

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION, RESETTLEMENT AND REVITALIZATION
IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

by

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(Under the Direction of Pratt Cassity)

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to investigate the questions that surround post-war urban reconstruction in the Republic of Croatia. Who is responsible for the rebuilding of destroyed roads, buildings and landmarks? Who are the key players in these efforts? How does the affected community remember and memorialize the war? How can landscape architects play an effective role in promoting peace between the former warring parties?

INDEX WORDS: Post-War Reconstruction, Post-War Resettlement, Post-War Revitalization, Croatian Homeland War, The Republic of Croatia, Yugoslavia, Balkans, Memorials, Peace Gardens

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the designers of peace, the everyday people, great and humble, who live to build a lasting harmony in our world.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This study seeks to explore the questions and issues surrounding post-war rebuilding in the Republic of Croatia and looks at the role landscape architects can play in its reconciliation process with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Throughout the 1990s, Croatia suffered enormous destruction of its treasured towns and cities in a bloody war for independence from Yugoslavia. Using technology refined during the past 150 years since the Industrial Revolution the Yugoslavian National Army (JNA) used its powerful military weapons to raze entire Croatian cities in a fraction of the time it was spent to build them.

Americans do not have to travel far to find comparisons to what occurred in the recent Balkan wars. The American Civil War left many examples of city destruction. Among the urban centers on the list are Charleston, South Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia. But perhaps the most infamous case of that era was the burning of Atlanta during General William Tecumseh Sherman's "March To The Sea" military campaign where the entire city was set ablaze satisfying a military strategy that eventually brought the war to an end.

More examples of large-scale destruction are found all throughout the world. During World War II, where Western Europe, Northern Africa and the Pacific were the battlefield arenas, many cities were ravaged less than a century after the U.S. Civil War. This was the second instance of fierce, widespread fighting across all of Europe in the first half of the Twentieth Century. The Nazi armies under the command of Adolf Hitler brought devastation

from the land, sea and air. Great cities like London, Prague and Dresden suffered huge losses. The Polish capital Warsaw was leveled. In the Pacific the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were obliterated in mere seconds by atomic bombs.

The recent conflict that erupted in Eastern Europe when the Republic of Yugoslavia dissolved saw its former member states engaging in a civil war full of heavy fighting and massive destruction along the Croatian borders with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now, almost 10 years since the war ended in 1995, many of the affected cities still lie in ruins. Some, however, were quickly repaired and little war-damage is seen. But some places, like Vukovar, still lie mostly in rubble.

Reconstruction is a lengthy process often taking years for the many details to be sorted out before any action is taken. A case in point is the bridge at Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since its destruction in 1993, it has taken 11 years for the famous structure to be rebuilt. But beyond rebuilding after war it is hoped that keeping an ongoing dialog of respect and nonviolence between former warring nations will prevent such catastrophic losses in the future. The signing of the new Belgrade Declaration treaty is a recent example of Balkan commitment to keeping cultural artifacts safe at out of harm's way.

How This Study Is Timely

This study deals with a topic that has recently been re-introduced into mainstream American consciousness with the on-going conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq and the subsequent work to rebuild the bombed cities in those countries. The last large-scale post-war reconstruction project involving Americans before this was the rebuilding of Europe under the Marshall Plan after the ending of World War II. With the opening of war in any country comes the consequence

of destruction of not just human lives but of buildings, infrastructure and cultural sites that house the histories of those lives.

This study looks at the aftermath of the armed conflict in Croatia. It traces the country's long, tumultuous history that led up to the war and then examines how the new independent republic has begun to heal the wounds of war. Finally a physical design process to promote peace in the region is suggested as an effort to curb future conflicts from occurring in this battle weary region.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CROATIA

The following brief history of Croatia is included to provide an introduction to the underlying motivations behind the destructive Balkan wars of the 1990s. Croatian history is a complex web of both beautiful and tragic stories. Landscape architects working to promote peace through design in this region need to be aware of the intricate nature of Croatia's history and to realize that many questions regarding ethnic relations still remain unanswered. Understanding the past events of the Croats, Serbs and Muslims and embracing the difficult questions the history reveals is vital to producing a meaningful design solution that promotes peace and reconciliation among all the former warring parties.

Early Times

The area that forms modern-day Croatia started out as small settlements along the Adriatic coast that slowly spread east. Before the Croats arrived this land was part of the Roman Empire. The Romans had first settled the land around 600 A.D. and called it Pannonian.¹ Also in the population mix at the time were the Byzantines and later the invading Avars from central Asia. It is during the Avar incursion in the seventh century that the Croats are seen to arrive from their origins further in the east.²

The exact birthplace of the Croats is still a topic of debate. Many scholars believe they came from the areas of modern day Ukraine, Belarus and Poland. Other research shows how the Croat people could have come from the part of Iran the ancient Persians called Harahvatis. Still

¹ Infoplease. *World – Countries – Croatia* (2004).

² Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) 3.



Figure 2.1 Regional Map Of The Balkans



Figure 2.2 Main Regions Of Croatia

others think the Croats were a combination of Slavs and Ostrogoths. Despite the disagreements it is generally agreed that the ancestors to the modern Croats crossed the Danube River and entered the Balkan region in the seventh century.³

The migration of the Croats from an area north of the Carpathians was a slow but steady western movement toward the coastal cities of Dalmatia. The seaside towns they encountered and settled in had been built by the Romans but were deteriorating due to the decline of the empire and the recent attacks by the Avars. Following behind the invading Avars, the Croats met little resistance when they arrived in the coastal region of Dalmatia. Croats absorbed themselves into the old Roman cities of Spalato, Jadera, Aenona and Tragurium and renamed them Split, Zadar, Nin and Trogir respectively.⁴

The uprooting of prior established communities by the Avars in Dalmatia appear to have made settling and building a community much easier for the Croat people. Some Croats even united with the Avar tribes and joined in their pillaging of the Balkan territory.

Not all Croats ventured the entire way to the Adriatic. Instead some stayed inland in the northern fertile plain region of Slavonia, thus, spreading the settlement of these new Slavs across a large swath of the Balkan region. This pattern of settlement created two distinct Croatian “heartlands”- a northern one oriented toward central Europe and a southern one along the coast.

Despite the Roman retreat from the Dalmatian area, the newly settled Croats were not an autonomous group. The weakened Roman Empire still had influence over them, as did the Byzantine Empire. The Romans held sway over Croatian religion while the Byzantines controlled the region politically.⁵

³ Ibid.

⁴ Tanner, 6.

⁵ Tanner, 9.

In 800 A.D. the Frankish armies of Charlemagne took over the northern and southern Croatian regions. It is through Charlemagne's influence that the Croat rulers became evangelized. Some may have already accepted Christianity before the ninth century by virtue of influences that remained in the Latin cities they occupied. But the Franks brought about mass baptisms to the area.⁶ By 830 A.D. a bishopric had been established in the city of Nin. This town was to become the center of Croatian religious resistance to the Roman Empire. The cause of conflict was between the establishment of a Byzantine-influenced Croatian National Church and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. This dispute was later resolved when the Croat ruler Branimir (879 – 892 A.D.) broke ties with Byzantium and was recognized by Pope John VIII as an independent leader.

In the early Tenth Century, the self-appointed (with papal permission) King of Croatia, Tomislav (910 – 929) expanded the state's land holdings into the areas of modern day Bosnia and coastal Montenegro. Wanting to form an alliance with Tomislav, the Byzantines handed to him sovereignty over several Dalmatian cities it had controlled. Upon his death, Tomislav left behind him an independent Croatian state with a large mass of land holdings. It was a strengthening region that neighboring Hungary was eager to rule.

