



II. MEĐUNARODNI ZNANSTVENI SKUP
Važnost europskoga sjećanja
za europsku budućnost:
Komunistički zločini

KNJIŽICA SAŽETAKA

Fakultet hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
22. lipnja 2022.
9.30 sati
dvorana Zagreb





Komunistička ideologija provođena je već tijekom Drugoga svjetskoga rata na područjima koje su prostorno nadzirale postrojbe Narodno-oslobodilačke vojske Jugoslavije (NOVJ), odnosno partizanske snage. Iako još bez režimskih naznaka, zbog nedostatka upravnoga nadzora nad širim područjem, ovaj je sustav u sklopu vojnih postrojbi i u uvjetima općega rata započeo provoditi sustavnu i masovnu represiju nad osobama koje su s komunističkoga motrišta označene „narodnim neprijateljima i ratnim zločincima“. Tako se prvi masovni zločini partizanskih snaga počinjeni (barem deklarativno) u ime komunističke ideologije bilježe još tijekom ratnih godina, odnosno od 1941. do 1945. Naknadno, ali i nastavno na takvu metodologiju obračuna s neistomišljenicima u „narodne neprijatelje i ratne zločince“ ubrajane su i osobe koje su u ratu bile vojni, politički ili službenički pripadnici različitih struktura suprotstavljenih komunizmu i njegovu partizanskemu pokretu. Tako je ukupno golemi broj osoba (tzv. običnih građana) prema različitim mjerilima (svjetonazor, imovinsko stanje politički stajališta, religioznost itd.) bio trajno nepoželjan komunističkomu poretku, što je dovodilo do otvorene manifestacije sile i počinjenja zločina.

U završnom ratnom razdoblju započela je sustavna i masovna represija jer je tada Komunistička partija Jugoslavije dovršavala revolucionarni proces preuzimanja vlasti za koji se pripremala tijekom cijelog rata. No, u hrvatskoj historiografiji postoji još niz nerazjašnjenih komunističkih zločinačkih epizoda i iz samoga ratnoga razdoblja.

Tijela „nove“ komunističke vlasti tijekom cijelog rata sudjelovala su u prikupljanju podataka te u stvaranju krajnje ideologiziranoga ozračja za „konačni obračun s ratnim zločincima i narodnim neprijateljima“.

Radi toga je u svibnju 1944. osnovana sigurnosna služba Komunističke partije Jugoslavije pod imenom Odjeljenje zaštite naroda – OZN-a, a u kolovozu 1944. i Korpus narodne obrane Jugoslavije (KNOJ) kao specijalna postrojba od 120 000 najodanijih partijskih vojnika, kojima je glavna zadaća bila organizirati i provoditi u represiju te čuvati komunistički režim. Osim toga, komunistička ideologija i praksa smatrali su kako se stećevine komunističke revolucije ne mogu očuvati bez „diktature proletarijata“ koja je – prema Lenjinu – određena kao „najžešći i najnemilosrdniji rat nove klase protiv moćnjega neprijatelja.“

Na temelju naznačenih činjenica moguće je razumijevati sustavnost, goleme razmjere i sveobuhvatnost represije koju je potkraj rata i u poraću provodio jugoslavenski komunistički poredak. Obračunavalo se ne samo s nepoželjnim osobama nego i s institucijama, svjetonazorima, vrjednotama i simbolima. Najteži oblik represije bila su sustavna masovna pogubljenja bez vođenja ikakvih sudskeh procesa, a vrlo često i bez ikakve skupne ili pojedinačne evidencije.

Zbog niza povijesnih okolnosti posebno su teško stradali Hrvati. Jedna od nepovoljnih okolnosti za Hrvate bilo je nepripremljeno i kaotično povlačenje – približno pola milijuna hrvatskih civila i približno 200 000 hrvatskih vojnika – u smjeru sjeverozapada, tj. preko Slovenije prema Austriji.

Posebnu je vrstu sustavnih masovnih pogubljenja – uglavnom bez ikakvih suđenja ili uz ubrzana skupna suđenja pred prijekim revolucionarnim sudovima – jugoslavenski režim izvršio nakon zauzimanja („oslobođenja“) pojedinih područja, naselja i gradova. I većinu takvih





pogubljenja provodila je OZN-a prema popisima koji su bili ranije prikupljeni i dopunjavani nakon osvajanja pojedinih mjesta.

O navedenim masovnim zločinima najkonkretnije svjedoče prikrivena stratišta i grobišta koja su do 1990. bila najstrože čuvana tajna jugoslavenskoga komunističkoga poretka, a nakon 1990. službena državna povjerenstva su do 2012. na teritorijima dijela novonastalih država evidentirala ukupno približno 1700 masovnih prikrivenih stratišta i grobišta: u Sloveniji 591, u Hrvatskoj 843, u Srbiji 180 te u Bosni i Hercegovini 91. U dijelu država nastalih raspadom Jugoslavije (Crna Gora, Kosovo, Makedonija) ta tema službeno još nije ni otvorena.

Međutim, zbog tranzicijskih razloga u spomenutim državama koje su dio tih zločina istražile, uglavnom su obustavljeni ili znatno usporena daljnja istraživanja (u Hrvatskoj 2000., u Sloveniji 2009.) te je stoga izostalo suočavanje s tim zastrašujućim zločinima i drugom zločinačkom represijom jugoslavenskoga komunističkoga režima, iako na to suočavanje Hrvatsku i Sloveniju obvezuju dokumenti koji su pravna stečevina Europske unije, a sukladno tomu Hrvatski sabor je u lipnju 2006. usvojio i odgovarajuću Deklaraciju koja je ostala mrtvo slovo na papiru.

Znanstvena djelatnost temeljna je djelatnost Fakulteta hrvatskih studija koja, kao posebne vidove djelatnosti, između ostalog, obuhvaća znanstveno istraživanje, znanstveni dijalog, formiranje znanstvenog pomlatka i razvijanje međuinsticucijske i međunarodne znanstvene suradnje. Na Fakultetu hrvatskih studija pri kraju predsjedanja Republike Hrvatske Vijećem Europske unije u prigodi 75. obljetnice Bleiburske tragedije i hrvatskih križnih puteva te civilizacijske potrebe suočavanja s prošlošću 19. lipnja 2020. održan je znanstveni skup „Važnost europskoga sjećanja za europsku budućnost: komunistički poratni zločini“. U međuvremenu su povjesničari otkrili brojne nove podatke vezane uz komunističke zločine. Stoga je zaključeno kako postoji potreba za održavanjem skupa takve tematike, u smislu širenja i strukovne popularizacije historiografskih spoznaja kao i obuhvata razdoblja, da se ne bavi samo poratnim zločinima, nego da ukazujući i zločine počinjenje tijekom Drugoga svjetskoga rata.

Na taj način pripadnici hrvatske akademске zajednice, osobito povjesničari, pridonosit će suočavanju sa zločinačkom komunističkom prošlošću, na što obvezuju europsko humanističko civilizacijsko nasljeđe te odgovarajući dokumenti Hrvatskoga sabora, Vijeća Europe i Europske unije:

- Deklaracija Sabora Republike Hrvatske o osudi političkoga procesa i presude kardinalu dr. Alojziju Stepinisu od 14. veljače 1992. (Narodne novine, br. 9/92)
https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1992_02_9_140.html
- Deklaracija Sabora Republike Hrvatske o osudi uhićenja i umorstva Andrije Hebranga (Narodne novine, br. 9/92) https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1992_02_9_141.html
- Rezolucija 1096 Parlamentarne skupština Vijeća Europe o uklanjanju naslijeda bivših komunističkih totalitarnih sustava od 27. lipnja 1996.
<http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=16507&lang=en>





- Rezolucija Europskoga parlamenta o šezdesetoj obljetnici završetka Drugoga svjetskoga rata 8. svibnja 1945., od 12. svibnja 2005. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52005IP0180&from=EN>
- Rezolucija 1481 Parlamentarne skupštine Vijeća Europe o međunarodnoj osudi zločina totalitarnih komunističkih poredaka od 25. siječnja 2006. <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/xref/xref-xml2html-en.asp?fileid=17403&lang=en#>
- Deklaracija Hrvatskoga sabora o osudi zločina počinjenih tijekom totalitarnoga komunističkoga poretka u Hrvatskoj 1945. – 1990. godine od 30. lipnja 2006. https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2006_07_76_1786.html
- Rezolucija Europskoga parlamenta o europskoj savjesti i totalitarizmu od 2. travnja 2009. <https://min-kulture.gov.hr/vijesti-8/rezolucija-europskog-parlamenta-o-europskoj-savjesti-i-totalitarizmu/13538>
- Izvješće Europske komisije o spomenu na zločine koje su počinili totalitarni režimi u Europi od 22. prosinca 2010. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52010DC0783>
- Zakon o pronalaženju, obilježavanju i održavanju grobova žrtava komunističkih zločina nakon Drugoga svjetskoga rata (Narodne novine, broj 31/11), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2011_03_31_677.html
- Rezolucija Europskoga parlamenta od 19. rujna 2019. o važnosti sjećanja za budućnost Europe (2019/2819(RSP)) https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2019-0021_HR.html
- Dan spomena na hrvatske žrtve u borbi za slobodu i nezavisnost i Europski dan sjećanja na žrtve totalitarnih i autoritarnih režima – nacizma, fašizma i komunizma prema Zakonu o blagdanima, spomendanima i neradnim danima u Republici Hrvatskoj (Narodne novine, br. 110/19), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2019_11_110_2212.html

Međunarodni znanstveni skup *Važnost europskoga sjećanja za europsku budućnost: Komunistički zločini organizirani je uz financijsku podršku Fakulteta hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Ministarstva znanosti i obrazovanja Republike Hrvatske i Zaklade Konrad Adenauer.*



REPUBLIKA HRVATSKA
Ministarstvo znanosti i
obrazovanja

KONRAD
ADENAUER
STIFTUNG







ORGANIZACIJSKI ODBOR

doc. dr. sc. Vlatka Vukelić

doc. dr. sc. Vladimir Šumanović

Danijel Jurković, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. et mag. comm.





PROGRAM





II. MEĐUNARODNI ZNANSTVENI SKUP

Važnost europskoga sjećanja za europsku budućnost: komunistički zločini

Fakultet hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
22. lipnja 2022., 9.30 sati, dvorana Zagreb

9.00 prijava i registracija sudionika

9.30 uvodno obraćanje organizatora skupa i pozdravni govor, otvaranje skupa

9.30 pozdravna riječ o. d. dekana Fakulteta hrvatskih studija prof. dr. sc. **Stjepana Čosića**

9.35 pozdravna riječ direktora Zaklade Konrad Adenauer **Holgera Haibacha**

9.40 pozdravna riječ predsjednika Organizacijskog odbora doc. dr. sc. **Vladimira Šumanovića**

Prva sesija: Komunistički poratni zločini – temeljne odrednice

Moderator: doc. dr. sc. **Vladimir Šumanović**

9.40 – 10.00 – prof. dr. sc. **Bojan Dimitrijević**, Uvodno izlaganje (Keynote): *Aleksandar Ranković: osnivač OZNE – Službe bezbednosti i partizanskog pokreta*

10.00 – 10.20 – prof. dr. sc. **Mitja Ferenc**, *Raziskava zamolčanih grobišč Hrvatov v Sloveniji. Rezultati in ovire*

10.20 – 10.40 – dr. sc. **Igor Vranić** i **Leo Marić**, mag. hist., *Povjesničari na zagrebačkom sveučilištu i promjena režima 1945. godine*

10.40 – 11.00 – doc. dr. sc. **Vlatka Vukelić**, *Partizanski zločin na Zrinu*

11.00 – 11.20 – rasprava

11.20 – 11.40 – pauza za kavu





Druga sesija: Komunistički zločini između državne i lokalne razine

Moderator: Danijel Jurković, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. et mag. comm.

