumstances.

Bibó considered the mental state of "existential concern for the community" to be a critical factor, which made the possibility of democratic development in the countries of the region rather "unstable". Although he believed that "democratism" and "nationalism" had nearly the same roots as movements,

in Central and Eastern Europe the creation of a national community was not tied to the liberation of people; on the contrary, these nations had to experience historical moments which appeared to demonstrate that /.../ if democracy is taken to its final consequences, the national community is exposed to serious risks or even a catastrophe (Bibó 1986b, 219).

This is how "antidemocratic nationalism" was born, which Bibó called "a horrible iron ring made of wood." On the one hand, "the characteristic virtues of free man" do develop but this "spontaneous enthusiasm and conscious self-sacrifice" should



be undertaken for "a community that fails to ensure the basic conditions for the development of free man" (ibid.).

In Bibó's view, 'antidemocratic nationalism' led – among other things – to the emergence of phenomena in the region like the falsification of democracy (ibid.)<sup>14</sup> and the distortion of political character.

The history of the nations in the region was undoubtedly saddled with these historical processes but it was really made "miserable" by the different kinds of political hysteria. According to Bibó, the starting point of political hysteria is "the shocking historical experience" of a community in connection with which the members of the community feel it goes far beyond what they can still tolerate. This historical shock results in "the paralysis of the community's political thinking," with collective thinking and activity "becoming morbidly tied to a particular interpretation of a single experience. In this deep-rooted, paralysed state, it becomes impossible to resolve timely issues if they are in any way related to the critical point" (Bibó 1986a, 376–377). Another prerequisite for the evolution of political hysteria is that in this case the given community begins to cherish "the illusion of a kind of fake solution," "tries to reconcile incompatible things," "gets into a distorted relationship with reality" and "as a result, slowly becomes incapable of figuring out the real cause of its troubles and failures in the normal chain of causes and effects / .../" (Bibó 1986a, 378). The hysterical world view so created is

closed and perfect: it explains and justifies everything / .../ Everything is right in it. There is only one problem with it. The reason why everything is right in it is not because it suits real values and corresponds to real facts but because it puts the consequences of a false situation into a system and says exactly what it wants to hear in the given situation (ibid.).

"The disposition to false self-assessment" gradually strengthens in these hysterical communities and "the well-known symptoms of a discrepancy between desires and reality begin to emerge / .../" (Bibó 1986a, 379).

Although Bibó first demonstrated the conceptual elements of political hysteria through the example of German history after the First World War,<sup>15</sup> it was obviously present in the history of the "Central European small states" too. The peace system created in Versailles did not bring real peace either for Germany or for other countries in the region. Bibó's key claim was that the major principle of peace, the nations' right for self-determination, was not applied consistently (Bibó 1990a, 676). Bibó agreed with this basic principle but he also admitted that the peace system adopted in Versailles "compared to its own basic principles, was considerably more discordant than the old, monarchic and feudal system in its golden age" (Bibó 1990a, 331).

According to Bibó, the consistent application of the right for self-determination should have led to ethnic borders that were exclusively determined



on the basis of "national status". Instead, however, they used criteria (economic, transport, strategic, making the shape of countries complete, etc.) "which are customarily used in the most irrational way." They are "completely futile and their large-scale use is bound to become the source of the greatest troubles" (Bibó 1986b, 243). Accordingly, Bibó believed the only acceptable solution was the delimitation of nations, and he claimed that if a region was "not annexed here or there" immediately or within a given time, "it can only give rise to dispute" (Bibó 1986b, 244).

So, after Trianon, the "epidemic" of political hysteria had reached – not without precedent – Hungary too (Bibó 1986c, 597). The elimination of historic Hungary had some serious mental consequences too.<sup>16</sup> Trianon had become the only point, the only experience, the shocking experience of seeing historical Hungary falling to pieces; Bibó mentioned this in connection with the characterisation of political hysteria. Although Bibó condemned the Horthy regime, it did not prevent him from rejecting the Treaty of Trianon also. His primary objection was that historical Hungary had been eliminated "in such a helter-skelter way that in addition to territories with people speaking another language, quite large parts of the country were also annexed where Hungarian-speaking people were living" (Bibó 1986b, 204). In addition to all that, the life of minorities living in the neighbouring countries between the two world wars was slowly becoming nearly impossible even at places where minority state had not been criminalised and ethnic conflicts had not degenerated into massacres (Bibó 1986b, 231).