Under Hungarian Rule

For 70 years after Tomislav, Croatia remained strong and stable. But beginning in the mid-eleventh century a succession crisis weakened the state. Eventually, after King Petar Krešimir, Dimitr Zvonimir and Stjepan II failed to produce heirs to the throne, the Croatian state was severely weakened. During the crisis, Venice and the Byzantines had regained holdings in Dalmatia and northern Croatia was lost to Hungary. In 1102, the *Pacta Conventa* secured

⁶ Tanner, 7.

Hungarian control of Croatia.⁷ However, Croatia maintains that they were not taken over by the Magyrs, but were simply agreeing to be ruled by them. Indeed Croatia was semi-autonomous in this new allegiance referred to as the Hungaro-Croatian kingdom and had local leaders who administered control in the towns.⁸ Croatia saw its bonds with Hungary as a good way to become stable and secure again, especially in Dalmatia where the Venetians were dedicated to attacking and ruling the region.

Unfortunately, the Hungaro-Croatian association proved to be disastrous for Croatia. Expecting defense of its borders, Croatia's land was instead either slowly taken or threatened by foreign invaders. In Dalmatia, the Venetians attacked and took Zadar in 1202. The town switched back over to the Hungaro-Croatia kingdom in 1358 but was again ruled by Venice when it took control of all Dalmatia between 1409 and 1420 except for Dubrovnik, which became a mostly independent and prosperous city-state. The Venetians remained in power there for nearly 400 years until the Napoleonic Wars. To the north Mongols invaded Slavonia and demolished Zagreb in the 1240s, which weakened the Hungarian crown. In the south, Bosnia was developing into a strong, semi-independent state between 1180-1400 that went unchecked by Hungary. The land became part of the Ottoman Empire when the Turks invaded in 1463 further threatening Croatia.⁹

The Ottoman Threat

Throughout the 1300s the Ottoman Empire expanded north into the Balkans from its heartland in Anatolia. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Turks had taken control over Bulgaria and most of Serbia. From 1460 to 1470 Bosnia was defeated and absorbed into the powerful and seemingly undefeatable Empire. With the Ottomans surrounding them and

⁷ Tanner, 14.

⁸ Tanner, 16-17.

⁹ Infoplease. *World – Countries – Bosnia and Herzegovina* (2004).

thrusting even further north Croatia soon found itself on the frontline of battle. In 1519 Pope Leo X referred to the Croatians as being “the ramparts of Christendom.”¹⁰ They were on the frontlines defending the faith and keeping it from being overwhelmed by the Muslim Turks.

Croatia’s defense was no match against the Turks. The Hungarian-Croatian armies suffered devastating defeats at Krbavsko Polje in the west and at Mohács in the east in 1493 and 1526 respectively. With these losses, Croatia was left crippled and at the mercy of the powerful Ottoman armies. In 1527, Croatia attempted to secure defensive aid by electing the Austrian Habsburg King Ferdinand by signing the *Diet of Centigrad*. Ferdinand had recently taken over the Hungarian throne when King Louis II had perished at Mohács. The arrangement between Ferdinand and Croatia proved to be fruitless and disappointing. By 1600, after watching Slavonia and the Dalmatian areas not occupied by the Venetians fall to the Turks, the country was “reduced...to a belt of territory running from the Kvarner Gulf in the southwest to the Medjimurje in the northeast.”¹¹

Resentments between the Croats and Serbs begin to form during this period of Ottoman rule. During the first half of the sixteenth century a Bosnian-Serb named Mehmed Sokollu was taken from his home of Višegrad at a young age and brought to Istanbul where he was raised among the Turks. Sokollu would later become chief advisor to the Turkish sultan and influence him into favoring the Orthodox Church. While the Serbian church was restored in the lands held by the Ottomans the Catholics were being persecuted and forced underground into catacomb churches.¹²

Along the Dalmatian coast groups of Serbs and Croats seeking refuge from the Turks appeared. The Orthodox Vlachs settled in the Turk-occupied Lika while the Catholic Uskoks

¹⁰ Tanner, 32.

¹¹ Jonathan Bousfield, *The Rough Guide to Croatia* (London: Penguin Group, 2000) 338.

¹² Tanner, 41-42.

settled in Senj, a territory held by the Venetians. Uskoks led a life of piracy and attacked and raided the Vlachs and, to a greater extent, the Turks. Since the Vlachs were mostly a poor group of people the purpose of the Uskok attacks is questionable. It is plausible that the Uskoks were simply rebelling against the enemy since the Vlachs were living among those who invaded and took Croatian land. It was guilt by association for the Vlachs.

A military frontier or *Vojna Krajina* was established in the land that remained part of Croatia. The line of fortified castles stretched down from Varaždin to Zagreb and then over to Karlovac. The frontier was first inhabited by German mercenaries but later was mainly populated by Vlachs who were invited there by the Habsburgs. At the frontier, Orthodox military men who associated themselves with Serbia defended the reduced remains of Croatia. Even after hundreds of years of maintaining their posts, the Serbs were never integrated into Croatia in the mind of the Sabor, the governing body within the country. This is a mindset that lingers to this day.

The Ottoman Retreat

The year 1683 was a pivotal moment in the history of the Ottoman Empire. After occupying and changing the political, social and religious make-up of the Balkans for almost 400 years the Turks headed north in an endeavor to take Vienna. Turkish military failed to conquer the Austrian city in 1529 under Suleyman the Magnificent and this would also be the case for Kara Mustafa who led the late seventeenth century assault. Backed by the Polish King Jan III Sobieski with a multi-ethnic army, the defense of Vienna sent the Ottoman armies all the way back to Belgrade. The Habsburgs quickly expanded its southern frontier after this definitive defeat of the Turks and reclaimed Slavonia, Southern Hungary and lands down to Belgrade by 1700. With the signing of the *Treaty of Sremski Karlovci* in 1699 the Turks removed their claims on Hungary and Croatia.

As the Turks continued to lose territory they moved steadily into Bosnia. Along with them followed the Muslims who were living in Slavonia and Hungary. Filling up the void in these vacated areas were Croats, Serbs and later Hungarian, Slovak and Jewish settlers. Because of this, Slavonia became a very ethnically diverse territory. (That is, until the exodus that occurred in 1991 during the Croatian Homeland War.) Although most of the settlers in Slavonia were peasant farmers the land was distributed to the churches, generals and wealthy foreign landowners from Germany and Austria. The German influence on the terrain was enormous as they built churches, castles and towns in the celebrated Baroque style. Much of the grand architecture was lost during conflicts of the 1990s.

Throughout the Eighteenth Century the Slavonia region was growing rich with the aid of the Habsburgs while Dalmatia was spiraling down into the depth of poverty under the Venetians. The Dalmatian cities controlled by Venice were reduced to little more than colonies that were required to export all their goods to the foreign rulers who set their own prices. On top of this the cities had to import all their supplies from the Venetians who again set the prices. The result of this cruel treatment sent many Dalmatian residents emptying out of the cities in search of better living conditions inside the Habsburg controlled lands. What was once a rich, fertile and desirable area became an impoverished landscape of decaying towns threatened by hunger and plague.

The French Revolution and Slav Nationalism

After his rise to power in France in 1799 Napoleon began his military conquest for land. From 1803 to 1815 the self-appointed Emperor of France waged what would become known as the Napoleonic Wars throughout Europe. During this period Napoleon controlled both Austria and Venice. These victories shifted the once separated regions of Slavonia and Dalmatia under

control of the French leader. The reuniting of these two regions, separated since the time of Tomislav, planted the seeds of nationalism in the Croatian people. Although the bringing back together of historic Croatia was brief and ended shortly after Napoleon's defeat by the Russians in 1812, the sentiment of an autonomous Slavic region prospered in the years that followed.