11.40 – 12.00 – prof. dr. sc. Veljko Đurić Mišina, *Komunistička represija u i poslije rata: slučaj Bosanske krajine*

12.00 – 12.20 – dr. sc. Franjo Jurić, *Komunistički zločini nad Hrvatima i muslimanima jugozapadne Bosne i bihaćkog kraja u razdoblju od sredine 1941. do početka 1943. godine*

12.20 – 12.40. – dr. sc. Hrvoje Mandić, *Kaznene ekspedicije komunističkih vlasti protiv jataka na Širokom Brijegu od 1945. do 1951.*

12.40 – 13.00 – dr. sc. Tomislav Jonjić, *Bitka za Krašić – zločin bez kazne*

13.00 – 13.20 – dr. sc. Blanka Matković, *Likvidacije na Kočevskom rogu: Uloga 11. dalmatinske brigade kroz arhivske izvore, novinske tekstove i svjedočanstva*

13.00 – 13.20 – rasprava

13.20 – 15.00 – ručak za sudionike skupa

Treća sesija: Komunistički zločini i stanovništvo

Moderatorica: doc. dr. sc. Vlatka Vukelić

15.00 – 15.20 – doc. dr. sc. Vladimir Šumanović, *Jugoslavenski logor u Požegi*

15.20 – 15.40 – Drago Štokić, dipl. oec., *Prikrivrena grobišta Požeštine*

15.40 – 16.00 – Domagoj Đerek, mag. hist. et mag. educ. hist., *Vojna i politička biografija Petra Kleuta od 1941. do 1945.*

16.00 – 16.20 – Danijel Jurković, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. et mag. comm., *Prešućeni zločini u šumi Belaš*

16.20 – 16.40 – Besim Qeriqi, mag. hist., *Kosovo youth Demonstration 1981 - Violence against the Protestors*

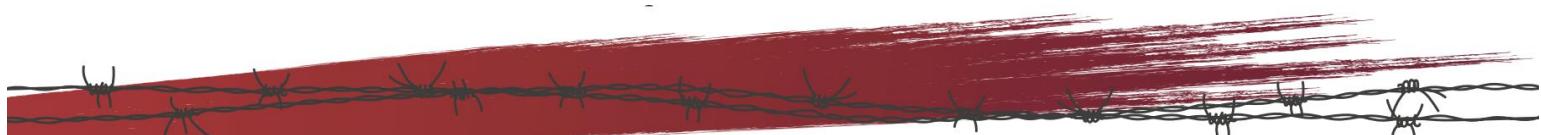
16.40 – 17.00 – rasprava

17.00 – 17.20 – zaključci i zatvaranje skupa





SAŽETCI





prof. dr. sc. Bojan Dimitrijević

Aleksandar Ranković: osnivač OZNE – Službe bezbednosti i partizanskog pokreta

Rad pruža pregled aktivnosti Aleksandra Rankovića na formiranju organa službe bezbednosti u okviru Komunističke partije Jugoslavije odnosno partizanskog pokreta tokom Drugog svetskog rata. Članak prati Rankovićeve aktivnosti na stvaranju takve službe od prvih koraka posle nemačke okupacije Kraljevine Jugoslavije, pa sve do stvaranje te službe, poznate pod skraćenicom „Ozna.“ Dat je pregled nastanka pokrajinskih Ozni, kao i druge organizacione pojedinosti, za koje je Ranković bio zadužen, zaključno sa reorganizacijom ove službe posle donošenja Ustava 1946. i transformacije u Upravu državne bezbednosti. Članak je napisan na osnovu delimično dostupne raspoložive dokumentacije vojne i državne bezbednosti i dela literature koja se odnosi na ovu temu.

Ključne reči: Aleksandar Ranković, Josip Broz Tito, služba bezbednosti, OZN-a, UDB-a, Jugoslavija, Srbija, Drugi svetski rat.





prof. dr. sc. **Mitja Ferenc**

Raziskava zamolčanih grobišč Hrvatov v Sloveniji. Rezultati in ovire

Po koncu 2. svetovne vojne maja 1945. je bilo v Sloveniji v nekaj tednih brez sojenja pomorjenih okoli 15.000 Slovencev, večinoma slovenskih domobrancov. Poleg njih je bilo pomorjenih tudi nekaj deset tisoč pripadnikov drugih jugoslovanskih narodov, največ pripadnikov vojske Nezavisne Države Hrvaške. Poboje vojnih ujetnikov in dejanskih ter namišljenih nasprotnikov je zaukazala nova komunistična oblast pod vodstvom Josipa Broza Tita, izvedla pa sta jih vojaška in politična policija OZNA in posebej izbrane vojaške enote Jugoslovanske armade. Komunistični režim je 45 let uspel o njih ohraniti molk in praktično zabrisati vse sledove. Žrtve v teh grobiščih niso obstajale, bile so izbrisane iz javnega spomina. Ob tem ko so bili likvidirani brez sojenja so ostali tudi brez temeljne civilizacijske pravice – imeti grob. To je določalo navodilo jugoslovanskega notranjega ministra iz maja 1945., ki se je ohranjalo vse do demokratičnih sprememb. Doslej je bilo v Sloveniji popisanih več kot 700 morišč oziroma krajev smrti, ki jih najpogosteje poimenujemo prikrita grobišča. Najdemo jih v kraških jamah, protitankovskih jarkih, rudniških jaških in v jamah, ki so jih za pomore morali izkopati. Vendar vsa še niso potrjena ali raziskana. Spoznanje, da bi morali začeti grobišča raziskovati je po demokratičnih spremembah počasi dozorevalo, tako da je 77 let po zločinu, leta 2022, raziskanih in potrjenih ter delno ali v celoti ekshumiranih 234 grobišč oziroma krajev smrti. Ocenujemo, da je med evidentiranimi lokacijami okoli 140 grobišč s hrvaškimi žrtvami, od katerih je 40 potrjeno z terenskimi raziskavami iz 13 grobišč pa so bile hrvaške žrtve v celoti ali delno ekshumirane. Njihovi posmrtni ostanki ležijo v kostnici na mariborskem pokopališču Dobrava in čakajo na dostenjen pokop na Hrvaškem ali v Sloveniji. Postavlja se vprašanje, zakaj v civilizacijskem in pietetnem dolgu do žrtev in njihovih sorodnikov nismo uspeli storiti več, zakaj odgovornih za zločine nismo uspeli kaznovati. Katere ovire so to preprečevale?

Ključne besede: prikrita grobišča, OZNA, KNOJ, sondiranje, ekshumacija.





dr. sc. **Igor Vranić i Leo Marić**, mag. hist.

Povjesničari na zagrebačkom sveučilištu i promjena režima 1945. godine

Slomom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske i uspostavom komunističke Jugoslavije došlo je do znatnih promjena u svim područjima društvenoga života. Pripadnici raznih društvenih skupina izbjegli su u inozemstvo ili su osuđeni za „suradnju s okupatorima i njihovim pomagačima“ tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata. To je dovelo do potrebe za novim kadrom koji je trebao biti odan novomu, komunističkomu režimu. Cilj je našega izlaganja istražiti kako se promjena režima 1945. odrazila na povjesničare zagrebačkoga sveučilišta, odnosno koliko je povjerenja komunistički režim imao u povjesničare stasale u prethodnim režimima te koliko je novoga povjesničarskoga kadra dovedeno na zagrebačko sveučilište. Isto tako, želimo istražiti kako je promjena režima utjecala na izvedbu nastave povijesti na sveučilišnoj razini.

Ključne riječi: povjesničari, hrvatska historiografija, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, komunizam, Jugoslavija.





doc. dr. sc. Vlatka Vukelić

Partizanski zločin na Zrinu

Povijest zrinskog područja seže u daleku prošlost. Ono je bilo lako dostupno prapovijesnim putom koji je pratio rijeku Unu (a račvao se i uz Japru i Sanu), a kod Novog i Dvora je skretao prema sjeverozapadu. Na taj je način ovo područje bilo spona antičke Panonije i Dalmacije te najbrži panonski pravac ka srcu Dalmacije. Rudno bogatstvo Trgовске i Zrinske gore, činilo je taj prostor ekonomski atraktivnim. Pojedini povjesničari upravo na širem području Zrina vide i rodno mjesto svetog Jeronima, što implicira i snažnu povezanost područja s administrativnom, religijskom i svjetonazorskom strukturom zapadnog civilizacijskog kruga. Kasni srednji vijek i rano novovjekovlje upućuju na značajan interes hrvatskih plemićkih obitelji za zrinsko područje. Tako postavljen etnički obrazac zabilježen je i 1910., kada je prema popisu stanovništva Zrin imao 781 stanovnika (777 Hrvata, 3 Srbina i 1 Mađar). Prema vjeroispovijesti katolika je bilo 778, a pravoslavaca 3.

Početkom Drugoga svjetskoga rata u Zrinu je živjelo oko 850 stanovnika. Mjesto Zrin nalazilo se na Banovini, a u administrativnom pogledu bilo je sastavni dio Kotara Dvor na Uni odnosno Velike župe Gora sa središtem u Petrinji. Proglašenje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, za ovo je područje postalo ključno 1943., kada Zrin postaje izloženo područje bez stalne zaštite vojnih postrojbi. O tome svjedoče dokumenti iz ožujka 1943., kada Zrinjani dolaze u Zagreb tražiti pomoć i organiziranu državnu zaštitu. Potražuju vod domobrana za zaštitu mjesta zbog sigurnosti u obavljanju svakodnevnih poljoprivrednih poslova jer su pri svakodnevним poslovima bili izloženi pljački i pojedinačnim napadima partizanskih formacija.

U rujnu 1943. snage Narodno-oslobodilačkoga pokreta (NOP), odnosno partizana iznimno su ojačale na teritoriju Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Jasan pokazatelj toga bilo je partizansko vojno zauzimanje Zrina. Partizanske snage koje su zauzele Zrin bile su ustrojene u taktičku skupinu pod nazivom „Unska operativna grupa“ (UOG). Taj čin bio je uzrokovan partizanskom procjenom kako je stanovništvo Zrina politički privrženo NDH, čime je označeno kao izraziti protivnik partizana, a što je postalo temeljna kvalifikacija za počinjene partizanske likvidacije.

U radu se na osnovi arhivskoga gradiva i objavljenih izvora opisuje kontekst partizanskoga zauzimanja Zrina, ali i prilike koje su neposredno prethodile tome događaju.

Ključne riječi: Zrin, Kotar Dvor, Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, Narodno-oslobodilački pokret, ratni zločin, Unska operativna grupa.





prof. dr. sc. **Veljko Đurić Mišina**

Komunistička represija u i poslije rata: slučaj Bosanske krajine

Nijedna strana u bilo kom ratu nije nevina jer je svaka činila manje ili veće zločine. Problemi nastaju kada ratni pobjednik piše svoju verziju prošlosti. Odlaskom iz života suvremenika i počinioca ratnih zločina počinje vrijeme mirnijeg istraživanja prošlosti, a to znači i zločina koje su počinili pobjednici. Srbi su bili većinsko stanovništvo dijelova Bosanske Krajine, Like, Korduna i Banije. Na toj teritoriji nastao je ustank protiv Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Po instrukcijama najviših partijskih i partizanskih organa, pripadnici Komunističke partije Jugoslavije i Komunističke partije Hrvatske nametali su svoju politiku i na tim prostorima. Pri tom su slamali otpore onih koji se nisu uklapali u komunističko-partizansku ideologiju i politiku i ne prezajući od surovih kazni i ubojstava. Poslijeratna politika prema stanovnicima tih krajeva, koji su u ratu bili na drugoj strani simpatizeri ili u formacijama četnika odnosno Jugoslovenske vojske u otadžbini, sprovodila se na razne načine: od raseljavanja kompletnih naselja, do hapšenja i ubijanja istaknutih ličnosti. Kad je riječ o Bosanskoj Krajini želim da kroz nekoliko primjera pokažem surovost partizanskog rukovodstva i komunističke politike prema ratnom neprijatelju.

Ključne riječi: partizani, komunisti, ideologija, zločini, represija.





dr. sc. Franjo Jurić

Komunistički zločini nad Hrvatima i muslimanima jugozapadne Bosne i bihaćkog kraja u razdoblju od sredine 1941. do početka 1943. godine

Nakon pokretanja ustanka protiv „ustaških zločina i progona“ krajem srpnja 1941. godine od strane četničko-komunističkih pristalica, kojeg uglavnom čine pripadnici srpskog naroda, dogodili su se masovni zločini nad hrvatskim i muslimanskim stanovništvom. Ti zločini su posebno bili izraženi na području istočne i jugoistočne Like, sjeverne Dalmacije te jugozapadne Bosne, a potom i bihaćkoga kraja. Ovim zločinima jugoslavenska komunistička historiografija se nije bavila. Sve je predstavljano kao ustanak protiv „okupatora i domaćih izdajnika“, a 27. srpanj je u bivšoj socijalističkoj Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj obilježavan kao državni blagdan „dan ustanka naroda i narodnosti“. A upravo u razdoblju od kraja srpnja do početka listopada 1941. godine dogodili su se masovni zločini, prvo nad hrvatskim stanovništvom Like i sjeverne Dalmacije, a potom i nad Hrvatima i muslimanima jugozapadne Bosne: Drvara, Oštrelja, Vrtoča, Krnjeuše, Kulen Vakufa i sela Ljutočke doline. Osim što su se ti zločini isticali po svojoj masovnosti i brutalnosti, ostaje zabilježeno da nakon progona hrvatsko stanovništvo s ovih područja njima nikada više nije bio dozvoljen povratak na svoja stoljetna ognjišta. Ti prostori su naseljeni uglavnom srpskim stanovništvom. Isto je bilo i sa sudbinom Hrvata istočne i jugoistočne Like.

Sve je počelo 27. srpnja 1941. godine kada su se povodom blagdana sv. Ane, koji se obilježava 26. srpnja, s hodočašća iz Knina (Kosova polja) vraćali drvarske katolici predvođeni mjesnim župnikom Waldemarom Maximilijanom Nestorom. Vraćajući se vlakom u Drvar, njih su u mjestu Trubari, udaljenom 18 kilometara od Drvara dočekali „ustanici“, izveli iz vlaka i ubili zajedno s župnikom. Njihova tijela su bačena u prirodnu jamu Golubnjača. Nikada nije utvrđen točan broj ubijenih drvarske katolike jer se ovaj zločin nikada nije istražio u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Procjenjuje se da je tijekom četničko-komunističkog ustanka u ljeto 1941. godine u Drvaru i okolicama ubijeno 300 do 400 Hrvata i muslimana.

Nakon zločina u Drvaru, četničko-komunistički ustanici nastavili su činiti zločine nad Hrvatima na području Vrtoča (2. kolovoza 1941.) i Krnjeuše (9. i 10. kolovoza 1941.), mjesta koja pripadaju općini Bosanski Petrovac. Procjenjuje se da je u nekoliko dana početkom kolovoza 1941. stradalo oko 400 Hrvata, od čega je 240 identificirano.