The "phantom" of the Treaty of Trianon also appeared in Bibó's works in connection with the peace treaty that concluded the Second World War. In this context, he noted again that "its unfair and bad nature / ... / is commonplace" (Bibó 1986d, 269). However, it did not change his view that Hungary "got what it had deserved for its role in the Second World War" and Hungary's responsibility could not be overshadowed by any injuries the Hungarian had to suffer (Bibó 1986d, 286–287). On the other hand, he thought the same about the peace negotiations following the Second World War, saying that they were "exceptionally disappointing and appalling" and that they went far beyond the Treaty of Trianon in terms of "superficiality, formalism and capriciousness". He believed that the peace treaty was at the mercy of a "serious crisis of confidence" that had developed between the "two rival power groups" recruited from the victors, which made it impossible to enforce any "fundamental principle" in the course of the negotiations (Bibó 1986d, 278–279).

#### 4. The Resolution of Ethnic Conflicts

Bibó's thoughts on Central Europe were not only aimed at the analysis of political hysteria. He also made a proposal regarding the resolution of conflicts that had developed in the region. Before quoting a few of his thoughts on this issue, it is

worth referring to the chain of arguments in which he consistently challenges the view that the use of force is the order of nature. According to Bibó, nature is not characterised by a life-and-death fight, by the struggle for life in a Darwinian sense. On the contrary: Bibó talks about "broad solidarity", the interdependence of living beings, which does not make it necessary for them to conduct an unsparing struggle for life. Starting from this position, he concluded that "the struggle for life among people" was by no means a "law of nature" but "the result of a distorted process" (Bibó 1986d, 291). The anthropological genesis of this "distorted process" was the emergence of man's existential concerns. On the basis of the above we can establish that Bibó did not at all agree with the necessity of the struggle for life among nations and nationalities.<sup>17</sup>

Bibó addressed in most detail the possible ways to resolve the conflicts among the nations/nationalities in the region in Bibó 1990a. In this large-scale work he addressed the issue of "higher integration", the issue of federation as a solution for the ethnic conflicts; but he did not think it was a cure-all. Although he viewed federation as a "branch of the democratic ideal of freedom," he did not agree with the ambition to propose federation as a solution "for groups of people separated by national conflicts" instead of straightening out unsettled issues between them (Bibó 1990a, 383–386).

The "other branch of the democratic ideal of freedom" can be seen in the principle of autonomy,<sup>18</sup> which Bibó liked very much on account of his democratic values but – as we have seen before – he did not conceal his critical opinion on the practical application of this principle after the First World War. The main problem for him was that the principle of self-determination had not been applied consistently in Versailles.

He refuted the view, which is still present today, that self-determination could be opposed to the territorial integrity of states. Bibó considered this opposition unacceptable because it seems to hold, as a matter of fact, between an organising principle – self-determination – and an actually existing reality – territorial integrity. So, this contradiction is only apparent because the tension actually holds between a principle and its practical realisation, yet the institution cannot overrule the principle that it serves to implement (Bibó 1990a, 409–410). Furthermore, Bibó stressed that it is precisely self-determination that can lead to a greater degree of territorial integrity instead of endless tugs of war and conflicts (Bibó 1990a, 405–406). In order to be able to "take control" over the autonomy principle, peaceful institutionalised procedures should be created since the existing "international political procedures for conflict resolution" proved to be insufficient (Bibó 1990a, 417).