One of the most influential leaders to this new nationalism was Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872). Gaj was a complex man who led a scandalous life that led to his demise in the mid 1800s. Despite being accused of plagiarism and accepting payoffs from the Austrian rulers, Gaj managed to start the Illyrian movement that sought to unify the Slavic people by introducing a common language and documenting the shared histories and cultures of the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. He also called for schools to promote Slavic interests and was a champion of the movement to reunify Slavonia and Dalmatia. Through the leadership of Ljudevit Gaj the Croatian National Revival became possible.

Gaj's major achievement was publishing the *Novine Horvatske* (Croatian News) newspaper in Zagreb that was written in the city's dialect instead of the commonly used Latin. A year later the newspaper changed names to *Ilirske Narodne Novine* (Illyrian National News) that seemed to further reflect the Illyrian cause. Along with the name change came the replacement of the Zagreb dialect with the *što* dialect that was seen to be similar enough to both Croatian and Serbian common languages that both Slav groups could understand it.

Of particular note during this period of Croatian history is the Serb success in creating an autonomous state. The creation of Serbia was a source of pride for all Slav people who had long been subjected to outside rulers. The newly formed state reinforced the Illyrian movement that sought to unify all the Slavs. Unfortunately, the Serbs later proved they were more interested in a Greater Serbia than in the Illyrian movement.

In 1848, the well-liked Croatian Krajina officer Colonel Josip Jelačić was ceremoniously installed as Ban of Croatia in Zagreb. (See Figure 2.2) He was elected leader largely through support of the Illyrians who now called themselves Narodnjaci (“National Party”) after the 1843 crack down on the group by the Viennese. Soon after his rise to power Jelačić held local elections that brought many Narodnjaci members into the Sabor. This further strengthened the nationalistic cause. Jelačić also turned his attention toward cutting ties with Hungary, which, along with Austria, was a major foreign power asserting control over Croatia. Despite leading a military campaign to defend against Hungarian occupation and suppress Viennese revolutionaries from 1848 to 1849, the influence of Jelačić largely diminished. “The Ban continued to be treated with courtesy by the new regime in Vienna, but...his advice on Croatian questions was insincerely solicited and invariably ignored.”¹³

Although consumed with a feeling of defeat and despair in regards to the Narodnjaci cause Jelačić became to be seen as a hero. His influence was directly felt by Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815 – 1905). Wanting to promote a South-Slav cultural renaissance Bishop Strossmayer influenced and worked from his See in the Eastern Croatian town of Đakovo. His religious ideas looked toward a reconciliation and reunion between the Catholic and Orthodox churches. As leader of the Narodnjaci Strossmayer put forth the notion of Croats and Serbs combining together to overthrow the newly created Austria-Hungarian Empire and the creation of a South-Slav (Yugoslav) state. To promote his viewpoints the Bishop used his own money to open the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art in Zagreb in 1867.

Also taking up where Jelačić left off was Ante Starčević. Opposed to any partnerships that included the Serbs, Starčević formed the Croatian Party of Rights (Pravaši). Standing in opposition to Bishop Strossmayer’s desire to unite, Pravaši believed Serbs would never treat

¹³ Tanner, 92.



Figure 2.3 Statue of Ban Josip Jelačić, Zagreb, Croatia

Croats as equals. Indeed as the 1800s drew to a close, Orthodox Serbs who had been living in peace with Catholics in Croatia began to align themselves with the expanding Serbian state to the southeast. Backed by the Hungarian government that held sway over local Croatian government a Serb newspaper, *Srbobran*, was started. The paper published an article in 1901 claiming, “that neither the Croat nation nor language really existed, and Serb national agenda was the only one with any future.”¹⁴

In spite of the growing political divisions between Croats and Serbs during this time the start of the twentieth century saw the two ethnic groups coming together in opposition to Hungary. The 1905 Rijeka Resolution and Zadar Resolution resulted in the formation of the Croat-Serb Coalition to combat Hungary’s influence. In 1906 the Coalition successfully won power in the Croatian Sabor elections. This event would make Austria-Hungary’s control over the Sabor difficult at best and led the empire to disband the Croatian governing body in 1911. A larger problem was discovered later by the Croats when they found out the Serbs used the Coalition’s new power to secretly support a Greater Serbia.

The World Wars

The Serbs’ steady efforts to expand their influence came to a catastrophic halt on June 28, 1914, when Austrian heir Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by a Bosnian Serb in Sarajevo. Stresses between Serbia and Austria-Hungary had been growing since the empire occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878. This move had two major implications on the region that upset Serbs. First, it dismantled the Krajina military frontier that was manned by a majority of Serbs. The Krajina, along with its Serb defenders, was absorbed into Croatia. Secondly, Austria-Hungary was asserting military control over an area filled with, among other ethnic groups, Orthodox Serbs who held historic claims to the land and sympathized with the Greater Serbia

¹⁴ Bousfield, 341.

ideology. Serbs saw Bosnia-Herzegovina as potential land to be absorbed into the growing Serbian state. All of these tensions exploded into World War I after the assassination. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, a move that drew in allies from all over Europe, and eventually the United States, to fight.

The first attempts to unify the Yugoslav lands occurred at the end of the First World War. When the Austria-Hungarian Empire fell on November 3, 1918, the Croat, Serb and Slovene political leaders (National Council) quickly aligned themselves with Serbia. This move set the stage for Serbian Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević to declare the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes just under a month later on December 1. Initially seen as a positive event among the ethnic groups, the Kingdom quickly agitated the Croat population who realized their autonomy would not be recognized. With political influence derived from Belgrade, Serbia, and a numerically superior Serb population, the Croats formed the Croatian Republican Peasant Party (HRSS) to serve as their voice. The HRSS and its leader, Stejpan Radić, called for an independent Croatian state but had little more success than deadlocking relations between them and Belgrade in the mid-1920s. Radić was assassinated in 1928 leaving leadership with Vlatko Maček who broadened the movement to a national level.

Another party that supported an independent Croatian state within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (now called Yugoslavia after Radić's death) was the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ). This is the party where future communist Yugoslavia dictator Josip Broz Tito would rise to power. Initially, in the 1920s, the KPJ political group supported the break up of Yugoslavia into autonomous states. But by the 1930s, the KPJ adopted the viewpoint of keeping the federation together in opposition to the rise of Nazism.

An additional political party of note that strongly influenced Yugoslavia and stressed an independent Croatia was the Ustaše, a fascist group that aligned itself with Hitler during World War II. When Hitler's army marched into Croatia in 1939, the Ustaše party was installed as a puppet Nazi government complete with its own version of Führer embodied by Ante Pavelić. Under Pavelić, the Ustaše proceeded with an ethnic cleansing policy toward Serbs that mirrored the Nazi treatment of Jews. Large concentration camps were built throughout the Independent State of Croatia with the intent of eliminating ethnic Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and anti-fascists.

This lasted until May 1945 when a group known as the Partisans led under the political direction of communist Tito and backed by the British entered Zagreb. The arrival of the Partisans sent the Ustaše heading toward Austria to surrender to the Allies where they were quickly made to turn around and suffer the consequences administered by the Partisans. Some Ustaše were shot upon arrival in Zagreb while many others were marched into Yugoslavia territory to be systematically murdered and buried in mass graves. The journey to their deaths was called the *Križni put* or Way of the Cross.¹⁵ (See Figure 2.3) One such gravesite exists in the Žumberak region of Croatia northwest of Zagreb. The final resting place for numerous Ustaše Nazi sympathizers is nothing more than an eerie black hole in the earth. The national flag of Croatia blows in the breeze while hanging on a flagpole overlooking a scattering of flowers resting by the grave. The path leading up to the grim site is marked by 14 rusting metal crosses adorned with a loop of barbed wire symbolizing the biblical journey of Jesus' crucifixion.

Titoism

Before the closing of World War Two Yugoslavia was reborn in the Bosnian town of Jajce by the wartime Partisan parliament.¹⁶ The new communist federation included the two

¹⁵ Bousfield, 344.