Poslije Vrtoča i Krnjeuše na red je došao Kulen Vakuf i muslimanska sela u Ljutočkoj dolini: Ćukovi, Klisa i Orašac. Nakon upada ustanika u ličko selo Boričevac i ubojstva 55 Hrvata, preostalih oko 2180 Hrvata uspjelo je izbjegći smrt bijegom u Kulen Vakuf. Ova mala varoš, koja je u imala status kotarske ispostave, početkom kolovoza 1941. godine s izbjeglim Boričevcima imala je oko 5600 stanovnika. Nakon što su se početkom rujna 1941. godine našli u potpunom okruženju četničko-komunističkih ustanika, odlučeno je da se stanovništvo evakuira prema Bihaću. Tijekom evakuacije zarobljeno je gotovo 3000 muslimana i Hrvata, koji su ponovno vraćeni u Kulen Vakuf i nad kojima je potom izvršen masovni zločin od strane ustanika.





Tijekom 1942. godine u Bihaću je počinjen masovni zločin nad civilima i zarobljenim vojnicima. Zločin su počinili partizani u razdoblju od 4. studenog 1942. do 29. siječnja 1943. godine kada su privremeno zaposjeli Bihać i tadašnju Veliku župu Krbava i Psat. U historiografiji komunističke Jugoslavije se o ovim zločinima ne govori, niti su oni bili predmet istraživanja sve do danas. Samo u užem dijelu bihaćke gradske jezgre početkom ožujka 1943. godine ekshumirane su 153 ubijene osobe, pronađene u 25 jama, među kojima je bio i tadašnji bihaćki gradonačelnik Husein-beg Ibrahimpahić. Naravno, ovaj broj ubijenih bio je daleko veći i odnosi se na cijelo područje tadašnje Velike župe Krbava i Psat.

Ključne riječi: komunistički zločini, Hrvati, muslimani, jugozapadna Bosna, bihaćki kraj.

dr. sc. Hrvoje Mandić

Kaznene ekspedicije komunističkih vlasti protiv jataka na Širokom Brijegu od 1945. do 1951.

Riječ jatak (tur. *yatak*, postelja, ležaj) označava osobu koja se u doba osmanlijske vladavine na prostoru jugoistočne Europe i južnoslavenskim krajevima skrbila za hajduke tako što im je davala hranu i pružala utočište u jesen i zimu. Prema osmanlijskom, kao i komunističkom represivnom aparatu ta osoba, u prenesenom značenju, je pomagač u nečasnim poslovima „Jatak“ ili modernim rječnikom „terorist“. Komunistička partija Jugoslavije (KPJ) 11. veljače 1945. postupno je uspostavljala revolucionarnu vlast u Širokom Brijegu. Taj je proces trajao idućih 6 godina dok u potpunosti nisu likvidirali pripadnike protukomunističke gerile Prvog hercegovačkog križarskog zdruga, odnosno „širokobriješke škripare“. Metodom razdvajanja, likvidacije i montiranih sudskih procesa komunističke vlasti su težište kaznenih ekspedicija usmjerili na širokobriješke jatake i tako postupno lomili i ugušili protukomunističku gerilu sa širem područja Širokog Brijega. Komunističke vlasti su likvidirale križarske jatake, a većinu su na montiranim sudskim procesima Okružnog suda u Mostaru osudili na drakonske kazne.

Ključne riječi: jatak, protukomunistička gerila, Široki Brijeg, Hercegovina, Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, Odjeljenje za zaštitu naroda (OZN-a).





dr. sc. Tomislav Jonjić

Bitka za Krašić – zločin bez kazne

U dvjema bitkama za Krašić, prvoj, koja se odvila sredinom prosinca 1942., i drugoj, petnaestak dana kasnije, pripadnici jugoslavenskoga partizanskog pokreta zauzeli su to mjesto i niz sela u okolini. Iako Krašić nije imao osobito vojno značenje, jugoslavenske su snage računale na političke probitke od preuzimanja vlasti u tom području koje je, prema nizu njihovih izvješća, bilo pod dominantnim utjecajem bivše Hrvatske seljačke stranke.

No, taj privremeni vojnički uspjeh zapravo je urođio političkim porazom. Osim što je već otprije zaziralo od komunističke ideologije, a bilo rezervirano prema obnovi Jugoslavije, pučanstvo krašićkoga područja s negodovanjem je dočekalo sustavna nasilja i krvoprolīća koja su pratila jugoslavenske partizanske snage. Već u sklopu operacija koje čine prvu bitku za Krašić spaljene su i uništene javne zgrade i općinske pismohrane u nekim žumberačkim naseljima, a bez suda su pobijeni riznički stražari i niz civila, a srušena je i željeznička pruga.

Bio je to nagovještaj onoga što će se dogoditi petnaestak dana kasnije, početkom 1943. godine: tada je jugoslavenskim partizanskim snagama pošlo za rukom zarobiti nekoliko stotina pripadnika hrvatskih oružanih snaga, većinom domobrana. Dio zarobljenih ustaša pobijen je odmah, a za preostalu ustaško-domobransku posadu organiziran je tzv. narodni sud – ustvari politička predstava bez prava na obranu i s ishodom koji je bio unaprijed poznat – pa je više od dvije stotine ljudi smaknuto, neki i tako da su, prema partizanskim dokumentima, živi bačeni u jamu.

Kao ni drugi slični ratni zločini, ni ovaj nikad nije dobio pravosudni epilog, premda je u svibnju 1998. protiv četvero vodećih aktera toga krvoprolīća podnesena kaznena prijava, prvotno oslonjena na objavljene, a kasnije potkrijepljene i neobjavljenim dokumentima i svjedočenjima očevidaca. Sudbinu državno-odvjetničkog spisa formiranog u povodu te kaznene prijave nije pratila samo ignorancija državnog odvjetništva – potaknuta iz visokih političkih krugova koji su pokušali obeshrabriti i samog podnositelja prijave, udrugu Hrvatski domobran – nego i nešto što se sa spisima u pravilu ne događa: u jednom je trenutku podnositelj po opunomoćeniku obaviješten da se je cijeli spis jednostavno – zagubio! Državno odvjetništvo i političke vlasti složno su čekale da problem riješi biologija, što se je na koncu, dakako, i dogodilo.

Ključne riječi: bitka za Krašić, ratni zločin, Rade Bulat, Milka Kufrin, Marko Belinić, Lutvo Ahmetović





dr. sc. **Blanka Matković**

Likvidacije na Kočevskom rogu: Uloga 11. dalmatinske brigade kroz arhivske izvore, novinske tekstove i svjedočanstva

U svibnju 1945. godine dio zarobljenika iz britanskih logora u južnoj Austriji je željezničkom prugom Klagenfurt-Rosenbach-Hrušica-Jesenice, odnosno kroz tunel Karavanke, vraćen u Jugoslaviju gdje su već po njihovom dolasku započele prve egzekucije. Zarobljeničke kolone su se dalje kretale prema Ljubelju i Kranju, a zatim prema Ljubljani. Od tuda se križni put jednim dijelom nastavlja prema Zagrebu, drugim prema Novom Mestu i Karlovcu, a treći prema Kočevskom Rogu. Veliki dio zarobljenika koji je stigao do logora u Št. Vidu likvidiran je u masovnim grobnicama diljem Slovenije. Jedan dio, kako se navodi, ubijen je u samom logoru i pokopan u Brezarjevom ponoru, uz gornji tok potoka Glimščica (sjeverozapadni dio Ljubljane). No, zasigurno jedna od najvećih grobnica na području Slovenije svakako je Kočevski Rog (istočno od Kočevja). Na spomenutom području nalazi se više grobišta: Na križanju, Pod Krenom, Macesnova gorica, Pod Rugarjevim klancem, Žepna jama, Cinkov križ, Ceteški gozd i Ruperč vrh. Svi zarobljenici prvo su odvedeni u Marijin dom ili u gimnaziju u Kočevju, a nakon toga prema jamama gdje je likvidacije preživjelo svega nekolicina pojedinaca.

Točan broj ratnih zarobljenika koji su prošli put od Jesenica do Ljubljane ostaje nepoznat. Najznačajniju ulogu u preuzimanju zarobljenika imala je 11. dalmatinska brigada, čiji štab u svom operativnom izvješću od 1. srpnja 1945. javlja da je ukupno zarobljeno 10.443 vojnika i 258 časnika. Tu se ne ubrajaju neprijateljski vojnici zarobljeni od ostalih postrojbi Motomehaniziranog odreda, kao ni zarobljenici izručeni od Britanaca. Operativni dnevničari 2. i 3. bataljuna 11. dalmatinske brigade potvrđuju da su pojedine postrojbe 11. brigade boravile u Kočevju i sudjelovale u navedenim događajima, a u dnevnicima je zabilježen i odlazak „kombinovanog bataljuna“ na Bled, što potvrđuje izjave svjedoka. Stoga će se u ovome izlaganju na temelju arhivskih izvora, novinskih tekstova i svjedočanstava pokušati rekonstruirati slabije poznate detalje vezane uz počinitelje zločina na Kočevskom Rogu.

Ključne riječi: Kočevski Rog, likvidacije, 4. armija, 11. dalmatinska brigada, “kombinovani bataljun”.





doc. dr. sc. **Vladimir Šumanović**

Jugoslavenski logor u Požegi

Na osnovi dokumenata vlasti socijalističke Jugoslavije, objavljenih žrtvoslova i iskaza svjedoka u radu se opisuju glavne značajke jugoslavenskoga logora u Požegi. Taj je logor djelovao u prvim mjesecima porača kao zarobljenički logor za pripadnike vojske Nezavisne Države Hrvatske (NDH) a bio je pod upravom 10. krajške divizije Jugoslavenske armije (JA), odnosno njezine 9. krajške brigade. Dostupni izvori upućuju na zaključak da su jugoslavenske vlasti nad zatočenicima logora provodile masovna smaknuća.

Ključne riječi: jugoslavenski logori, Požega, masovni zločini, Jugoslavenska armija, 10. krajška divizija, 9. krajška brigada, Nezavisna Država Hrvatska.





Drago Štokić, dipl. oec.

Prikrivrena grobišta Požeštine

Strahote Drugog svjetskog rata i porača nisu zaobišle niti Požegu i Požeštinu. O zločinima režima Nezavisne Države Hrvatske do sada je objavljeno više knjiga i znanstvenih radova. Slabije su poznati te još manje sustavno istraživani zločini koji su na ovom području počinjeni od strane partizana i komunističkih vlasti za vrijeme rata i nakon njega, odnosno po komunističkom zauzimanju Požege 21. travnja 1945. godine. O mogućem razmjeru represije najbolje govori podatak o četrdesetak potencijalnih lokacija masovnih grobnica. Nažalost, do sada je istražena tek jedna grobnica koja je locirana slučajno, prilikom arheoloških istraživanja. Saznanja o ostalim grobištima uglavnom se temelje na iskazima svjedoka ili suvremenika tih događaja. Osim toga, u Požegi i okolici organizirano je nekoliko logora. Najpoznatiji od njih je logor Glates (Glis). Javnosti je gotovo nepoznat logor u mjestu Ovčare nedaleko od Požege. U njemu su uglavnom bili smješteni stanovnici mjesta Španovica. U Požegi je također djelovao i manji logor na Varelovcu u koji su dopremani oboljeli od tifusa iz logora Glates.

Nakon uspostave demokratskog sustava u Hrvatskoj 1990. godine, mnogi su se nadali da će grobišta, uključujući sudbine njihovih bližnjih, biti istražene a krivci kažnjeni. Nažalost, dogodilo se gotovo nije ništa. U Požeštini je do danas postavljeno tridesetak spomen obilježja hrvatskim vojnicima i civilima stradalima tijekom i nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Riječ je uglavnom o lokalnim inicijativama. Dio spomen obilježja postavljen je u organizaciji požeškog ogranka Hrvatskog domobrana. Mada su spomen obilježja podizana u najboljoj namjeri, može se ustanoviti, kako na spomenicima na kojima su žrtve navedene poimenično, pojedinci ipak nedostaju.

Sve ovo upućuje nas kako rad na otkrivanju i istraživanju grobišta i stratišta nije okončan. Ovo izlaganje temelji se na preliminarnim rezultatima dugogodišnjeg arhivskog i terenskog istraživanja koji bi trebali biti sabrani i objavljeni u knjizi o grobištima i stratištima Požeštine.

Ključne riječi: Požeština, grobišta, poslijeratni zločini, stratišta, komunistički zločini





Domagoj Đerek, mag. hist. et mag. educ. hist.

Vojna i politička biografija Petra Kleuta od 1941. do 1945.

Ratna zbivanja u Hrvatskoj od 1941. do 1945. prouzrokovala su mnoga stradanja i zločine počinjene nad Hrvatima od raznih protagonisti tih zbivanja na hrvatskom tlu. U počinjenju zločina nad Hrvatima od 1941. do 1945. svoj su bitan doprinos dali jugoslavenski partizani i komunisti. Gotovo od samog početka svojeg ratnog djelovanja 1941. jugoslavenski partizani i komunisti činili su zločine nad njima neprijateljskim pripadnicima oružanih snaga Nezavisne Države Hrvatske te nad hrvatskim civilnim stanovništvom. Stradanje Hrvata od njihove ruke u ratnim uvjetima doseglo je svoj vrhunac 1945. tijekom zadnjih dana Drugog svjetskog rata na europskom tlu, ali i tijekom neposrednog porača.