Bibó proposed an institution, "international arbitration," which he thought was suitable for the resolution of disputes regarding the enforcement of the principle of self-determination. This institution did not exist in his time but he thought it could be established. This institution to be established is different from

regular international administration of justice, not only in that the former is of a political, whilst the latter is of a legal nature, but also in that the former consists of elected judges while the latter is made up of permanent judges, the former acts in accordance with international law, the latter proceeds under the principle of *equity*. However, according to Bibó, the most critical difference lies in their *function*: political arbitration can only be a special procedure, while the other one involves a regular procedure (Bibó 1990a, 499–517).<sup>19</sup>

## 5. Epilogue: Bibó's Expectations for the Future

Bibó did not see political arbitration as the only tool for the resolution of conflicts among nations in the region; he also hoped for a significant improvement in the situation of the Hungarian minorities living in the annexed territories, albeit only in "the long term".<sup>20</sup> In one of his letters he stressed that a country – here he refers to Czechoslovakia – "which takes democracy seriously should not seek to annex people that belong and are attracted to another nation" (Bibó 1990a, 422–423).<sup>21</sup>

Bibó's criticism<sup>22</sup> affected Romania as well as Czechoslovakia; in it he pointed out:

what lies behind the current animosity is no longer the lively memories of the by now very old Hungarian suppression; it is the bad conscience of Romanians that they feel with respect to everything they had done to the Hungarians during the past 60 or the past 30 years (Bibó 1990b, 425–426).

Although the description of the pathological symptoms in the region takes a significantly much larger place in Bibó's oeuvre, including the examination of the conflicts among the nations living here, he was also concerned with the possibilities offered by patriotism and cooperation among the various ethnic groups.

Bibó made a clear difference between patriotism and nationalism. He saw some kind of an aggressive form of behaviour in the latter, behaviour which was missing in patriotism. Patriotism is "the devotion to one's country that comprises natural cohesive elements of national community consciousness", while nationalism also contains "aggressive and dominating elements" (Bibó 1990a, 363). Bibó did not see patriotism as an ideological trend, like, e.g., liberalism and socialism. The primary reason for this is that patriotism is related to a nation's sovereignty and the principles of self-determination, and the fact that nation states came into being following these basic principles does not require a separate ideology (*ibid.*).

Bibó concludes his exposition of patriotism with an extremely important conceptual distinction. He did not view it as a separate ideology, and as a result, not a form of nationalism, either; "if somebody identifies oneself with national

consciousness, national loyalty and national solidarity more zealously and in a more emotionally charged way than the average person, making each of the above their primary bond to the community" (Bibó 1990a, 364).

When a new state is created or undergoes territorial rearrangement, the "community taking the initiative" takes a stronger stand for national independence and national unity than e.g. "stable nations." At a time like this, the goal is to "implement a programme of patriotic sacrifice to foster national characteristics to a much greater extent and promote independence and union," which "by necessity does not involve aggressive, dominant tendencies" (ibid.). Thus, the ambitions and form of behaviour just mentioned cannot be put into the category of nationalism but, according to Bibó, they belong to the notion of patriotism.

Bibó's position regarding the "chances of cooperation among Central European small states" was influenced by László Németh's concept of Eastern Europe.<sup>23</sup> In a paper published in 1932, Németh envisaged a new intellectual and political agenda for Central European people which would make the hostile nations living here brothers and sisters (Bibó 1986f, 377). Although Bibó agreed with Németh's position, he also called attention to "the overheated nationalism" and the "Hungarophobia and national prejudice" of Czechoslovakia and Romania (Bibó 1990b, 425).

Apart from this quite late paper, Bibó formulated the position mentioned above as early as 1946, immediately after the Second World War but before the Paris Peace Treaty, in which he said the old-new national borders should be accepted – mainly for the sake of Hungarians living in the annexed territories – but if in the (possibly, distant) future there arises a "political constellation" which would enable Hungary to secure better borders, the opportunity should – with due responsibility – be taken (Bibó 1986d, 291–292).<sup>24</sup>

Having come to the end of Bibó's paper on Central Europe we believe it is important to note that – despite all his criticism – he did not think that ethnic conflicts only occurred in this region and nowhere else in Western Europe. If he had, he would surely not have written his study on the Northern Irish issue.<sup>25</sup>

However, all this does not exempt us from the obligation to offer therapy rather than just a diagnosis for the ethnic conflicts still existing in the region.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> István Bibó Junior (Budapest, 7 August 1911 – Budapest, 10 May 1979.) See Kupa 2009, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Lead by Batu Khan, the Tartars attacked Hungary in 1241 under the rule of King Béla IV (1235–1270). In 1242, upon hearing about the death of Ögedei Khan, they left the country. "When they left, smoking ruins and thousands of unburied bodies were left behind" (Engel 1990, 224).