¹⁶ Tanner, 163.



Figure 2.4 WWII Mass Grave 'Way of the Cross'

autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo as well as the six republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Tito was first the prime minister under this arrangement and later its “President for life” after his election in 1953.¹⁷ Ruling for nearly 40 years from Belgrade, Serbia, Tito presided over his own unique version of communism. His first bold move was initiating a split with Soviet leader Josef Stalin in 1948 and formulating a new brand of socialist governing for the Yugoslav federation. Although he always held strongly to the principles of socialism Tito also embraced some western democratic ways in a mixture of what was termed the non-alignment movement; Yugoslavia was neither with the East nor with the West.¹⁸ Unlike the hard-nosed orthodox communist blocs who signed on to the Warsaw Pact, members of the Yugoslav federation were free to travel outside of the country, and openly celebrate their religions. Each region in the country was run by its own, albeit tightly controlled, government which gave rise to feelings of autonomy. The Yugoslav republics could openly pursue their own national interests, oblivious to those of the federation as a whole.¹⁹ To the ire of Soviets leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin, Tito’s Yugoslavia was seen as a great socialist success among the communist world.

Of course the state of affairs inside Yugoslavia under Tito was far from perfect. As the years went on the centrally controlled federation became more restrictive to adjustments to its rule. In 1958, with the change of communist party’s name to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the government put forth the idea that it was a participatory decision maker rather than a dictator handing down orders.²⁰ But when real pressures to transform the party arose Tito would flush out the detractors. In Croatia he quashed the intellectual and cultural movement

¹⁷ Infoplease. *World – Countries – Serbia and Montenegro* (2004).

¹⁸ Bousfield, 345.

¹⁹ Jasminka Udovički and James Ridgeway, eds. *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997) 72.

²⁰ Udovički, 70.

called Croatian Spring by sending thousands of students, professors and Communist leaders to prison. Another negative side to the Yugoslav façade was its increasing debt accrued by accepting loans from foreign Western countries. Coupled with the federal spending was the expenses made by the republics who were encouraged to indulge in the borrowed wealth.²¹

By the time Tito died in 1980, Yugoslavia was a state inseparable from the power-hungry man who ruled it. He controlled all levels of the federal government and dictated the peace between the member states. His death left the country without the prescribed answer found in the popular saying, “After Tito, Tito.”²²

Yugoslavia Crumbles

Throughout the 1980s the provinces of Yugoslavia became steeped in an economic crisis. The local governments running the businesses in the provinces mismanaged loans taken out during the 1970s. The territories sank further into debt as the interest accrued. With this came sharp rises in inflation. “Foreign debt increased 400 percent by 1980. From \$6 billion in 1975, it climbed to \$17 billion in 1979 and to \$19 billion in the subsequent few years. Interest on the foreign debt alone brought about three-digit inflation. Prices for food, clothing, electricity and other daily necessities rose 60 percent approximately every six months.”²³

There were two solutions for Yugoslavia. The first meant liberalizing both the economy and politics. The other option was just the opposite: strengthen the conservative philosophy and maintain the centralized power control. The first option called for the eventual removal of the Communist Party that controlled every facet of economic and political life freeing up the federation to invite in a more market-based economy. And although democratic notions that

²¹ Udovički, 74.

²² BBC, *Homepage – History – Nations – Yugoslavia: 1918-2003* (4 February 2003).

²³ Udovički, 81.

would have nurtured this idea were blooming in all eight of the Yugoslav states the threat to the conservatives brought about a wave of nationalism that marched the region toward a grim future.

Two figures came to power in the new nationalism movements. They were Slobodan Milošević in Serbia and Franjo Tuđman in Croatia. The communist leaning Milošević became president of Serbia in 1989 and used propaganda to gain public support for his grievances. He complained about the real problems of social, political and economic troubles in Serbia. Milošević also began voicing concerns over losing Serbian claims to the autonomous territories of Vojvodina and Kosovo that left many to believe he was revamping and promoting the Greater Serbia idea. On the other side of the political spectrum, Tuđman believed in the ideas of the Ustaše and their quest for an independent and sovereign Croatia. He thought the Communism that ensued after World War Two discredited Croatian national pride and disgraced the province due to its allegiance with Hitler. With his election to the Croatian presidency Tuđman and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) he lead came the spreading of ultra nationalism that targeted Serbs who were most closely associated with Milošević and Communism.

Although Milošević did much to keep the communist party and Yugoslav Federation unified autonomy prevailed. The fall of Communism in Eastern Europe in 1989-1990 that saw the Berlin Wall topple and the mighty Soviet Union separate was a strong indicator that the same was in store for the Balkans. During the last meeting of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the leaders from the northern province of Slovenia walked out, dismantling the political party and leaving the federal government structure in an indeterminate state. Following this historic event, Slovenia became the first province to declare its independence on July 2, 1990. Kosovo followed on the same day and Croatia later that month on July 25, 1990. Serbia asserted its sovereignty on October 1, 1990, just two and a half months before the final

declarations from Bosnia Serbs and Macedonia were made on December 21, 1990. Next came the hostilities from the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) directed from Belgrade. “The war machine rolled first into Slovenia in early summer 1991, then into Croatia in midsummer, and then into Bosnia-Herzegovina in spring 1992.”²⁴

The Homeland War in Croatia

The seeds of war were planted after the election of Tuđman’s HDZ party and its subsequent declaration of Croatian statehood. A new constitution was drawn up by the Sabor that included “a highly controversial passage: the Serbs who lived in Croatia were no longer to be classified as one of the constituent nations of the republic, but as a national minority.”²⁵ These words brought fear to the Croatian Serbs who recalled the abuses they were subjected to by the Ustaše during WWII. And with Tuđman regarded as a Ustaše revivalist the Serbs were quite justified for their anxiety.

In an effort to defend their place inside Croatia, many of the 580,000 Croatian Serbs began arming themselves in 1990. In cities like Knin and Pakrac, where they held a solid majority, the Serbs rebelled and took control of the town leadership. This, of course, compelled the Croatians to react by sending in police to diffuse the unrest and reclaim the rule of the cities. Once the Croatian police became involved the JNA responded in an attempt to keep the peace by keeping separate the ethnic groups. But since Serbians held the majority of officer ranks and, thus, controlled the majority of the JNA, the army had their weapons pointed at the Croatians. With the break-up of Yugoslavia almost inevitable and with the JNA taking up strategic positions within Croatia, Milošević turned his attention away from saving the federation and toward building a Greater Serbia. His goal was to claim all the lands where Serbs held an ethnic

²⁴ Udovički, 101.

²⁵ Bousfield, 348.

majority. These were primarily the areas along the Serbian border with Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After the final declarations of independence were made by both Slovenia and Croatia on June 26, 1991 it was clear that Yugoslavia would no longer exist but the JNA arrived to forcefully keep it intact. Slovenia escaped destruction by quickly surrounding the incoming military columns. The Slovene “war” ended in 10 days. After this came the onslaught on Croatia. The invading JNA appeared to have two goals in mind: cut off Dalmatia from northern Croatia and take over the entirety of Slavonia. Because of this strategy much of the war damage was inflicted around the western Bosnian border with Croatia as well throughout much of Slavonia. The Dalmatian cities of Zadar, Šibenik and Dubrovnik were heavily damaged. Many Eastern Slavonian cities like Osijek, Pakrac and Vukovar were nearly or totally destroyed.