Počinjenje partizanskih zločina nad Hrvatima od 1941. do 1945. ne bi bilo moguće bez pojedinaca u nižim i srednjim partizanskim vojnim i političkim strukturama tzv. Narodnooslobodilačke borbe, koji su bili u potpunosti odani ratnom vodstvu jugoslavenskih komunista. Među takve jugoslavenskom komunističkom vodstvu odanim pojedincima od 1941. do 1945. bio je i viši partizanski oficir Petar Kleut. Kao izrazito pouzdan partizanski oficir Petar Kleut je tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata i neposrednog porača vjerno ispunjavao povjerene mu zapovjedi i akcije od kojih su neke završavale teškim zločinima nad Hrvatima. Shodno tome, Petar Kleut kao lokalni zapovjednik pojedinih partizanskih jedinica, formacija i institucija u Hrvatskoj i Jugoslaviji, koje su činile zločine nad hrvatskim vojnicima i civilima, može se također po zapovjednoj odgovornosti smatrati krivim za dio partizanskih zločina nad Hrvatima.

Rekonstrukcijom ratnog puta Petra Kleuta može se osim njegove odgovornosti pokazati i odgovornost njegovih nadređenih za počinjenje partizanskih zločina nad Hrvatima. Time se ujedno može pokazati da zločini partizana pod Kleutovim zapovjedništvom nad Hrvatima nisu bili isključivo stihijski pothvat lokalnih partizanskih snaga već i rezultat pomnog planiranja najviših partizanskih struktura u Hrvatskoj. Na taj se način preko rekonstrukcije ratnog puta Petra Kleuta mogu na vidjelo iznijeti i druge osobe srednjeg i višeg ranga partizanskog pokreta u Hrvatskoj, koji su naredili i organizirali zločine nad Hrvatima tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata.

Ključne riječi: Petar Kleut, Drugi svjetski rat, partizani, Krašić, Zrin.





Danijel Jurković, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. et mag. comm.

Prešućeni zločini u šumi Belaš

Zločini počinjeni u svibnju 1945. na području bivše Jugoslavije spadaju u red onih koji su ostali više od pola stoljeća prešućeni i neistraženi. Tome je tako pogotovo kada zadovoljavaju dva elementa – zavjet šutnje ili prisilu i nedostatak ili nepostojanje gradiva, bilo da je riječ o sustavnom uništavanju ili ne stvaranju istoga. Kod određenih tema postoje izuzeci, a to se odnosi i na navedenu s obzirom na to da je riječ o osobnim svjedočanstvima i(li) otkopanim jamama. U izlaganju će se kroz osobna svjedočanstva i propisanim odlukama komunističkoga aparata ukazati na zločine počinjene u šumi Belaš nedaleko Višnjice kod Lepoglave. Kroz oralnu historiju i potvrdom pronalaska posmrtnih ostataka desetak žrtava dat će se pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja na temu više od pola stoljeća prešućenih zločina u šumi Belaš.

Ključne riječi: komunistički zločini, šutnja, šuma Belaš, skrivena grobišta, svjedočanstva.





Besim Qeriqi, mag. hist.

Kosovo youth Demonstration 1981 - Violence against the Protestors

Spring came earlier than usually in 1981 in Kosovo. A wave of demonstrations broke out in Kosovo, the essential demand of which was social and political equality with the other Yugoslavian peoples. The demonstrations were taking place at a time when economic, political and cultural issues in Yugoslavia had clearly emerged, and were going towards a point of no return. On the other hand, these demonstrations were qualified by the Serbian-Yugoslavian authorities as hostile and “destructive” that were jeopardizing the brotherhood-union and the overturn of the political and territorial system of the SFRY. Based on these arguments, the Serbian communist regime used almost every kind of violence against the young Kosovo students: they were denied the right to education and work; hundreds of university and secondary school students were imprisoned; tens of thousands of citizens supporting the riots were imprisoned, solely for demanding equality with the rest and the republic status for Kosovo. The methodology includes a qualitative method, which was employed to address specific case studies, such as various indictments, trials, and records. It was specifically combined with the comparative method, to analyse and compare different articles and publications of local, regional and international authors. The work also includes a comprehensive list of references: monographies, scientific journals, conferences, and symposiums.

Conclusion the protests, although considered as counter-revolutionary by the Serbian regime aimed at destroying Yugoslavia, were in fact completely peaceful: the only sin committed by the Albanian protestors was their demand for equality with other nations, and the enhancement of Kosovo's political status from autonomy to republic.

Key words: Demonstrations, Freedom, Equality, Kosovo Republic, counter-revolution, imprisonment, nationalism.





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Rođen je 1968. godine u Beogradu. Diplomirao je 1994. godine, a magistrirao 1997. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu s tezom pod naslovom „Jugoslovenska vojska u Otadžbini u valjevskom kraju 1941–1945”. Magistrirao je 1996. godine na Srednjoevropskom univerzitetu u Budimpešti za tezom pod naslovom „Royalist Resistance in Northwest Serbia 1941–1945”. Doktorirao je na novosadskom univerzitetu 2004. godine, a doktorska tema bila je „Jugoslovenska narodna armija 1945–1954”. Do 1997. bio je kustos Muzeja jugoslovenskog vazduhoplovstva. Tijekom 2001. po pozivu, bio je suradnik u Institutu za napredne studije u Sofiji. U periodu od ožujka 2003. do travnja 2004. godine bio je savjetnik Ministra odbrane za reformu vojske, a od 2006. godine je savjetnik predsjednika Srbije za vojna pitanja. Kao savjetnik Ministra obrane rukovodio je timom koji je izradio Strategiju obrane Srbije i Crne Gore i Bijelu knjigu obrane. Od 2004. do 2015. bio je urednik časopisa Istorija 20. veka. Zaposlen je u Institutu za savremenu istoriju. Suradnik državne komisije za otkrivanje činjenica o izvršenju smrtne kazne nad generalom Dragoljubom Dražom Mihailovićem koja je zaključila da je točna zvanična verzija hapšenja Dragoljuba Mihailovića u kojoj je ulogu imao Nikola Kalabić. Objavio je više monografija s temama iz povijesti Ravnogorskog pokreta 1941. – 1945. kao i preko šezdeset radova iz suvremene vojne povijesti ovog prostora.

prof. dr. sc. **Mitja Ferenc**

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Slovenski povjesničar, pedagog i književnik rođen u Ljubljani 21. ožujka 1960. Diplomirao je modernu povijest na Sveučilištu u Ljubljani 1985. Od 2000. istražuje grobove ljudi ubijenih na slovenskom teritoriju od strane jugoslavenskog komunističkog režima nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata. Između 2002. – 2004. Ferenc je bio član Komisije za skrivene masovne grobnice u Sloveniji koju je osnovala slovenska vlada, kako bi dokumentirala 581 masovnu grobnicu iz komunističkog doba pronađenu u Sloveniji. Ferenc je sudjelovao u europskoj javnoj raspravi o "Zločinima koje su počinili totalitarni režimi" u organizaciji slovenskog predsjedanja Vijećem Europske unije (siječanj – lipanj 2008.) i Europske komisije. Njegov rad je prikazan u poglavljju "Tajne masovne grobnice Drugog svjetskog rata u Sloveniji". Predaje povijest na Sveučilištu u Ljubljani. Napisao je nekoliko knjiga o povijesti njemačke zajednice Gottschee. Autor nekoliko knjiga i više desetaka radova.





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Trenutno radi kao arhivist na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu i kao vanjski predavač na Odsjeku za komunikologiju Fakulteta hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Doktorirao na Europskom sveučilišnom institutu u Firenci pod naslovom „Izidor Kršnjavi - Skica intelektualca na prijelazu u 20. stoljeće“. Završio master studij komparativne povijesti na Srednjoeuropskom sveučilištu u Budimpešti i bio gostujući suradnik u proljetnom semestru na Sveučilištu Humboldt u Berlinu 2016. Dobitnik stipendije Jacob Burckhardt na European University Institute i Open Society stipendiju na Srednjoeuropskom sveučilištu. Držao predavanja na konferencijama u Oxfordu, Sydneyu, Beču, Sankt Peterburgu, Ateni, Valenciji. Moj istraživački interes je povijest Habsburškog Carstva s kraja 19. stoljeća s posebnim naglaskom na političko korištenje povijesti umjetnosti u hrvatskim zemljama.

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Rođen u Rijeci 22. listopada 1991., a odrastao u Vinkovcima gdje završava Osnovnu školu Vladimira Nazora i Ekonomsku školu Ivana Domca. Godine 2015. završio preddiplomski studij povijesti i filozofije na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, dok na istom fakultetu u ožujku 2019. završava studij povijesti. Tijekom studija aktivan u Društvu studenata povijesti „Ivan Lučić – Lucius“, kao i u Udruzi „Obnova“ i Matici hrvatskoj. U sklopu prve dvije navedene udruge sudjelovao u različitim izdavačkim projektima, poput izdavanja zbornika *Lucius* i časopisa *Obnova*, u kojem je bio i član uredništva. Vodio dva izdavačka projekta i urednik jedne knjige te organizator jedne međunarodne konferencije. Sudjelovao na nekoliko znanstvenih skupova i autor par znanstvenih članaka i više desetaka publicističkih tekstova.

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Vlatka Vukelić (rođ. Bručić), rođena je u Sisku 1979. godine. Maturirala je 1997. na sisačkoj Gimnaziji, a diplomirala studij povijesti i kroatologije na Hrvatskim studijima 2002. godine (znanstveni i nastavni smjer). Od 2004. godine radila je u Gradskom muzeju Sisak, kao kustosica Kulturno-povijesne zbirke, kustosica Galeridske zbirke i bibliotekarka. Tijekom iste godine prelazi na Hrvatske studije Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, gdje je zaposlena kao znanstvena





novakinja. Poslijediplomski doktorski studij na Hrvatskim studijima upisuje 2006. godine te ga uspješno privodi kraju 20. prosinca 2011. godine, obranom doktorske disertacije s temom: Povijest sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja u Sisku od 16. stoljeća do 1941. godine. Otada je zaposlena kao viša asistentica na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Na preddiplomskom studiju na Hrvatskim studijima od 2007. godine drži nastavu iz sljedećih kolegija: Povijest i kultura grčkog i rimskog svijeta, Antički gradovi kontinentalne Hrvatske, Ekonomска slika Istre u antici. Na diplomskom studiju na Hrvatskim studijima od 2010. godine drži nastavu iz sljedećih kolegija: Antički putovi i komunikacije, Rimska vojska na tlu Hrvatske, Život antičke obitelji u provinciji i Hrvatska zaštićena prirodna i kulturna baština. Tijekom 2007., 2008., 2009. i 2010. bila je izvršna urednica Godišnjaka Gradskog muzeja Sisak (brojevi 7, 8, 9 i 10). Godine 2011. Ministarstvo kulture joj je odobrilo projekt izložbe: Obitelj Colussi u Sisku. Izložbu je realizirala u organizaciji Gradskog muzeja Sisak, kao vanjski suradnik ove institucije. Godine 2012. Ministarstvo kulture joj je odobrilo projekt izložbe: Thesaurus Colapis fluminis- Blago rijeke Kupe. Izložbu je realizirala u organizaciji Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, u koautorstvu s dr.sc. Ivanom Radmanom-Livajom. Osim u Zagrebu, izložba je postavljena i u Gradskom muzeju Sisak i Gradskom muzeju Šibenik. Bavi se poviješću Siska i poviješću arheologije sisačkoga kraja. Nakon rođenja trećeg djeteta, 2017. godine postaje docentica na Odsjeku za povijest svoje matične ustanove, kao i predstojnica istog Odsjeka. Od listopada iste godine je i koordinatorica doktorskog studija povijesti na Hrvatskim studijima.

prof. dr. sc. **Veljko Đurić Mišina**

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Rođen u Kosore, Sinj 8. siječnja 1953. Srpski povjesničar kojem je područje interesa Srpska pravoslavna crkva, proučavanje genocida i holokausta te moderna povijest država nastalih raspadom Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije. Radio je u više istraživačkih i obrazovnih ustanova te bivši v.d. direktor Muzeja žrtava genocida u Beogradu. U rodnom mjestu završio sedam razreda osnovne škole, u Beogradu osmi razred, gimnaziju i studij povijesti na Filozofskom fakultetu. Doktorat „Srpska pravoslavna crkva 1941-1945. godine“ obranio na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Novom Sadu. Radio u Historijskom muzeju Srbije kao kustos-povjesničar (1981-1997), potom na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Prištini kao nastavnik, prvo u zvanju docenta, potom izvanrednog profesora, na predmetu Istorija Jugoslavije (1997-2005), u Institutu za srpsku kulturu u Leposaviću kao direktor i rukovoditelj znanstveno-istraživačkog projekta (2005-2008), kao direktor u Europskoj višoj školi za sportsko novinarstvo u Beogradu (2008-2009). Odlukom Vlade Republike Srbije od 23. lipnja 2013. godine, imenovan za vršitelja dužnosti direktora Muzeja žrtava genocida.





dr. sc. Franjo Jurić

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Roden 1973. godine u Bihaću gdje je završio osnovnu školu i gimnaziju. Nakon završetka Pedagoškog fakultet stekao zvanje profesora povijesti i geografije. Zvanje doktora povijesnih znanosti stekao na Fakultetu hrvatskih studija Sveučilištu u Zagrebu 2019. godine s temom „Glavne značajke uprave Nezavisne Države Hrvatske u Velikoj župi Krbavi i Psatu sa sjedištem u Bihaću“. Kao profesor predavao u OŠ Kamenica, a potom i u Općoj gimnaziji KŠC u Bihaću. Nakon toga radio kao savjetnik u Vladi USK-a, a obnašao i dužnost vijećnika OV Bihać u dva mandata. Autor tri znanstvene knjige i više članaka.