<sup>3</sup> It is worth mentioning several papers on Bibó's thoughts on Central and Eastern Europe which were first published only as a samizdat publication in a memorial book in honour of Bibó, especially the work of Jenő Szűcs written on three regions of Europe (Szűcs 1983, 5–8, 120–126). The same book contains a paper by Emil Niederhauser which focuses on Bibó's (1986f) book

(Niederhauser 1991, 116–129), and a paper by Csaba Kiss Gy, which examined the concepts of nation in Eastern Europe (Kiss Gy 1991, 11–16). Later publications on the same topic include a paper by Stefánia Bódi (Bódi 2005, 88–95).

- 4 One of his works in which he wrote about this problem is "Az európai egyensúlyról és békéről" [On European balance and peace] written at the end of the Second World War (Bibó 1986a). Several papers which are important for our topic were written after the Second World War, such as "A kelet-európai kisállamok nyomorúsága" (Bibó 1986b), and "Eltorzult magyar alkat, zsákutcás magyar történelem" (Bibó 1986c). In one of his late papers written in the 1970s, in "Nemzetközi államközösség bénultsága és annak orvosságai. Önrendelkezés, nagyhatalmi egyetértés, politikai döntőbíráskodás" (Bibó 1990a). He expounded several important ideas, e.g., in connection with the resolution of the ethnic conflicts in the region. In his comprehensive historical and political philosophical essay entitled "Az európai társadalomfejlődés értelme" (Bibó 1986e), he outlined a framework for historical development in which Central-Eastern European history can also be placed and interpreted.
- 5 In one version of 1986a Bibó warned that it would be a "fatal" error for the "Anglo-Saxon world" to look at the Central European region as if the problems of this region "/ ... / more precisely, the so-called intermediate zone lying between Germany and Russia were just one of many other complex issues / ... /" (Bibó 1986a, 605). Bibó justified his standpoint, among other things, by saying that "/ ... / within a short period of time a Second World War broke out due to the lack of consolidation in this region, and once a Third World War breaks out, it can hardly explode anywhere else but here" (Bibó 1986a, 606).
- 6 This is not exactly right, because in 1986a Bibó did provide a short overview of Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece and Bulgaria. He gave the most attention to Yugoslavia, calling the situation of this country "the most unfortunate" regarding its historical development because the establishment of Yugoslavia did not bring about any reconciliation between "realities" and "wishful thinking" (Bibó 1986a, 515). According to Bibó, "the South Slav masses," which had not had any pronounced national consciousness in the 19th century, had developed a "firm national awareness" by 1941 (ibid). This did not mean that Yugoslavia did not have any "serious border problems" or that there was no aggressive nationalism emerging in the country (Bibó 1986a, 516).  
According to Bibó, the situation of Romania was similar to Yugoslavia in that "the desires generated by modern nationalism became real and [Romania] managed to unite with the Romanians living in Transylvania and Bessarabia" (ibid). At the same time, "much stronger factors of the lack of political realism played a role in the development of the situation in Romania" than in Yugoslavia. "It is true that Romanians form an internally more united nation than the South Slav nation. On the other hand, the union of all the Romanians in 1918 was less engineered than that of Yugoslavia" (ibid).
- 7 Bibó also makes mention of modern freedom "being organically built upon" medieval institutions of freedom and sees this process as an organic development; but he detects this kind of continuity only in the history of England and the Netherlands (Bibó 1986e, 64).
- 8 Bibó addressed the issue of "existential fear" and connected the "escalation of aggression" that characterised the early period of human civilisation to this concept. In his view, only two cultural spheres were able to break out of this escalation process: Greek-Roman constitutionality and Chinese Confucian ethics. (Bibó 1986e, 11–14).
- 9 The "theoretical" bases of this latter role were created by Saint Augustine by saying that the states lacking the ideal of justice are nothing but "a gang of robbers" (Saint Augustine 2005, 265). Bibó even made a reference to this comment in Bibó 1986e, 22–24.
- 10 Bibó believed that "the entire hierarchy of freedoms in the Medieval Age was a homogeneous system / ... /" (Bibó 1986e, 98), and he supported his view, among other things, by an analysis of the Dutch national anthem (Bibó 1986e, 97–100). Accordingly, medieval Europe was characterised