By the end of 1992 the fighting that erupted within Croatia eventually spilled over into neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this land, comprised of a rich tapestry of ethnic combinations, the fighting parties were hard to decipher. As political writer P.J. O’Rourke describes in his 1993 *Rolling Stone* article “Gang Bang Bang” the battlefield scene was quite confusing. “To the east and south of Bihac are the rebellious Bosnian Serbs who now control two thirds of Bosnia. To the west and north are the rebellious Croatian Serbs who now control one third of Croatia. The Muslims are surrounded. But then, so are the Serbs. Beyond the Croatian Serbs are Croatian Croats, and beyond the Bosnian Serbs are more Bosnian Muslims. Thus it is across the map of ex-Yugoslavia: concentric circles of combat, murder and rapine.”²⁶ In his disgust and frustration with the situation, O’Rourke further points out how hard it was to tell these groups from each other. “...Serbs and Croats are so much alike that the only way to tell them apart is by religion. And most of them aren’t religious. So the difference between Serbs and

²⁶ P.J. O’Rourke, “Gang Bang Bang” *Rolling Stone* (7 January 1993): 41

Croats is that the Serbs don't go to Eastern Orthodox services and the Croats don't attend mass. And the difference between Serbs and Muslims is that five times a day the Muslims don't pray to Mecca."²⁷

Evidently abandoning religion in times of war was not a new thing during the 1991-1995 Balkan conflicts. Back in World War Two, when the Croatians were aligned with the Nazis, Catholic clergy members fell right into the killing ranks within the most notorious concentration camp set up to eliminate Serbians. Friar Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic is credited to have slaughtered "scores of prisoners with his own hands" at the Jasenovac death camp.²⁸ At that same place, "Father Petar Brzica, a Catholic Priest, cut the throats of 1,360 prisoners with a [specially] designed butcher's knife called "srbosjek" or Serb-cutter. Having been proclaimed the prize winner of [a slaughter] competition, he was elected King of the Cut-throats."²⁹ These memories, coupled with Ottoman atrocities associated with the Muslims and the threat of an ever-encroaching Greater Serbia, made for an explosive confrontation among the three ethnic groups during the 1990s conflict.

As the war continued more damage was inflicted and more lives were affected. All around Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital and Olympic host city of the 1984 Winter Games, "[was] the most devastated moonscape of a battlefield to be found anywhere. It [was] not like [the] buildings and cars were blown to pieces by bombers; they [were] chipped away chunk by chunk with tens of thousands of bullets, mortars and artillery shells."³⁰ To the northeast of Sarajevo, in the small town of Srebrenica near the Serbian border, more than 7,000 Muslims were killed and

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Israel Gutman (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, Vol. 2 (New York : Macmillan, 1990) 739.

²⁹ Wikipedia, *Jasenovac Concentration Camp* (6 August 2004).

³⁰ Joel Brand, "War College" *Rolling Stone* (18 March 1993) 46.



Figure 2.5 War Damage, Vukovar, Croatia

buried in a mass grave as United Nations (UN) peacekeepers effectively looked the other way.³¹ Further to the north in Ovčara, Croatia, just outside the ruined town of Vukovar, another mass grave was discovered. More than 260 Croatians were found buried in a pit dug among sprawling farmland.³²

After half a decade of Balkan bloodshed several events took shape that put an end to the fighting. In a determined effort to liberate its territories from the JNA occupation, Croatian military forces launched two offensives in the spring and summer of 1995. Operation Flash occurred over a 24-hour period from May 1-2 and utilized 7,200 Croatian soldiers and police to remove the Serbian-controlled JNA from western Slavonia.³³ Following up on the success of Flash, Croat forces launched Operation Storm later in the year from August 4-5. Using close to 200,000 troops, the Croatian army entered the Serbian-held Krajina and swiftly took command of its “nerve center”, the town of Knin.³⁴ The Storm action sent scores of Serbs fleeing into Bosnia and Serbia. According to Dragan Milunovic, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) legal counselor in Serbia, “There are 250,000 Serb refugees in Serbia with no home, no job and no hope for the future. They are accompanied with 180,000 refugees from Kosovo and 150,000 refugees from Bosnia.”³⁵

On November 21, 1995, in the city of Dayton, Ohio, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) signed an agreement known as the Dayton Peace Accord that brought an “official” end to the conflict. Witnessed by the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Russia, the treaty set out

³¹ The Associated Press, “Panel Says It Has Located Three More Mass Graves Around Srebrenica” (14 May 2004) Sec: International News.

³² “View From The Hague – Justice For The Victims Of Ovčara” *Balkan* (10 March 2004) 6.

³³ HRTWeb Hrvatska Radiotelevizija, The Police and Military Operation Action “Flash”

³⁴ Tanner, 296-297.

³⁵ Interview: Dragan Milunovic (21 January 2004).

guidelines for stabilizing the Balkans by initiating a cease-fire among the warring parties, establishing recognized boundaries of sovereignty for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and FRY and allowing the introduction of an International Police Force to monitor the area.³⁶ The brokered agreement provided relief for the thousands suffering in the war-torn former Yugoslavia and brought about the next step along the road to freedom: reconstruction.

³⁶ The United States Department of State, *Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement*, 11 December 1995.

CHAPTER 3

REBUILDING, RESETTLING, REVITALIZING

Croatia, Autumn 1991

You are like the soil
You are like the grass
Where tender flowers sleep

Your wounds are terrible, deep:
The dead make you fertile,
The living remember you.

My farmers' houses are burning here
The children's dreams turned into nightmares.
And it is with fear that they expect the icy dawns.

Our hearts are burning for Vukovar, Osijek, Karlovac;
Dubrovnik, Sibenik make our souls ache.

Oh, my beloved country do not lose hope
Our spring is bound to come again
Grass will grow,
And tender flowers raise their heads.

-Ljubica Koren-Zeljko³⁷

A Picture of War

"They shot my uncle in the head," fifteen-year old Kristina Čorak says while standing before the bombed out ruins of the Eltz Castle in the Eastern Slavonia town of Vukovar. "I am alive because of him."³⁸

Kristina is alive but has faced many hardships in her short life. She has the air of a woman twice her age. She was only three at the beginning of the Homeland War when the JNA

³⁷ Paul Harris, *Somebody Else's War: Frontline Reports from the Balkan Wars 1991-1992* (Hertfordshire: Stevenage, 1992) 5.

³⁸ Interview: Kristina Čorak (8 August 2003).

practiced a policy of “urbicide” and “cultural cleansing” by ferociously shelling her birth town and laying waste to churches, museums, archives, libraries, schools, and private homes. Kristina talks of nightmares and days moving from place to place with her family to escape the advancing armies during the 1991–1995 siege of Croatia. Like many families who have lived in Vukovar since the 16th Century, Kristina’s family considers themselves Croatian. “But it is ‘dirty’ on my mother’s side.” Her mother is from Serbian blood, which leaves Kristina discriminated by both ethnic groups living in Slavonia. The Croats see her as a child of an enemy Serb while the Serbs see her as the granddaughter of an Ustaše, the Nazi party responsible for the genocide of more than 300,000 Serbs during World War II.³⁹

Kristina’s parents were married at the Eltz Castle. (See Figure 3.1) The building was once a jewel and treasure of the sleepy village next to the Danube River. A charred tree stands before the river behind the castle, which is undergoing a painfully slow repair process. Two dead, blackened branches reach from the trunk toward the sky to form a crooked ‘V’. (See Figure 3.2) A fitting symbol for Vukovar, where what remains is just a skeleton of a once great Baroque town. The only reminders of its former glory are found in black and white pictures of the past housed within the restored parts of Eltz. Directly across the water are the green banks of Serbia, the aggressor and destroyer responsible for the tragedy.

Cultural heritage expert and former director of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) office in Sarajevo, Colin Kaiser, points out in an article titled, “Crimes Against Culture” the intentional destruction of cultural heritage during wartime is not new or unique to the Yugoslavian conflicts of the 1990s. “During World War I, churches and old town centers were reduced to rubble out of military necessity. During World War II, large

³⁹ Jasenovac Research Institute. *Home – What Was Jasenovac?* (2001-2003).