dr. sc. Hrvoje Mandić

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Rođen 1987. u Mostaru. Osnovnu školu i Gimnaziju fra Dominika Mandića završio u Širokom Brijegu. Preddiplomski studij povijesti i pedagogije upisao 2006. na Sveučilištu u Mostaru, gdje je 2009. stekao diplomu prvostupnika povijesti i pedagogije. Diplomski studij povijesti upisao 2009. na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, gdje je stekao naziv magistra povijesti 2011. godine. Na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2014. upisao poslijediplomski doktorski studij povijesti. Na Fakultetu hrvatskih studija doktorirao u veljači 2020. godine.

dr. sc. Tomislav Jonjić

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Tomislav Jonjić rođen je 1965. u Imotskom. Osnovnoškolsku naobrazbu stekao u više škola na području Imotske krajine, srednju školu završio 1983. u rodnome gradu. Nakon odsluženja vojnog roka (1983./84.), od listopada 1984. studirao pravo u Zagrebu te diplomirao početkom lipnja 1988. godine. Od ljeta 1988. radio kao odvjetnički vježbenik, od prosinca 1989. i kao sudski tumač za njemački jezik, a od 1991. kao odvjetnik i sudski tumač u Imotskom te od 1997. u Zagrebu. Kao odvjetnik radio i u inozemstvu, a u dva je postupka bio glavni branitelj pred Međunarodnim kaznenim sudom za bivšu Jugoslaviju u Den Haagu. Sudionik Domovinskog rata 1991.–1992., ugovorni diplomat u veleposlanstvu Republike Hrvatske u Bernu 1992.–1995. te savjetnik za međunarodne odnose u Uredu za međunarodne odnose u Ministarstvu unutarnjih poslova 1995.–1997. godine. U jednome mandatu (2017.–2021.) bio zastupnik u Gradskoj skupštini grada Zagreba. Objavljuje od 1990., a od 1997. do danas, s





devetomjesečnim prekidom, glavni urednik *Političkog zatvorenika*, časopisa Hrvatskog društva političkih zatvorenika. Uradio gotovo 230 brojeva tog časopisa, a bio član uredništva više drugih, k tome uredio petnaestak knjiga i suurednik jedan zbornik radova. U lipnju iz 2015. obranio doktorat iz suvremene povijesti. Sudjelovao na više znanstvenih i stručnih skupova u domovini i inozemstvu. Objavio deset knjiga i više od četrdeset znanstvenih i stručnih radova s područja historiografije, prava, sociologije, antropologije i književnosti te više od tisuću novinskih i publicističkih tekstova. Izabran u znanstveno zvanje znanstvenog suradnika.

dr. sc. **Blanka Matković**

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Znanstvenica rođena je 30. travnja 1976. u Splitu gdje je završila osnovnu školu i jezičnu gimnaziju (Prvu gimnaziju Split). U Zagrebu je diplomirala jednopredmetni studij povijesti na Filozofskome fakultetu i novinarstvo na Fakultetu političkih znanosti. Na tome fakultetu kasnije magistrirala je međunarodne odnose i nacionalnu sigurnost i stekla stupanj magistrice znanosti. Samostalno istraživanje započela je 2006. i istraživala u gotovo svim arhivima u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji te u arhivu u Londonu. Od 2011. objavila je 17 znanstvenih radova i koautorica je pet knjiga. Blanka Matković je doktorirala na Odsjeku za političke znanosti i međunarodne studije na Warwicku na temu doktorske disertacije ‘Socio-psychological Perspectives on Grassroots Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland and Croatia’ (Društveno-psihološke perspektive za očuvanje mira u Sjevernoj Irskoj i Hrvatskoj) pod mentorstvom dr. Mirande Alison i dr. Briony Jones. Autorica više znanstvenih knjiga i nekoliko desetaka znanstvenih članaka.

doc. dr. sc. **Vladimir Šumanović**

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Rođen u Zagrebu 1988. godine gdje završava Klasičnu gimnaziju. Docent na Odsjeku za povijest Fakulteta hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Na Fakultetu hrvatskih studija radi od 2017. godine te predaje kolegije iz nacionalne i svjetske suvremene povijesti na svim trima studijskim razinama: prediplomskoj, diplomskoj i doktorskoj razini. Doktorirao je u veljači 2019. godine o temi „Ključni vojno-politički događaji u istočnoj Bosni 1942“. Polje njegova interesa su hrvatska suvremena povijest te razdoblje Drugoga svjetskoga rata na području bivše Jugoslavije. O toj temi objavio je znanstvene radove u domaćim i međunarodnim povjesnim znanstvenim časopisima te sudjelovao na velikom broju znanstvenih i skupova i nekoliko televizijskih emisija.





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Rođen 4. rujna 1980. godine u Požegi. Diplomirao 2009. godine na Ekonomskom fakultetu u Osijeku. Zadnjih petnaestak godina bavim se istraživanjem lokalne povijesti mesta Velika i Požeštine. Do sada sam objavljivao publicističke radove u godišnjacima „Velička kronika“ i „Požeški pučki kalendar“ te na lokalnim internet portalima. Od 2015. godine piše blog o lokalnoj povijesti www.velyka.wordpress.com. Poseban interes istraživanja su žrtve II. svjetskog rata i porača, prikrivena stratišta i grobišta II. svjetskog rata i porača, te žrtve komunističkog režima. Trenutno radi na rukopisu dviju knjiga, „Stratišta i grobišta Požeštine“ i Žrtvoslovu župa Velika i Stražeman. U istraživanjima surađuje s udružama Hrvatski domobran i Hrvatska družba povjesničara Dr. Rudolf Horvat.

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Rođen 1985. godine u Zagrebu gdje je završio osnovnu i srednju školu. Na Fakultetu hrvatskih studija upisao je i završio studij povijesti. Tijekom 2017. na istom fakultetu upisao je poslijediplomski studij povijesti. Glavno područje autora interesa je hrvatska povijest 20. stoljeća i to prvenstveno prva polovica. Do sada sudjelovao je na dva znanstvena skupa iz hrvatske povijesti prve polovice 20. stoljeća u organizaciji Fakulteta hrvatskih studija, koji su rezultirali sa dva znanstvena rada u zbornicima tih skupova.

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Danijel Jurković rođen je 22. studenoga 1990. godine u Dobrenici, Bihaću. U Velikoj Gorici pohađa Osnovnu školu Jurja Habdelića, a u istom gradu upisuje Gimnaziju Velika Gorica, opći smjer. Maturirao je u lipnju 2009. godine, a iste godine upisuje preddiplomski sveučilišni studij povijesti i komunikologije na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. U rujnu 2012. godine stječe diplomu sveučilišnoga prvostupnika povijesti i komunikologije te upisuje diplomski sveučilišni studij povijesti, znanstveni i nastavnički smjer, na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Diplomirao je 15. srpnja 2015. s temom „Cazinska buna kao pokazatelj karaktera Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije“ pod mentorstvom prof. dr. sc. Ive Lučića. Drugi diplomski studij iz komunikologije upisuje 2013. godine, smjer odnosi s javnošću. Uspješno brani diplomski rad „Geopolitika Franklina Delana Roosevelta u Drugom svjetskom ratu“ pod mentorstvom doc. dr. sc. Jelene Jurišić, koji završava 30. rujna 2016. godine. Upisuje 2017.





godine Poslijediplomski doktorski sveučilišni studij povijesti na Fakultetu hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Temu doktorskoga rada pod mentorstvom doc. dr. sc. Wollfyja Krašića brani 20. srpnja 2020. Između ostalog, 5. svibnja 2020. godine završava za Voditelja ureda u Institutu za menadžment, Učilište za poslovno upravljanje u Zagrebu. Od akademske godine 2021./22. radi na Odsjeku za povijest Fakulteta hrvatskih studija u svojstvu stručnog suradnika u nastavi na više različitih kolegija. Autor više znanstvenih radova te sudionik na većem broju domaćih i međunarodnih znanstvenih skupova.

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Besim Bafti Qeriqi rođen je 18.7.1981. u Republici Kosovo. Na Sveučilištu u Prištini završio je 2015. godine studij povijesti te je time stekao titulu magistra povijesti s radom pod naslovom „NATO-ova intervencija na Kosovu u diskursu zapadne i ruske historiografije“. Upisao Poslijediplomski doktorski sveučilišni studij povijesti na Fakultetu hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 2019. godine. Autor više znanstvenih radova.

BILJEŠKE





II. MEĐUNARODNI ZNANSTVENI SKUP
VAŽNOST EUROPSKOGA SJEĆANJA ZA EUROPSKU BUDUĆNOST:
KOMUNISTIČKI ZLOČINI

Nakladnik

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II. INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

**The importance of European remembrance
for the future of Europe: Communist
Crimes**

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb
June 22, 2022
9.30 a.m.
Zagreb auditorium





Communist ideology was already implemented during the Second World War in areas that were spatially controlled by units of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (NVOJ), i.e. the Partisan forces. Although without regime indications, due to the lack of administrative control over the wider area, this system began to carry out systematic and mass repression of persons labeled, in communist view, as the “enemies of the people and war criminals” within the military units and under the conditions of general war. Thus, the first mass crimes of the Partisan forces were committed (at least declaredly) in the name of communist ideology, and were documented during the wartime, that is from 1941 to 1945. Subsequently, and in connection with that type of methodology of dealing with dissidents, military, political, or civil servants from various structures opposed to communism and its Partisan movement were considered “enemies of the people and war criminals”. Thus, the total number of people (so-called ordinary citizens) according to the various criteria (worldview, financial status, political views, religiosity, etc.) were permanently deemed undesirable to the communist order, which lead to the open manifestation of force and crime.

During the final period of war, as the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was finalizing the revolutionary takeover process it had been preparing throughout the war, systematic and mass repression began. However, in Croatian historiography, there is still a number of unexplained communist criminal episodes from the war period itself.

Throughout the war, the “new” communist government bodies participated in data collection and created an extremely ideologized atmosphere for a “final confrontation with war criminals and enemies of the people”.

Therefore, in May 1944, the Security Service of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was established, known as the Sector of the People's Protection Department (OZN), and in August 1944 the People's Defense Corps of Yugoslavia (KNOJ) - a specialized unit of 120 000 most loyal Party soldiers, whose main purpose was to organize and carry out repression and guard the communist regime. In addition, communist ideology and practice held that the achievements of the communist revolution could not be preserved without the “dictatorship of the proletariat” which is, according to Lenin, defined as “the most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy”.

Based on those facts, it is possible to understand the systemic, enormous scale, and extensiveness of the repression carried out by the Yugoslav communist order at the end of the war and during the post-war period. The order dealt with not only undesirable persons, but also institutions, worldviews, values, and symbols. The most severe form of repression were systematic mass executions without court proceedings, and very often without any group or individual documentation of the events.

Due to a number of historical circumstances, Croats were particularly hard hit. One of the unfavorable circumstances for the Croats was the unprepared and chaotic retreat – nearly half a million of Croatian civilians and approximately 200 000 Croatian soldiers – toward the northwest, i.e. via Slovenia towards Austria.

The Yugoslav regime carried out a specific kind of systematic mass executions – without court proceedings or with accelerated group trials before the revolutionary courts – after the occupation (“liberation”) of certain areas, settlements, and cities. And the majority of such





executions were executed by OZN in accordance with the lists that were previously collected and updated after the overtaking of certain areas.

The most concrete witnesses of these mass crimes are the covert execution sites and gravesites that were closely guarded secret of the highest order for the Yugoslav communist order until 1990, and from 1990 until 2012 official state commissions documented approximately 1700 mass covert execution sites and gravesites: 591 in Slovenia, 843 in Croatia, 180 in Serbia and 91 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In parts of countries that have emerged from the dissolution of Yugoslavia (Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia), this topic has not yet been officially instigated.

However, further investigations were mostly suspended or significantly decelerated (in Croatia in 2000, in Slovenia in 2009) due to transitional reasons for the abovementioned countries that have been processing some of these crimes, and therefore a failure to deal with these horrific crimes and other criminal repressions of the Yugoslav communist regime, although both Croatia and Slovenia are obliged to do so by documents that form *acquis communautaire* of the European Union, and the Declaration which the Croatian Parliament adopted accordingly, but which remained a dead letter.

Scientific activity is the main activity of the Faculty of Croatian Studies which, as specific types of activities, among others, encompasses scientific research, scientific dialogue, formation of scientific youth, and development of inter-institutional and international scientific cooperation. During the Croatian presidency of the Council of the European Union, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Bleiburg tragedy and the Croatian Way of the Cross and the civilizational necessity to deal with the past, on June 19, 2020, a scientific conference "The Importance of European Remembrance for the Future of Europe: Communist Post-war Crimes" was held. In the meantime, historians have uncovered numerous new data relating to communist crimes. Therefore, it was concluded that there is a need to organize a conference on this topic, in terms of dissemination and professional popularization of historiographical knowledge and coverage of that period, not only to deal with post-war crimes but also to include crimes committed during the Second World War.