by "an organisation of society with its gradually emerging institutions which embraced the entire society and provided it with plenty of freedom in addition to strong submission" (Bibó 1986e, 34).

<sup>11</sup> According to Bibó, the Habsburg Empire was nothing else at the time of its creation but an "incidental, inter- 'national', dynastic structure of states, / ... / like that of Aragon-Sicily or England and the House of Hanover" (Bibó 1986b, 192).

<sup>12</sup> "/ ... / the nations living here were lacking what was so obvious, tangible and taken for granted for Western European nations: the reality of their own political framework, their public administration, a uniform political culture, a well-established economic organisation with players that know one another well, an élite in the capital city and an intellectual élite, etc." (Bibó 1986b, 216).

<sup>13</sup> For all these nations "there were territories that they had every reason to jealously guard or rightfully make a claim for, and there was not a single nation among them which would not have been close to partial or total annihilation" (Bibó 1986b, 217).

<sup>14</sup> The falsification of democracy can be traced back to the "persistent state of fear" that "the progress of democracy can jeopardise the cause of the nation and it becomes impossible to make use of the benefits of democracy" (Bibó 1986b, 220).

<sup>15</sup> Just as in his statements regarding the history of the Eastern European "small states" laden with a democracy deficit, Bibó believed that the Treaty of Versailles was not the only factor that played a role in the development of German hysteria since "its historical antecedent goes back further than to Versailles" (Bibó 1986a, 370).

<sup>16</sup> According to Bibó, Hungary was not the only country among the "Central European small states" whose state of mind made their people feel that "they could make claims against the world without any obligation or responsibility" (Bibó 1986b, 211).

<sup>17</sup> For the above interpretation of Bibó's ideas see, e.g., Kupa 2012, 108–109.

<sup>18</sup> The notion of autonomy in Bibó's sense was discussed by Gábor Kovács in connection with the categories of "nation" and "nationalism" (Kovács 2004, 53–54).

<sup>19</sup> I have already analysed Bibó's views on international arbitration in *Treatises and Documents / Razprave in gradivo*. For this, see Kupa 2009, 135–136.

<sup>20</sup> For more details see Kupa 2011, 186–187.

<sup>21</sup> For the analysis of Bibó's letter referred to here, see Kupa 2011, 187.

<sup>22</sup> Bibó spoke highly of Yugoslavia's minority policy that affected the Hungarians (Bibó 1990b, 425).

<sup>23</sup> The author and journalist László Németh (1901–1975) was one of the leading figures of Hungarian intellectual life between the two world wars. For Németh's novel approach to the Trianon trauma and national policy, see Papp 2012, 132.

<sup>24</sup> For Bibó's proposal, see also Kupa 2011, 187.

<sup>25</sup> In this paper Bibó also called attention to the importance of a political culture that is ready for compromise, mentioning Great Britain as an example (Bibó 1990c, 689–690).

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## About the Contributors / O avtorjih

### Zoran Slavnic

Zoran Slavnic is a sociologist and researcher in the field of work, migration and citizenship at the REMESO (Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society), Linköping university (Sweden). His main research interests are sociology of migration, economic sociology, ethnic relations and sociological theory.