Figure 3.1 Eltz Castle in Ruins, Vukovar, Croatia



Figure 3.2 Charred Tree at Eltz Castle, Vukovar, Croatia

German urban centers disappeared as part of strategic ‘area bombing’ by Commonwealth air forces. But there are other reasons. The physical genocide of Europe’s Jews by the Nazis was accompanied by a cultural genocide - the destruction of synagogues, cemeteries and other landmarks and treasures.”⁴⁰

Many of the towns bombarded in the Croatian War served little to no strategic military value. They were targeted to uproot and annihilate the culture of certain groups of people. By seeking this aim, Kaiser explains that the Serbs and Croats were chasing some dark rainbow in an attempt to create a “mythical pure rural world” where they could at last live a trouble-free life among their own people. But how can this be possible when these two groups have co-existed in a shared cultural environment since the time of the Ottomans some four hundred years ago? It is impossible to “de-ethnicize” a common heritage. Destroying a museum in Vukovar kills both the Serbian and Croatian legacy.

Reconstruction has proven to be a huge task to endure in this country of complex ethnic relationships. But efforts are being made and results are seen all over. Towns like Dubrovnik and Split are practically spotless from the effects of war that were still visible less than a decade ago. In Karlovac and Osijek most buildings are repaired and the streets are alive with people. Vukovar, despite the presence of rubble piles and the bombed out shells of homes, has seen a steady return of people who are determined to rebuild and put the war behind them. In fact, Kristina is currently studying history, language and tourism in an effort to promote the rebirth of Vukovar. During her summers off from school she works in the downtown tourist office. She, like her country’s leaders, is determined to look toward a better future.

⁴⁰ Colin Kaiser, “Crimes Against Culture” *The UNESCO Courier* (September 2000): 41-42.

Programs to Rebuild

“Post-war reconstruction has many different meanings and includes an entire range of tasks such as re-connecting interrupted water supplies, re-building rail and road networks, re-organizing societies, rebuilding cultural heritage, and repairing individual shattered lives. Emergency aid and basic reconstruction mitigates the immediate effects of conflict by repairing services, clearing refuse, and opening transportation and communication lines. Basic sanitation, health, and medical concerns are taken care of at this preliminary level. Additionally, reconstruction applies to the recovery or construction of social, economic, cultural, political, and judicial systems completed at the policy level, as well as at the grassroots level. According to current World Bank policy, post-war reconstruction involves a proactive program of physical and social rebuilding in an attempt to address and rectify underlying causes of recent conflict and create the foundations for sustainable stability and development. Such policy has informed the process of humanitarian-directed post-war reconstruction since the end of World War II.”⁴¹

Landscape architects have always played significant roles in the planning and design of inhabited spaces. Due to this, it is a natural step to include these professionals in post-war reconstruction programs where many complex land design challenges constantly arise. Funding for such efforts is, of course, crucial for their eventual implementation and realization.

The Croatian government has in its ranks the Ministry of Public Works, Reconstruction and Construction to aid in rebuilding efforts throughout the country. The Ministry, lead by Radimir Cacic, provides various forms of assistance to aid in refugee return and physical

⁴¹ Sarah Jane Meharg, “Post-War Reconstruction: Humanitarian aid or profit-driven activity?” *Canadian Business and Current Affairs* (May 2003): 65-74.

renovation of damaged structures. Both Croats and Serbs are welcome and both groups have benefited from the programs.

A comprehensive plan for meeting reconstruction aims was introduced on May 17, 1996, by then-President Franjo Tuđman with the signing of the Act on Areas of Special State Concern. The law establishes three groups of towns, municipalities and settlements identified as requiring special economic stimulus to successfully recover after the consequences of war. The first two groups have specific towns named to receive the first wave of assistance with a third group left open to all other places meeting the special criteria stated in the Act. (See Figures 3.3 & 3.4)

The law was passed primarily “for the purpose of eliminating the consequences of war, more rapid return of population that inhabited those areas before the Homeland War, motivating demographic and commercial advancement, and achieving the most equal level of development of all areas in the Republic of Croatia. The rights from this Act shall be exercised by natural persons who have permanent residence and reside in the areas of special state concern, and legal persons with the seat in the areas of special state concern.”⁴²

From 1995 to the end of September 2003 the Ministry has reported a return of 315,102 refugees to Croatia. Of this number 209,297 or 66% of the total have been ethnic Croats while 105,805 or 34% have been ethnic Serbs. Roughly 34% of the total returns have resettled in the Croatian Danube region, the area most severely affected by the Homeland War.⁴³ Counties Vukovarsko-srijemska and Osječko-baranjska where Vukovar and Osijek are respectively located, a total of 90,526 people have returned between 2000-2003. Most have been Croats but almost 8% of the total have been Serbs.⁴⁴

⁴² The Government of the Republic of Croatia, *The Act on Areas of Special State Concern* (May 17, 1996).

⁴³ Ministry for Public Works, Reconstruction and Construction, *Report on Return of Displaced Persons and Refugees in the Republic of Croatia for the Period 2000 – September 2003: Tables* (October 2003).

⁴⁴ Ibid.



Figure 3.3 Areas of Special State Concern [First Group]

Source: Act on Areas of Special State Concern



Figure 3.4 Areas of Special State Concern [Second Group]

Source: Act on Areas of Special State Concern

A total of approximately \$4.2 billion has been spent on the return and care of displaced persons and refugees from 1992-2003.⁴⁵ The money was spent in a variety of ways to clear the way for a rapid reintroduction of refugees back home, with almost 15% of the money coming from international donations.⁴⁶ Some of the programs funded take charge of reclaiming property, reconstructing damaged and destroyed structures and providing direct financial aid to returning persons.

Across the whole of Croatia the Ministry is providing much needed financial assistance for rebuilding. About \$2.4 billion was spent to reconstruct more than 126,000 homes from 1992–2003.⁴⁷ Of these homes, 123,020 have been completely rebuilt.⁴⁸ Infrastructure serving the homes is also being repaired. Public utility and social facilities across the country received more than \$273 million for post-war repairs.⁴⁹ Of that amount more than \$98 million has been spent to repair 342 damaged schools.⁵⁰

International Aid

At the beginning of the Homeland War, Croatian leadership looked toward the international community for help as it faced the inevitability of a violent conflict. The Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Assets in the Event of Armed Conflict, now in its 50th year, provided guidelines for protecting Croatia's valuable cultural monuments. Defensive scaffolding and sandbags were placed to safeguard buildings, churches, monasteries, museums and private homes. Appeals were made to the commanders of aggressor JNA army to

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

uphold the provisions outlined in the 1954 document. But war clouds can silence such pleading and often leads to massive destruction despite efforts to thwart it.

Since the end of the conflict the international community has done much to assist Croatia in its recovery. Organizations such as the UN, UNESCO, ICOMOS, the European Union (EU) and Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund (ASB-Worker's Samaritan Federation) have provided much needed legal, financial, and educational aid for rebuilding Croatia and safeguarding it from future conflicts.

The UN Security Council passed several resolutions affirming its commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. The UN placed groups of military observers inside the country during the Homeland War to help end the violence and negotiate peace between the warring parties. According to UN Security Council resolution 1222 (1999) some observers remain to maintain peaceful conditions in disputed areas such as Prevlaka.⁵¹

UNESCO, a subsidiary of the United Nations, "functions as a laboratory of ideas and a standard-setter to forge universal agreements on emerging ethical issues."⁵² Through its annual publication of many journals and its on-going strategic organization of international co-operative programs UNESCO promotes worldwide collaboration among its members in the fields of education, science, culture and communication. The organization currently has 196 members. Croatia became an affiliate on June 1, 1992.