As follows, members of the Croatian academic community, especially historians, will contribute to tackling the criminal communist past, which is bound by the European humanistic civilizational heritage and the relevant documents of the Croatian Parliament, the Council of Europe, and the European Union:

- Croatian Parliament Declaration condemning the political process and the judgment against cardinal Dr. Alojzije Stepinac from 14 February 1992 (Official Gazette, no 9/92), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1992_02_9_140.html
- Croatian Parliament Declaration condemning the arrest and homicide of Andrija Hebrang (Official Gazette, no 9/92), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1992_02_9_141.html
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Resolution 1096 – Measures to dismantle the heritage of former communist totalitarian system from 27 June 1996,





<http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=16507&lang=en>

- European Parliament Resolution on the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe on 8 May 1945, from 12 May 2005, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52005IP0180&from=EN>
- Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Resolution 1481 – Need for international condemnation of crimes of totalitarian communist regimes from 25 January 2006, <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/xref/xref-xml2html-en.asp?fileid=17403&lang=en#>
- Croatian Parliament Declaration condemning the crimes committed during the totalitarian communist order in Croatia from 1945 to 1990 from 30 June 2006, https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2006_07_76_1786.html
- European Parliament Resolution on European conscience and totalitarianism from 2 April 2009, <https://min-kulture.gov.hr/vijesti-8/rezolucija-europskog-parlamenta-o-europskoj-savjesti-i-totalitarizmu/13538>
- Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council – The memory of the crimes committed by the totalitarian regimes in Europe from 22 December 2010, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52010DC0783>
- Finding, Marking and Maintenance of the Graves of Victims of Communist Crimes after the Second World War Act (Official Gazette, no 31/11), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2011_03_31_677.html
- European Parliament Resolution on the importance of European remembrance for the future of Europe (2019/2819(RSP)),
https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2019-0021_HR.html
- Day of Remembrance for Croatian victims in the fight for freedom and independence and European Day of Remembrance for the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes – Nazism, fascism, and communism, pursuant to the National Holidays, Memorial Days, and Non-Working Days in the Republic of Croatia Act (Official Gazette, no 110/19), https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2019_11_110_2212.html

International scientific conference *The importance of European remembrance for the future of Europe: Communist Crimes* was organized with the financial support of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia, and the Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb.





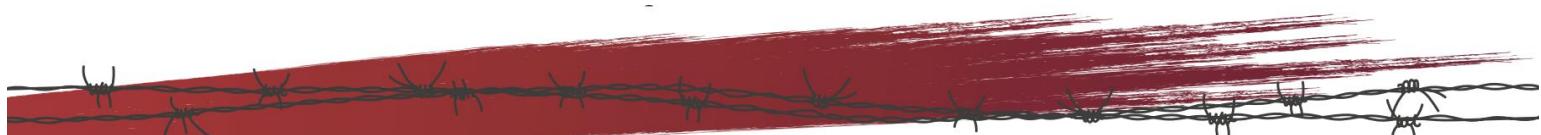


ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

doc. dr. sc. Vlatka Vukelić

doc. dr. sc. Vladimir Šumanović

Danijel Jurković, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. and mag. comm.





PROGRAM





II. INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

The importance of European remembrance for the European future: Communist crimes

Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb
22nd June 2022, 9:30 a.m., Zagreb auditorium

9.00 registration of participants

9.30 introductory note by the organizers and welcome notes, conference opening

9.30 welcome note by prof. dr. sc. **Stjepan Čosić**, dean of the Faculty of Croatian Studies

9.35 welcome note by **Holger Haibach**, director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

9.40 welcome note by doc. dr. sc. **Vladimir Šumanović**, president of the organizing committee

First session: *Communist post-war crimes – fundamental principles*

Moderator: doc. dr. sc. **Vladimir Šumanović**

9.40 – 10.00 – prof. dr. sc. **Bojan Dimitrijević**, Opening speech (Keynote): *Aleksandar Ranković: Founder of OZNA – Department for the People's Protection and the Partisan movement*

10.00 – 10.20 – prof. dr. sc. **Mitja Ferenc**, *Research of Hidden Croatian Gravesites in Slovenia – Results and Obstacles*

10.20 – 10.40 – dr. sc. **Igor Vranić** and **Leo Marić**, mag. hist., *Historians at the University of Zagreb and the Regime Change in 1945*

10.40 – 11.00 – doc. dr. sc. **Vlatka Vukelić**, *Partisan Crimes in Zrin*

11.00 – 11.20 – discussion

11.20 – 11.40 – coffee break





Second session: *Communist crimes between the state and local levels*

Moderator: Danijel Jurković, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. et mag. comm.

11.40 – 12.00 – prof. dr. sc. **Veljko Đurić Mišina**, *Communist Repression During and After the War: The Case of Bosnian Krajina*

12.00 – 12.20 – dr. sc. **Franjo Jurić**, *Communist Crimes Against Croats and Muslims in Southwestern Bosnia and Bihać Region in the Period from mid-1941 to early 1943*

12.20 – 12.40. – dr. sc. **Hrvoje Mandić**, *Criminal Expeditions of the Communist Authorities Against the Jataks on Široki Brijeg from 1945 to 1951*

12.40 – 13.00 – dr. sc. **Tomislav Jonjić**, *Battle for Krašić – crime without punishment*

13.00 – 13.20 – dr. sc. **Blanka Matković**, *Liquidations on Kočevski rog: The Role of 11th Dalmatian Brigade Through Archival Sources, Newspaper Articles, and Testimonies*

13.20 – 13.40 – discussion

13.40 – 15.00 – lunch for the participants

Third session: *Communist crimes and population*

Moderator: doc. dr. sc. **Vlatka Vukelić**

15.00 – 15.20 – doc. dr. sc. **Vladimir Šumanović**, *Yugoslav Camp in Požega*

15.20 – 15.40 – **Drago Štokić**, dipl. oec., *Hidden Gravesites of the Wider Požega area*

15.40 – 16.00 – **Domagoj Đerek**, mag. hist. and mag. educ. hist., *Military and Political Biography of Petar Kleut from 1941 to 1945*

16.00 – 16.20 – **Danijel Jurković**, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. and mag. comm., *Silenced Crimes in the Belaš Forest*

16.20 – 16.40 – **Besim Qeriqi**, mag. hist., *Kosovo Youth Demonstration 1981 - Violence Against the Protestors*

16.40 – 17.00 – discussion

17.00 – 17.20 – conclusions and conference closing





ABSTRACTS





prof. dr. sc. Bojan Dimitrijević

Aleksandar Ranković: Founder of OZNA – Department for the People's Protection and the Partisan movement

The paper provides an overview of Aleksandar Ranković's activity in the formation of bodies of the security service within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, i.e. the Partisan movement during the Second World War. The paper follows Ranković's activities in the creation of such a service from the first steps after the German occupation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, up until the formation of the service known as "Ozna". An overview is given on the origins of the provincial Oznas, as well as other organizational details under Ranković's control, ending with the reorganization of this service after the adoption of the 1946 Constitution and transformation into the State Security Administration. The article was written on the basis of partially available military and state security documentation and parts of literature related to this topic.

Keywords: Aleksandar Ranković, Josip Broz Tito, security service, OZN-a, UDB-a, Yugoslavia, Serbia, Second World War.





prof. dr. sc. **Mitja Ferenc**

Research of Hidden Croatian Gravesites in Slovenia – Results and Obstacles

After the Second World War ended in 1945, around 15.000 Slovenes, mostly Slovene Home Guardsmen, were killed in Slovenia over a period of a few weeks, without court proceedings. Additionally, several tens of thousands of people from other Yugoslav nations were killed, most of them members of the Independent State of Croatia Army. The massacres of prisoners of war and actual and imaginary opponents were ordered by the new communist government led by Josip Broz Tito, and carried out by the OZNA military and political police, and specifically selected Yugoslav Army military units. For 45 years, the communist regime managed to keep this quiet and erase all traces. The victims were non-existent at those gravesites; they were erased from the public memory. When they were executed without court proceedings, they were also stripped of their fundamental civilizational right – the right of a burial. This was carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Yugoslav Minister of the Interior from May 1945, and was maintained until the onset of democratic changes. So far, more than 700 gravesites or places of death have been recorded and documented in Slovenia, often labeled as hidden gravesites. They can be found in karst caves, anti-tank trenches, mine shafts, and in caves that had to be excavated for mass executions. However, not all have been confirmed or investigated yet. The realization that gravesites should be investigated started to mature after the onset democratic shift, so that 77 years after the crime, in 2022, 234 gravesites or places of death were investigated and confirmed, and partially or fully exhumed. We estimate that among the recorded locations there are about 140 gravesites with Croatian victims, 40 of which were confirmed by field research from 13 gravesites, and Croatian victims were fully or partially exhumed. Their remains lie in the ossuary at the Dobrava cemetery in Maribor and are awaiting a dignified burial in Croatia or Slovenia. The question arises as to why, in a civilizational and pious debt to the victims and their relatives, we have failed to do more, and failed to punish those responsible for the crimes. What were the obstacles that prevented this?

Keywords: hidden gravesites, OZNA, KNOJ, probing, exhumation.





dr. sc. **Igor Vranić i Leo Marić**, mag. hist.

Historians at the University of Zagreb and the Regime Change in 1945

With the collapse of the Independent State of Croatia and the establishment of communist Yugoslavia, significant changes occurred in all spheres of social life. Members of various social groups fled abroad or were convicted of “collaborating with the occupiers and their accomplices” during the Second World War. This led to the need for a new cadre, loyal to the new communist regime. The aim of our presentation is to explore how the regime change in 1945 affected the historians at the University of Zagreb, that is how much trust the communist regime had in historians who were brought up during the previous regimes and how many new historians were brought to the University of Zagreb. Likewise, we want to explore how regime change has affected the performance of history lecturing at the university level.

Keywords: historians, Croatian historiography, University of Zagreb, Independent State of Croatia, communism, Yugoslavia.





doc. dr. sc. Vlatka Vukelić

Partisan crimes in Zrin

The Zrin area history dates far back, to the distant past. This area was easily accessible by the prehistoric route that followed the Una river (and forked along the Japra and Sana), and at Novi and Dvor turned to the northwest. This way, this area formed a link between the ancient Pannonia and Dalmatia, and the fastest Pannonian route to the heart of Dalmatia. The mineral wealth of Trgovska and Zrinska mountain made this area economically attractive. Some historians consider the wider area of Zrin St. Jerome's birthplace, which implies a strong connection of the area to the administrative, religious, and worldview structure of the Western civilizational circle. The late Middle Ages and early modern times point to the significant interest of the Croatian noble families in Zrin area. This ethnic pattern was also documented in 1910, when, according to the census, Zrin had 781 inhabitants (777 Croats, 3 Serbs and 1 Hungarian). According to the census data relating to religion, there were 778 Catholics and 3 Orthodox inhabitants.

At the beginning of the Second World War, the population of Zrin was estimated at 850 people. The Zrin settlement was located in Banovina, and in administrative terms, it formed a part of Dvor na Uni district, that is the Great Parish of Gora with its seat at Petrinja. The proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia became crucial for this area in 1943, when Zrin became exposed and without permanent protection of military units. These claims are supported by the documents dating from March 1943, when people of Zrin came to Zagreb to seek help and require organized state protection. They requested a platoon of Home Guardsmen to protect the area and provide safety to perform daily agricultural works, since they were exposed to robberies and individual attacks by Partisan formations during their daily work.

In September 1943, the forces of the National Liberation Movement (NOP), i.e. Partisans, have gained great power on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. A clear indication of this was the Partisan military siege of Zrin. The Partisan forces that occupied Zrin were organized into a tactical group named "Una Operational Group" (UOG). The siege was a result of the Partisan assessment that the population of Zrin was politically attached to the Independent State of Croatia, which marked Zrin as a particularly strong opponent to the Partisans, and which thus became a core prerequisite for the Partisan liquidations.

Based on archival material and published sources, the paper describes the context of Partisan siege of Zrin, but also the circumstances that immediately preceded the event.

Keywords: Zrin, Kotar Dvor, Independent State of Croatia, National Liberation Movement, war crimes, Una Operational Group.





prof. dr. sc. **Veljko Đurić Mišina**

Communist Repression During and After the War: The Case of Bosnian Krajina

Neither party to any war is innocent, due to the fact that each side has committed minor or major crimes. Problems arise when the victor of war writes its own version of the history. A more peaceful exploration of the past, which also includes the war crimes of the victors, can only begin once the contemporaries and perpetrators leave. Serbs formed the majority of the population in parts of Bosnian Krajina, Lika, Kordun and Banija. An uprising against the Independent State of Croatia broke out in that territory. According to the instructions of the highest ranking party officers and Partisans' bodies, the members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Croatia imposed their policies in those areas as well. In doing so, they broke the resistance of those who did not fit into the Communist-Partisan ideology and politics, and did not shy away from harsh punishments and murders. The post-war policy towards the inhabitants of those areas, who identified with or were a part of Chetniks formations or the Yugoslav Army in the homeland, was conducted in various ways: from displacing entire settlements, to arresting and killing prominent people. When it comes to Bosnian Krajina, I wish to demonstrate the brutality of the Partisan leadership and Communist politics toward the enemy through a few examples.

Keywords: Partisans, communists, ideology, crimes, repression.





dr. sc. Franjo Jurić

Communist Crimes Against Croats and Muslims in Southwestern Bosnia and Bihać Region in the Period from mid-1941 to early 1943

After the uprising against “Ustasha crimes and persecution” in late July 1941 by the Chetnik-communist supporters, who were mostly members of the Serb people, mass crimes against Croat and Muslim people took place. These crimes were particularly pronounced in the Eastern and Southeastern Lika, Northern Dalmatia and Southeastern Bosnia, and later on the Bihać region. These crimes were not the topic of interest for the Yugoslavian communist historiography. Everything was depicted as an uprising against “occupiers and domestic traitors”, and July 27 was commemorated as the national holiday in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the name of “the Day of Uprising of the People and Nation”. Precisely in the period from the end of July to the beginning of October 1941, mass crimes were committed, first against the Croat population of Lika and Northern Dalmatia, and then against the Croats and Muslims in Southwestern Bosnia: Drvar, Oštrelj, Vrtoč, Krnjeuša, Kulen Vakuf, and Ljutočka valley villages. Apart from the fact that these crimes stood out for their massiveness and brutality, it is noted that after the persecution, Croatian population from these areas was never allowed to return to their centuries-old homes. Those areas are inhabited mainly by Serbs. The same fate befell on the Croats of Eastern and Southeastern Lika.