*Zoran Slavnic je sociolog in raziskovalec področij dela, migracij in državljanstva na REMESO (Inštitut za raziskovanje migracij, etničnosti in družbe) na Univerzi Linköping (Švedska). Raziskuje predvsem sociologijo migracij, ekonomsko sociologijo, etnične odnose in sociološke teorije.*

### Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc

Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc is a junior research fellow at the Peace Institute Ljubljana and a PhD candidate in Balkan Studies at the University of Ljubljana, with the thesis title "Public Narratives of the Past in the Framework of Transitional Justice Processes: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina". She holds MA in Nationalism Studies from Central European University, Budapest, and BA degrees in International Relations at the University of Belgrade and the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London External Programme. Her research interests are within fields of transitional justice, post conflict memory-making, history textbook writing and issues of national identity.

*Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc je mlada raziskovalka na Mirovnem inštitutu v Ljubljani in doktorandka Balkanskih študijev na Univerzi v Ljubljani. Naslov njene disertacije se glasi: »Javni narativi o preteklosti v okviru procesov tranzicijske pravičnosti: Primer Bosne in Hercegovine«. Magistrski naslov iz študijev nacionalizma je pridobila na Srednjeevropski univerzi v Budimpešti, diplomirala pa je iz mednarodnih odnosov na Univerzi v Beogradu in na London School of Economics and Political Science v okviru eksterne programa Univerze v Londonu. Njeni raziskovalni interesi so tranzicijska pravičnost, postkonfliktna memorizacija, pisanje zgodovinskih učbenikov in vprašanja nacionalne identitete.*

### Kristina Riman

Kristina Riman was born in Rijeka, where she finished elementary and secondary school. She graduated in Croatian language and literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Rijeka. She holds an MA from the University of Zagreb (2005), and a Ph.D. from the University of Rijeka (2010). Since 2012 she

has been employed as an assistant professor at the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula where she teaches the courses Literature for Children and Youth and Media. She has participated in international academic and professional projects. She participates in international conferences and publishes papers from the field of literature with special emphasis on Croatian-Slovene literary connections and the role of literature in education. She has published four books, four book chapters, ten scientific papers and articles, and is the editor of three publications.

*Kristina Riman je bila rojena na Reki, kjer je končala osnovno in srednjo šolo. Diplomirala je iz hrvaškega jezika in književnosti na Filozofski fakulteti na Reki. Magistrirala je na Univerzi v Zagrebu leta 2005, doktorirala pa na Univerzi na Reki leta 2010. Od leta 2012 je zaposlena kot docent na Univerzi Jurja Dobrile v Pulju, kjer je nosilka predmetov Literatura za otroke in mladino ter Medijska kultura. Sodelovala je na mednarodnih znanstvenih in strokovnih projektih. Sodeluje na mednarodnih konferencah in objavlja dela s področja književnosti, s posebnim poudarkom na hrvaško-slovenskih literarnih povezavah in vlogi literature v izobraževanju. Izdala je štiri knjige, štiri poglavja v knjigah, deset znanstvenih in strokovnih del in je urednica treh publikacij.*

## László Kupa

László Kupa is a full professor at the Sociology Department of the Faculty of Humanities at University of Pécs. His fields of research are Ethnic Minorities and History of Sociology. He published three books, edited fifteen other books, three with co-editors. He takes active part in the academic life in Hungary and he is the chairman of the Department of Research on Ethnic Minorities of the Hungarian Sociological Association and also chairs an Academic Team in Pécs which conducts research on ethnic minorities.

*László Kupa je redni profesor na Oddelku za sociologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Pécsu. Ukvarja se z raziskovanjem narodnih manjšin in zgodovine sociologije. Objavil je tri knjige in uredil petnajst knjig, tri skupaj s souredniki. Aktivno sodeluje v akademskem življenju na Madžarskem in je predsednik Oddelka za raziskovanje narodnih manjšin v okviru Madžarskega sociološkega društva, vodi pa tudi akademski tim v Pécsu, ki raziskuje narodne manjšine.*

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