In terms of assisting Croatia with post-war revitalization, UNESCO has given priority to emergency assistance and to the rehabilitation of educational institutions and cultural sites inside the country. Throughout South Eastern Europe, UNESCO is introducing educational programs in

⁵¹ United Nations. *Security Council Resolution 1222 (1999) On the Situation in Croatia* U.N. Doc. S/RES/1222 (1999).

⁵² UNESCO.org. *About UNESCO: What is it?* (July 2004).

secondary schools as well as in institutes of higher learning that will combat the rise in extreme forms of nationalist perceptions of "the neighbors", who may be different ethnic groups within a country or in neighboring countries. According to a 2002 report outlining its South Eastern Europe strategies UNESCO believes "stereotyped images of neighboring countries and of ethnic minorities within a country, conveyed by history textbooks used in secondary schools in South Eastern Europe, need to be eliminated as they carry the virus of discrimination."⁵³ An overhaul of the history curriculum in the Balkan countries is underway.

UNESCO has also provided special assistance for the protection of the World Heritage sites in danger located in Croatia. The organization played a major role in preventing large-scale damage to the historic center of Dubrovnik, which came under military attack in 1991. The natural World Heritage Site of Plitvice Lakes National Park in the southwest corner of mainland Croatia was rehabilitated with UNESCO assistance and removed from the World Heritage in Danger List in 1997.⁵⁴

ICOMOS, "an international non-governmental organization of professionals, is dedicated to the conservation of the world's historic monuments and sites."⁵⁵ Founded in 1965 under the Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS is UNESCO's principal advisor in matters concerning the conservation and protection of monuments and sites.⁵⁶ The organization brings together experts from around the world to collect, evaluate and disseminate information on conservation standards. In Croatia, both during and after the close of the war, ICOMOS was charged by the Ministry of Finance to determine a method to register and estimate war damage to cultural monuments.

⁵³ UNESCO, *Co-Operation Between UNESCO and its South East European Member States: A Strategic Approach* (Paris, 4-5 April 2002).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ International Council on Monuments and Sites. *Home* (13 July 2004).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

In its 2001-2002 Heritage at Risk report ICOMOS identified 2423 damaged monuments it surveyed throughout post-war Croatia. The report showed the amount of money required to repair the historical buildings on a case-by-case basis. It also gave a overall combined total price for all surveyed structures.⁵⁷ The cultural properties listed were categorized by type and assigned a damage class that corresponded to the level of harm inflicted to each. (See Tables 3.2.1 & 3.2.2 for damage assessment categories.)

ICOMOS divided Croatia into seven historical regions with centers in Osijek, Daruvar, Zagreb, Senj, Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik to implement its war damage survey process. This equally distributed the data collection. Teams of three conducted the work. Each group was comprised of an architect, a construction engineer and an art historian. According to the report, “More than 2000 historical buildings were surveyed [from June 1994 to December 1995], and war damage was assessed on 1,862 immovable cultural monuments. War damage totaling [more than US \$155 million] was determined across a total area of 1,535,173 square meters of cultural monuments that had been either damaged or destroyed.”⁵⁸

Furthermore, the post-war assessment report points out the areas liberated in the police and military operations ‘Flash’ and ‘Storm’ were surveyed in autumn 1995 and during 1996.⁵⁹ More than 500 historic buildings were surveyed in these areas and war damage was determined on 398 immovable cultural monuments.⁶⁰ The total area of cultural monuments that were either damaged or destroyed was found to be 181,485 square meters, and the damage amounted to [more than US \$74 million].⁶¹

⁵⁷Vlado Ukraincik, *Heritage At Risk 2001-2002: Croatia* ICOMOS

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Table 3.2.1 ICOMOS War Damage Assessment Categories*Source: ICOMOS*

Category 1
The building was not directly hit by an explosive missile. The fronts have been damaged superficially by shrapnel or light weapons bullets. Window-panes have been broken up to 50% of the total surface. The coverings have been partially damaged and scattered. The primary elements' joinery has sustained some minor damage. The building equipment has been only slightly damaged. Both the building and its equipment may continue to be used with some minor essential repairs.
Category 2
The building roof or wall was hit by a small caliber explosive missile, whereas several explosive devices exploded in the surroundings. There is considerable damage of the fronts, all the window-panes were broken and the primary elements' joinery is partially damaged. There is light damage of the roof structure, the covering is considerably damaged, as well as the chimneys. There is local damage of the ceiling structure (penetration) or of the front (hole) that may easily be repaired. Interior ceiling and wall plaster has been damaged to a smaller extent or has fallen off. Partitions have been more severely damaged in some places. There has been more considerable damage of the building's ornamental elements, as well as of its equipment. The building's load-bearing structure system has not been damaged i.e. has been damaged only slightly and superficially. The building may be used after primary and secondary elements' repairs. Restoration works may be performed based on the works' description.
Category 3
The building was hit by a larger caliber missile or by several hits, or has been partially put out of use by mining. The roof structure has been partially caved in, whereas the covering has been destroyed almost completely. Fronts, ceilings and vaults have been penetrated in several places, but there are no major permanent deformations of the load-bearing structure. Partitions have been partially demolished or heavily damaged. The building's equipment has been partially destroyed. The building's load-bearing structure has sustained some lighter damage; there are small crevices in the monolithic ceilings, vaults, arches and walls in the vicinity of the penetration spot. Approximately 70% of primary elements have been preserved. The primary elements' joinery has been severely damaged, with door-posts and window frames partially knocked out. Both interior and exterior architectural features have been severely damaged. There was no fire. Before starting the remedial works, structural remedial designs and restoration work designs must be elaborated.
Category 4
The building was hit by a larger caliber missile or by several hits, or has been put out of use by mining. The fire was brought under control and put out on time. The roof has been demolished and the covering destroyed. Fronts and ceilings are severely damaged in several places, with the appearance of deformations that do not threaten the stability of the whole yet. A part of the wooden ceilings has caved in. Partitions have been demolished. The building's equipment has been destroyed almost entirely. The primary elements' joinery has been destroyed. Parts of architectural features on the fronts have been severely damaged, whereas, inside, all kinds of wall finishes and ornaments have been destroyed. The building's structural system has sustained severe damage that may still be repaired. About 50% of the building's primary elements have been preserved. In order to perform the remedial works, it is necessary to elaborate the entire design documentation, including the restoration works' design, based on the existing state assessment.

Table 3.2.2 ICOMOS War Damage Assessment Categories [continued]*Source: ICOMOS*

Category 5
The building was hit by one or more large caliber missiles or was mined. The load-bearing structure has sustained severe damage that may still be repaired, but parts of demolished structure need to be replaced or rebuilt. The fire was not put under control on time and the roof covering burnt down, whereas a part of the ceiling has sustained severe damage. The fire has not severely damaged the load-bearing walls, however. Fronts, load-bearing walls, ceilings, vaults and arches have been damaged in several spots, with deformations occurring that do not threaten the stability of the whole. Partitions have been demolished. The building's equipment has been destroyed. About 30% of the primary elements have been preserved. The building may be reconstructed according to the project documentation to be elaborated on the basis of the existing state assessment or according to the reconstruction designs to be elaborated based on investigative work.
Category 6
The building was hit by a large caliber missile, demolished by several hits or destroyed by mining. The fire was not put under control on time and the wooden structures burnt down. The entire equipment was destroyed. Less than 10% of the primary elements have been preserved. The building facsimile may either be reconstructed on the substructure, according to designs to be elaborated based on documentation preserved, or there is no possibility for the building to be reconstructed.