It all started on July 27, 1941, on the feast of St. Ana which is celebrated on July 26, when the Catholics from Drvar were returning from a pilgrimage from Knin (Kosovo polje), led by the local pastor Waldemar Maxilmilijan Nestor. They were returning to Drvar by train, and were intercepted by “insurgents” in Trubari, 18 kilometers from Drvar, taken out of the train, and killed together with the pastor. Their bodies were thrown into Golubinjača natural pit. The exact number of Catholics killed in Drvar has never been determined, as this crime has never been investigated in the former Yugoslavia. It is estimated that 300 to 400 Croats and Muslims were killed during the Chetnik-communist uprising in the summer of 1941 in Drvar and surrounding areas.

After Drvar crimes, the Chetnik-communist insurgents continued committing crimes against Croats in the Vrtoča area (August 2, 1941) and Krnjeuša (August 9 and 10, 1941), Bosanski Petrovac municipality. It is estimated that 400 Croats, out of which 240 were identified, were killed in a period extending over few days at the beginning of August 1941.

After Vrtoč and Krnjeuša, Kulen Vakuf and Muslim villages in the Ljutočka valley were next: Ćukovi, Klisa nad Orašac. After the insurgents invaded the Lika village of Boričevac and murdered 55 Croats, the remaining (approximately) 2180 Croats managed to escape death by fleeing to Kulen Vakuf. At the beginning of August 1941, this small town, which had the status of a district subsidiary, had about 5600 inhabitants with refugees from Boričevac. After finding themselves completely surrounded by Chetnik-communist insurgents in early September 1941, it was decided to evacuate the population to Bihać. During the evacuation, almost 3000 Muslims





and Croats were captured, and returned to Kulen Vakuf were they became victims of a mass crimes perpetrated by insurgents.

During 1942, a mass crime was committed against the civilians and captured soldiers. The crime was committed by the Partisans in the period from November 4, 1942 to January 29, 1943, when they temporarily sieged Bihać and the then Great Parish of Krbava and Psat. The historiography of communist Yugoslavia does not mention these crimes, nor have they been the subject of research until today. In downtown Bihać, 153 people found in 25 pits were exhumed, including the then mayor of Bihać Husein-beg Ibrahimpašić. Naturally, the actual number of people killed was far higher and includes the entire area of the then Great Parish of Krbava and Psat.

Keywords: Communist crimes, Croats, Muslims, Southwestern Bosnia, Bihać area.

dr. sc. **Hrvoje Mandić**

Criminal Expeditions of the Communist Authorities Against the Jataks on Široki Brijeg from 1945 to 1951

The word “jatak” (from Turkish “yatak” - bed) means a person who, during the Ottoman rule in Southeast Europe and South Slavic regions, took care of *hajduks* by providing them with food and shelter during fall and winter periods. According to the Ottoman, as well as the Communist repressive apparatus, that person, figuratively, is an accomplice in the dishonorable affairs of “Jatak”, or, in modern terms, “terrorist”. On February 11, 1945, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ), begin to gradually establish a revolutionary government in Široki Brijeg. This process continued over the following 6 years, until the members of the anti-communist guerrillas of the First Herzegovian Crusader Association, i.e. the “Široki Brijeg Škripari”, were completely liquated. Using the method of separation, execution, and rigged court proceedings, the communist authorities directed the focus of punitive expeditions against Široki Brijeg *jataks* and gradually dismantled and suffocated the anti-communist guerrillas from the wider Široki Brijeg area. The crusader *jataks* were liquitated by the communist authorities, and most of them were sentenced to draconian punishments at the rigged trials of the Mostar District Court.

Keywords: jatak, anti-communist guerrilla, Široki Brijeg, Herzegovina, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, People's Protection Department (OZN-a).





dr. sc. Tomislav Jonjić

Battle for Krašić – crime without punishment

In two battles for Krašić, the first, which took place in mid-December 1942, and the second, that took place fifteen days later, members of the Yugoslav partisan movement took the village and a number of surrounding villages. Although Krašić was not of particular military importance, Yugoslav forces counted on political gains from taking power in this area, which was dominated, according to a number of their reports, by the former Croatian Peasant Party.

But this temporary military success in actuality resulted in political defeat. In addition to being wary of communist ideology and having reservations to the rebuilding of Yugoslavia, the people of the Krašić area resented the systematic violence and bloodshed that accompanied Yugoslav partisan forces. Already as part of the operations that make up the first battle for Krašić, public buildings and municipal bureaus in some Žumberak settlements were burned and destroyed, treasury guards and a number of civilians were killed without trial, and the railway was destroyed.

It was an indication of what would happen fifteen days later, in early 1943: at that time, the Yugoslav partisan forces managed to capture several hundred members of the Croatian armed forces, mostly home guards. Some of the captured Ustašas were killed immediately, and for the remaining Ustaša-Home Guard company, a so-called people's court was established - in fact a political show without the right to defence and with an outcome that was known in advance - so more than two hundred people were executed, some even, according to partisan documents, by being thrown alive into a pit.

Like other similar war crimes, this one was never followed by a court trial, although a criminal complaint was filed against the four leading actors in the bloodshed in May 1998, initially based on published and later corroborated by unpublished eyewitness documents and testimonies. The fate of the State Attorney's file of this criminal complaint was not only accompanied by ignorance of the State Attorney's Office - encouraged by high political circles who tried to discourage the applicant the Croatian Home Guard Association - but also something that usually does not happen with court files: the applicant was informed by proxy that the entire file was simply - lost! The State Attorney's Office and the political authorities were unanimously waiting for biology to take its course, which of course happened in the end.

Key words: battle for Krašić, war crime, Rade Bulat, Milka Kufrin, Marko Belinić, Lutvo Ahmetović





dr. sc. Blanka Matković

Liquidations on Kočevski rog: the Role of 11th Dalmatian Brigade through Archival Sources, Newspaper Articles, and Testimonies

In May 1945, some of the captives from the British camps in Southern Austria were returned to Yugoslavia by the Klagenfurt-Rosenbach-Hrušica-Jesenice railway, i.e. thorough the Karavanke tunnel, were the first executions began upon their arrival. The lines of captives moved further towards Ljubelj and Kranj, and later towards Ljubljana. From here, the Way of the Cross continued in part towards Zagreb, and towards Novo Mesto and Karlovac, while the third leg of the way led towards Kočevski Rog. A large part of the captives who reached the Št. Vid camp was liquidated in mass graves throughout Slovenia. One part, as it is stated, was killed in the camp and buried in the Brezarjev abyss, along the upper course of the Glimščica stream (northwestern part of Ljubljana). However, certainly one of the largest gravesites in Slovenia is Kočevski Rog (east of Kočevje). There are several gravesites in the aforementioned area: Na križanju, Pod Krenom, Macesnova gorica, Pod Rugarjevim klancem, Žepna jama, Cinkov križ, Ceteški gozd and Ruperč vrh. All captives were first taken to Marija's home or Kočevje gymnasium, and then to the pits where only a few individuals managed to survive the liquidations.

The exact number of war captives who traveled from Jesenice to Ljubljana remains unknown. The most important role in taking over the captives was played by the 11th Dalmatian Brigade, whose headquarters stated in its operational report of 1 July 1945 that a total of 10.443 soldiers and 258 officers had been captured, excluding the enemy soldiers captured by other units of Motomechanized Detachment, and people captured by the British. Operational diaries of 2nd and 3rd battalions of the 11th Dalmatian Brigade confirmed that several units stayed in Kočevje and participated in the aforementioned events, and the diaries also recorded the departure of the "combined battalion" to Bled, which confirms witness statements. Therefore, on the basis of archival sources, newspaper articles, and testimonies, this presentation will try to reconstruct lesser-known details related to the perpetrators of the crimes in Kočevski Rog.

Keywords: Kočevski Rog, liquidations, 4th Army, 11th Dalmatian brigade, "combined battalion".





doc. dr. sc. **Vladimir Šumanović**

Yugoslav Camp in Požega

On the basis of documents of the authorities of socialist Yugoslavia, published victimology and witnesses' testimonies, the paper describes key features of the Yugoslav camp in Požega. During the first months of the post-war period, the camp operated as prisoners of war camp for the members of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) and was managed by the 10th Krajina Division of the Yugoslav Army (JA), and its 9th Krajina Brigade. Available sources suggest that the Yugoslav authorities carried out mass executions of the captives in the camps.

Keywords: Yugoslav camps, Požega, mass crimes, Yugoslav Army, 10th Krajina Division, 9th Krajina Brigade, Independent State of Croatia.





Drago Štokić, dipl. oec.

Hidden Gravesites of the Wider Požega Area

The atrocities of the Second World War and the post-war period did not bypass Požega and the wider Požega area. So far, several books and scientific papers have been published about the crimes of the regime of the Independent State of Croatia. The crimes committed in this area by Partisans and Communist authorities during and after the war, i.e. after the communist occupation of Požega on April 21, 1945, are less known and even less systematically investigated. The possible extent of repression is best illustrated by the data on about forty potential mass graves locations. Unfortunately, so far only one gravesite has been excavated, and the location was discovered accidentally, during archeological excavations. Information on other gravesites is mainly based on witness' or contemporaries' testimonials. Additionally, several camps have been organized in Požega and the surrounding area. The most well-known one is the Glates (Glis) camp. The camp located in Ovčare, not far from Požega, is almost unknown to the public, and it detained mostly the inhabitants of Španovica. In Požega, a small camp was also located on Varelovac, where typhus patients from the Glates camp were brought.

After the establishment of the democratic system in Croatia in 1990, many hoped that gravesites, including the fates of their loved ones, would be investigated and the perpetrators punished. Unfortunately, almost nothing happened. To date, about thirty memorials dedicated to Croatian soldiers and civilians killed during and after the Second World War have been erected in the wider Požega area. These are the result of mostly local initiatives. Part of the memorials were set up by Požega branch of Croatian Home Guardsmen. Although the memorials were erected in the best of intentions, it can be established that on the monuments where victims are listed by name, individuals are still missing.

All this points to the fact that the work on the discovery and investigation of gravesites and execution sites is not over. This presentation is based on the preliminary results of many years of archival and field research, which should be collected and published in the book about gravesites and execution sites of wider Požega area.

Keywords: wider Požega area, gravesites, post-war crimes, execution sites, communist crimes.





Domagoj Derek, mag. hist. and mag. educ. hist.

Military and Political Biography of Petar Kleut from 1941 to 1945

The war events that took place in Croatia from 1941 to 1945 caused many sufferings and many crimes were committed against Croats by various perpetrators on Croatian land. Yugoslav Partisans and communists made an important contribution to crimes committed against Croats from 1941 to 1945. Almost from the very beginning of their war activities in 1941, the Yugoslav Partisan and communists committed crimes against them as enemy military forces of the Independent State of Croatia, as well as against the Croatian civilians. The suffering of Croats at their hands during the war times reached its peak in 1945, during the final days of the Second World War on European soil, but also during the immediate post-war period.

Partisan crimes against Croats from 1941 to 1945 would not have been possible without the individuals of the lower and middle ranks of the Partisan military and political structures of the so-called the National Liberation struggle, who were completely loyal to the wartime leadership of the Yugoslav communists. Among those who were loyal to the Yugoslav communist leadership from 1941 to 1945 was a senior Partisan officer, Petar Kleut. As an extremely reliable Partisan officer, Petar Kleut faithfully carried out the orders and actions he was entrusted with during the Second World War and the immediate post-war period, some of which ended in grave crimes committed against Croats. Consequently, Petar Kleut, as the local commander of particular Partisan units, formations, and institutions in Croatia and Yugoslavia, that committed crimes against Croatian soldiers and civilians, can also be considered guilty in part of the Partisan crimes against Croats.

Reconstruction of Petar Kleut's warpath can show, in addition to his responsibility, the responsibility of his superiors for committing Partisan crimes against Croats. This can also show that the Partisan crimes committed under Kleut's command against Croats were not exclusively a spontaneous undertaking of local Partisan forces, but also the result of careful planning of the highest Partisan structures in Croatia. In this way, through the reconstruction of Petar Kleut's warpath, other persons of the middle and higher ranks of the Partisan movement in Croatia who ordered and organized crimes against Croats during the Second World War can be brought to light.

Keywords: Petar Kleut, Second World War, Partisans, Krašić, Zrin.





Danijel Jurković, mag. hist., mag. educ. hist. and mag. comm.

Silenced crimes in the Belaš Forest

The crimes committed in May 1945 in the former Yugoslavia are among those that remained silent and unexplored for over half of a century, particularly so when they meet two requirements – the vow of silence or coercion and the lack or non-existence of materials, whether it is a matter of systematic destruction or failure to create such materials. There are exceptions with regard to certain topics, and this also applies to the topic at hand, given that it is based on testimonies and(or) excavated pits. Through personal testimonies and prescribed decisions of the communist apparatus, the crimes committed in the Belaš forest near Višnjica by Lepoglava will be pointed out. Through the oral history and the discovery of the remains of a dozen victims, an overview of preceding research on the topic on crimes in the Belaš forest, which were silenced for more than half of a century, will be given.

Keywords: communist crimes, silence, Belaš forest, hidden gravesites, testimonials.





Besim Qeriqi, mag. hist.

Kosovo youth Demonstration 1981 - Violence against the Protestors

Spring came earlier than usual in 1981 in Kosovo. A wave of demonstrations broke out in Kosovo, the essential demand of which was social and political equality with the other Yugoslavian peoples. The demonstrations were taking place at a time when economic, political and cultural issues in Yugoslavia had clearly emerged, and were going towards a point of no return. On the other hand, these demonstrations were qualified by the Serbian-Yugoslavian authorities as hostile and “destructive” that were jeopardizing the brotherhood-union and the overturn of the political and territorial system of the SFRY. Based on these arguments, the Serbian communist regime used almost every kind of violence against the young Kosovo students: they were denied the right to education and work; hundreds of university and secondary school students were imprisoned; tens of thousands of citizens supporting the riots were imprisoned, solely for demanding equality with the rest and the republic status for Kosovo. The methodology includes a qualitative method, which was employed to address specific case studies, such as various indictments, trials, and records. It was specifically combined with the comparative method, to analyze and compare different articles and publications of local, regional and international authors. The work also includes a comprehensive list of references: monographies, scientific journals, conferences, and symposiums.

Conclusion the protests, although considered counter-revolutionary by the Serbian regime aimed at destroying Yugoslavia, were in fact completely peaceful: the only sin committed by the Albanian protestors was their demand for equality with other nations, and the enhancement of Kosovo's political status from autonomy to the republic.

Key words: Demonstrations, Freedom, Equality, Kosovo Republic, counter-revolution, imprisonment, nationalism.





BIOGRAPHIES

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Born in 1968 in Belgrade. Graduated in 1994, and received his master's degree in 1997 from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade with a thesis "Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland in the Valjevo region 1941-1945". In 1996 he received his master's degree from the Central European University in Budapest, with a thesis "Royalist Resistance in Northwest Serbia 1941-1945". He earned his doctorate from the University of Novi Sad in 2004, with dissertation "Yugoslav People's Army 1945-1954". Until 1997, he was the curator of the Yugoslav Aviation Museum. During 2001 he was an invited associate at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Sofia. From March 2003 to April 2004, he was an adviser to the Minister of Defense on military reform, and since 2006 he has been an adviser to the President of Serbia on military issues. As an advisor to the Minister of Defense, he had led the team that drafted the Defense Strategy of Serbia and Montenegro and the White Paper on Defense. From 2004 to 2015, he was the editor of the journal "History of the 20th Century". He is currently working at the Institute of Contemporary History. He is an associate of the state commission tasked with revealing the facts about the execution of General Dragoljub Draža Mihailović, which concluded that the official version of the arrest of Dragoljub Mihailović, in which Nikola Kalabić played a role, is correct. He has published several monographs on topics in the history of the Ravnogorski movement from 1941 to 1945, as well as over sixty works on the modern military history of this area.

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Slovenian historian, pedagogue, and writer born in Ljubljana on March 21, 1960. He graduated in modern history from the University of Ljubljana in 1985. Since 2000 he has been researching the gravesites of people killed on Slovenian territory by the Yugoslav communist regime after Second World War. Between 2002 and 2004, Ferenc was a member of the Commission on Concealed Mass Graves in Slovenia, established by the Slovenian government to document 581 communist-era mass graves found in Slovenia. Ferenc took part in the European public debate on "Crimes committed by totalitarian regimes", organized by the Slovenian Presidency of the Council of the European Union (January - June 2008) and the European Commission. His work is presented in the chapter "Secrets of the Mass Graves of the Second World War in Slovenia".





He teaches history at the University of Ljubljana. He has written several books on the history of the German Gottschee community. Author of several books and dozens of papers.

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He is currently working as an archivist at the University of Zagreb and as an external lecturer at the Department of Communication Studies, Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb. He received his doctorate from the European University Institute in Florence with a thesis titled “Izidor Kršnjavi – a Sketch of an Intellectual at the Turn of the 20th Century”. He completed a master's degree in comparative history at the Central European University in Budapest, and was a visiting associate in the spring semester of 2016 at Humboldt University in Berlin. Winner of the Jacob Burckhardt Scholarship at the European University Institute and the Open Society Scholarship at the Central European University. He has lectured at conferences in Oxford, Sydney, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Athens, Valencia. My research interest is the history of the Habsburg Empire from the end of the 19th century with special emphasis on the political use of art history in Croatian countries.

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Born in Rijeka on October 22, 1991, he grew up in Vinkovci, where he graduated from the Vladimir Nazor Elementary School and the Ivan Domac School of Economics. In 2015, he completed his undergraduate studies in history and philosophy at the Faculty of Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb, while in March 2019 he completed his graduate studies at the same faculty. During his studies, he was an active member of the Students' History Society “Ivan Lučić – Lucius”, as well as a member of the the Association “Obnova” and Matica hrvatska. As part of the first two aforementioned associations, he participated in various publishing projects, such as publishing the almanac “Lucius” and the magazine “Obnova”, where he was also a member of the editorial board. He has led two publishing projects, edited one book, and organized one international conference. He has participated in several scientific conferences and authored a couple of scientific articles and dozens of journalistic texts.





doc. dr. sc. **Vlatka Vukelić**

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Vlatka Vukelić (nee Bručić) was born in Sisak in 1979. She graduated in 1997 from the Sisak Gymnasium, and graduated in history and croatology at the Faculty of Croatian Studies in 2002 (scientific and teaching major). Since 2004, she has worked at the Sisak City Museum as a curator of the Cultural and Historical Collection, curator of the Gallery Collection, and a librarian. During the same year, she transferred to the Faculty of Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb, as a junior researcher. She began her postgraduate doctoral studies at the Faculty of Croatian Studies in 2006, and successfully completed it on December 20, 2011, with doctoral dissertation on the topic: "History of Systematic Archaeological Research in Sisak from the 16th Century to 1941". Since then, she has been a senior assistant at the Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb. Since 2007, she has been teaching the following courses of the undergraduate level of studies at the Faculty of Croatian Studies: History and Culture of the Greek and Roman Worlds, Ancient Cities of Continental Croatia, Economic Image of Istria in Antiquity. Since 2010 she has been teaching the following courses at the graduate level studies of the Faculty of Croatian Studies: Ancient Roads and Communications, The Roman Army in Croatia, The Life of an Ancient Family in the Province, and Croatia's Protected Natural and Cultural Heritage. During 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010 she was the executive editor of the Yearbook of the Sisak City Museum (numbers 7, 8, 9 and 10). In 2011, the Ministry of Culture approved the project of the exhibition: The Colussi Family in Sisak. She prepared the exhibition organized by the Sisak City Museum, as an external associate to this institution. In 2012, the Ministry of Culture approved the project of the exhibition: Thesaurus Colapis fluminis - The Treasure of the Kupa River. She prepared the exhibition, organized by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, in co-authorship with dr.sc. Ivan Radman-Livaj. Apart from Zagreb, the exhibition is set in the Sisak City Museum and the Šibenik City Museum. It deals with the history of Sisak and the history of archeology of the Sisak region. After the birth of her third child, in 2017 she became an assistant professor at the Department of History of her home institution, as well as the head of the same Department. Since October of the same year, she has been the coordinator of the doctoral study of history at the Faculty of Croatian Studies.

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Born in Kosore, Sinj on January 8, 1953. A Serbian historian whose field of interest is the Serbian Orthodox Church, the study of genocide and the Holocaust, and the modern history of





the states that emerged from the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He has worked in several research and educational institutions and was the former acting director of the Genocide Victims' Museum in Belgrade. He finished seven grades of primary school in his hometown, eighth grade in Belgrade, high school, and history at the Faculty of Philosophy. Doctoral dissertation "Serbian Orthodox Church 1941-1945" from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad. He worked at the History Museum of Serbia as a curator-historian (1981-1997), then at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Prishtina as a teacher, first as an assistant professor, then associate professor for the course History of Yugoslavia (1997-2005), director and manager of a research project at the Institute of Serbian Culture in Leposavić (2005-2008), director of the European College of Sports Journalism in Belgrade (2008-2009). By the decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia of June 23, 2013, he was appointed acting director of the Genocide Victims' Museum.

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Born in 1973 in Bihać, where he finished elementary school and high school. After graduating from the Faculty of Education, he became a professor of history and geography. He earned the title of Doctor of Historical Sciences at the Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb in 2019 with dissertation titled "Main Features of the Administration of the Independent State of Croatia in the Great Parish of Krbava and Psat based in Bihać". He was as a professor at the Kamenica Elementary School, and then at the Catholic School Centre General Gymnasium in Bihać. After that, he has worked as an advisor in the Government of the Una-Sana Canton, and also served as a counselor of the Bihać Municipal Council for two terms. Author of three scientific books and several articles.

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Born in 1987 in Mostar. He finished elementary school and high school of Friar Dominik Mandić in Široki Brijeg. He enrolled in the undergraduate study of history and pedagogy in 2006 at the University of Mostar, where in 2009 he obtained a bachelor's degree in history and pedagogy. He enrolled in the graduate study of history in 2009 at the Faculty of Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb, where he obtained a master's degree in history in 2011. In 2014, he enrolled in the postgraduate doctoral study of history at the Faculty of Croatian Studies at the





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Tomislav Jonjić was born in 1965 in Imotski. He received his primary education in several schools in the Imotski region, and finished high school in 1983 in his hometown. After completing his military service (1983/84), he studied law in Zagreb from October 1984 and graduated in early June 1988. From the summer of 1988 he worked as a legal trainee, from December 1989 as a court interpreter for the German language, and from 1991 as an attorney at law and court interpreter in Imotski and from 1997 in Zagreb. He also as an attorney at law internationally, and in two cases he was the main defense counsel before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. He was a participant in the Homeland War 1991-1992, a contract diplomat at the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia in Bern 1992-1995 and an Adviser for International Relations in the Office for International Relations in the Ministry of the Interior 1995-1997. He was a member of the City Assembly of Zagreb in one term (2017-2021). He has been publishing since 1990. From 1997 until today, with a nine-month break, he has been the editor-in-chief of the Political Prisoner, a journal of the Croatian Association of Political Prisoners. He edited almost 230 issues of that magazine, and was a member of the editorial board of several others, in addition he edited fifteen books and co-edited a journal. In June 2015, he earned his doctorate in contemporary history. He has participated in several scientific and professional conferences both domestically and internationally. He has published ten books and more than forty scientific and professional papers in the fields of historiography, law, sociology, anthropology and literature, as well as more than a thousand journalistic and non-fiction texts. He has been elected to the scientific title of research assistant.

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A scientist born on April 30, 1976, in Split, where she finished elementary school and language grammar school (First High School Split). In Zagreb, she graduated in history as a single major at the Faculty of Philosophy and journalism at the Faculty of Political Science. At that faculty, she later earned a master's degree in international relations and national security and a master's degree in science. She started her independent research in 2006 and has researched in almost all archives in Croatia and Slovenia and in London archives. Since 2011, she has published 17 scientific papers and is the co-author of five books. Blanka Matković received her PhD in Politics and International Studies on the topic of her doctoral dissertation "Socio-Psychological





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Born on September 4, 1980 in Požega. He graduated in 2009 from the Faculty of Economics in Osijek. For the last fifteen years I have been researching the local history of Velika and the wider Požega area. So far, I have published journalistic works in the yearbooks “Velička Chronicles” and “Požega Folk Calendar” and on local internet portals. Since 2015, he has been writing a blog about local history at www.velyka.wordpress.com. He has particular interest in the research of the victims of Second World War and post-war period, hidden execution sites and gravesites of Second World War and post-war period, and victims of the communist regime. He is currently working on the manuscript of two books, “Execution Sites and Gravesites of wider Požega area” and “Victimology of parishes Velika and Stražeman”. In his research, he collaborates with the Croatian Home Guard and the Croatian Society of Historians Dr. Rudolf Horvat.

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Born in 1985 in Zagreb, where he finished primary and secondary school. He enrolled and completed his studies of history at the Faculty of Croatian Studies. In 2017, he enrolled at the





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Danijel Jurković was born on November 22, 1990 in Dobrenica, Bihać. In Velika Gorica he attended the Juraj Habdelić Elementary School, and in the same city, the Velika Gorica Gymnasium (general grammar school). He graduated in June 2009, and in the same year he enrolled in the undergraduate university study of history and communication at the Faculty of Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb. In September 2012, he earned a bachelor's degree in history and communication and enrolled in graduate university studies in history, science and teaching, at the Faculty of Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb. He graduated on July 15, 2015 with the topic "Cazin Rebellion as an Indicator of the Character of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" under the mentorship of prof. dr. sc. Ivo Lučić. He began his second graduate studies in communication science in 2013, majoring in public relations. He successfully defended his dissertation "Geopolitics of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the Second World War" under the mentorship of doc. dr. sc. Jelena Jurišić, completing it on September 30, 2016. In 2017, he enrolled in the postgraduate doctoral university study of history at the Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb. On July 20, 2020 he defends his doctoral dissertation under the mentorship of doc. dr. sc. Wolffy Krašić. Among other things, on May 5, 2020, he finished the program for the Office Manager at the Institute of Management, School of Business Administration in Zagreb. Starting from the academic year 2021/22 he has been working at the Department of History of the Faculty of Croatian Studies as a teaching assistant at several different courses. Author of several scientific papers and participant in a number of domestic and international scientific conferences.

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