A preliminary survey of the Podunavlje region was undertaken by ICOMOS conservation experts in July 1997.⁶² More than 300 historic buildings were surveyed in this region and war damage was determined on 201 immovable cultural monuments.⁶³ The effects of devastation during war operations were determined on a total area of 142,511 square meters of cultural monuments that were either damaged or destroyed.⁶⁴ The war damage was estimated to amount to more than US \$87 million.⁶⁵

The recently expanded EU is a model for overcoming conflict and promoting reconciliation through close co-operation to achieve common goals while respecting national sovereignty and territorial integrity. During the past 40 years, the 25 member states have built a zone of peace, stability, progress and solidarity. The EU seeks to share its achievements and its values with countries and peoples beyond its borders.⁶⁶

The EU's primary interest in the Western Balkan countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro) is judicial stabilization.⁶⁷ Because of the rise of organized crime, illegal immigration, trafficking in human beings and smuggling the EU has formed a policy based on a series of stabilization and association agreements it has signed with the countries that make up this region. The EU is providing assistance to the countries through the Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization (CARDS) program.⁶⁸ Justice and home affairs are the main priorities for CARDS assistance. The main focus of the assistance is on police, public order and

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ EUROPA, *The European Union at a Glance*

⁶⁷ EUROPA – Western Balkans – European Commission, *Justice and Home Affairs Issues Are an Important Feature of the Stabilization and Association Process* (June 2004).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

organized crime, integrated border management, judicial reform and asylum and migration.⁶⁹

Other EU programs have assisted Croatia in rebuilding houses, repairing public utilities, clearing of mines and providing small loans to returning refugees for the purpose of setting up small businesses or purchasing livestock for their farms.⁷⁰

ASB, a German non-governmental organization (NGO), works closely with the EU to implement its humanitarian programs. Founded in 1888 and based in Cologne, ASB's foreign aid centers on remedying the consequences of war by putting into action reconstruction activities.⁷¹

The group has implemented "[US \$68 million] worth of European Union-funded projects in the Republic of Croatia, reconstructed more than 3,000 destroyed homes and carried out numerous projects in the field of public, social and economic infrastructure as well as mine-clearance."⁷²

In September 1996, ASB was tasked by the European Commission to implement the *European Union Programme for Reconstruction and Return (Europska unija- Program obnove za povratak - EUPOP)* in the Republic of Croatia.⁷³ The EUPOP advances and supports a sustainable process for the return, reintegration and reconciliation of refugees and displaced persons in the Republic of Croatia.⁷⁴ The program started in September 1996 in the Croatian Danube Region and soon expanded its activities in 1997 to Western Slavonia maintaining the two-way return between the two regions.⁷⁵ In 1998, the EUPOP concept was further developed by the Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Croatia together with ASB.⁷⁶ Furthermore, in 1999 the

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ "Croatia: A Boost to Reforms" *The European Union and Southeastern Europe: Building a Brighter Future* (September 2000): 38-39

⁷¹ Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund. *About Us*

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund. *What is EUPOP?*

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

program was extended to the regions of Banovina and Kordun, and Lika and northern Dalmatia.⁷⁷

Currently, the office of ASB is implementing the EU-funded CARDS 2001 program valued at US \$20 million in four war-affected areas in the Republic of Croatia.⁷⁸ This program will be expanded and implemented in 26 EUPOP municipalities.⁷⁹

Regional Developments

On May 11, 2004, participants at the ICOMOS-sponsored Conference on Preventive Activities in Preservation of Cultural Heritage in the Areas Affected by Ethnic Tensions and Armed Conflicts held in Belgrade on May 10–11, 2004, signed the Belgrade Declaration. (See Appendix) The document both condemns the recent devastation of cultural heritage during the March 2004 ethnic clashes in Kosovo and is a sign of commitment by conference participants “to assure permanent and efficient protection of the multicultural heritage of the region of South Eastern Europe to avoid possible tragic events in future.”⁸⁰ Among the 52 signing participants were government ministers, ICOMOS representatives and UNESCO workers from countries all throughout Europe including Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Much like the Hague Convention of 1954, the Belgrade Declaration outlines provisions for the safekeeping of valuable cultural items before, during and after the event of a disastrous event. Included also in the pronouncement is a condemnation of the March 2004 violence suffered in Kosovo and Metohija where ethnic Albanians and Serbs have been periodically attacking each other. The document is a promising sign that cultural heritage is beginning to play a larger, more important role in the eyes of Eastern European leaders.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ ICOMOS National Committee of Serbia and Montenegro, *Belgrade Declaration* (May 11, 2004).

In July 2004, UNESCO celebrated the inauguration of the newly reconstructed Mostar Bridge. Destroyed in 1993 during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Old Bridge was the symbol of the city Mostar. After 11 years, this bridge has been rebuilt and has become the symbol of reconciliation and human solidarity in the Balkans.⁸¹ Originally constructed between 1557 and 1566 by Ottoman architect Mimar Hajruddin, the Mostar Bridge, or Stari Most as the local people called it, had withstood all sorts of calamities, invasions, wars, and even earthquakes.⁸² But on November 9, 1993, the bridge collapsed into the waters of the Neretva River after being hit by heavy shells delivered by Croatian forces.

The grand structure, located in Southern Bosnia, resembled a single Gothic pointed arch that was four meters wide and 30 meters long.⁸³ The Old Bridge was destroyed for its symbolic value and it is for this same reason that UNESCO promised to rebuild it.⁸⁴ Mostar Bridge was restored with local materials and according to traditional methods.⁸⁵ After two years of scientific and archeological research, reconstruction began on June 7, 2001, and ended with the bridge's completion in April this year.⁸⁶

A large celebration greeted the official reopening of the bridge. Included among the fireworks, music and speeches was a resurrection of a tradition where young men dive from the apex of the bridge into the river blow to prove their bravery.⁸⁷ More than 2000 people participated in the celebrations.⁸⁸

⁸¹ UNESCOPRESS, *Inauguration of Mostar Bridge* Paris (16 July 2004).

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ BBC News, *Mostar Bridge Opens with Splash* (23 July 2004).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

Future Forecast

Some say the relative peace now realized in the Balkans is just a halt in the most recent war and fresh hostilities will soon erupt negating all the reconstruction efforts completed over the past few years. Serbians have strong reasons for their fears. Every day Croatia continues to fly a national flag adorned with the checkered shield that is associated with the Nazi Ustaše. In the eyes of a Serb this would be like Germany attaching a Swastika to its national banner for all the Jews to see. Besides this issue is the problem of Croatian leaders who participated in “serious human rights violations” to rid their country of Serbians being celebrated as heroes instead of facing a fate similar to ex-Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević who is on trial for overseeing war crimes at the Hague.⁸⁹ Furthermore, if a suspended Croatian law that states an ethnic group must make up at least 8% of the population to have minority rights should ever be reinstated, Croatian-Serbs will be without a voice.⁹⁰ Despite the influx of returning refugees, ethnic Serbs currently make up only 4.05% of the entire Croatian population.⁹¹

On the other side, Croatians have their own list of grievances against Serbia that remain unsettled. The most visible, of course, are the many towns and villages bombed by the JNA that are slowly being rebuilt without Serbian financial assistance. There are also on-going fears and anxieties that persist surrounding the idea of a “Greater Serbia” encroaching on lands historically claimed to be part of Croatia. Dr. Bojan Baletić, a Croatian architecture professor at the University of Zagreb, graphically illustrated the contested Balkan landscape by drawing a regional map with a red marker. After explaining the ethnic percentages, major settlements and population shifts with blots and marks from his pen onto the map, Baletić stopped to look down

⁸⁹ Agence France Presse, *Croatia Celebrates Ninth Anniversary of War* (5 August 2004): Sec: International News.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ BBC, *Croat Census Sparks ‘Cleansing’ Row* (23 May 2002).

at his work. His modern map of Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia was awash in a blood red scrawl.

(See Figure 3.6) Is this the future of the new Balkan peace?

Perhaps a healing design gesture can promote a continuation of the peace. Some inspiring ideas for such a proposal have been found in the form of peace gardens.

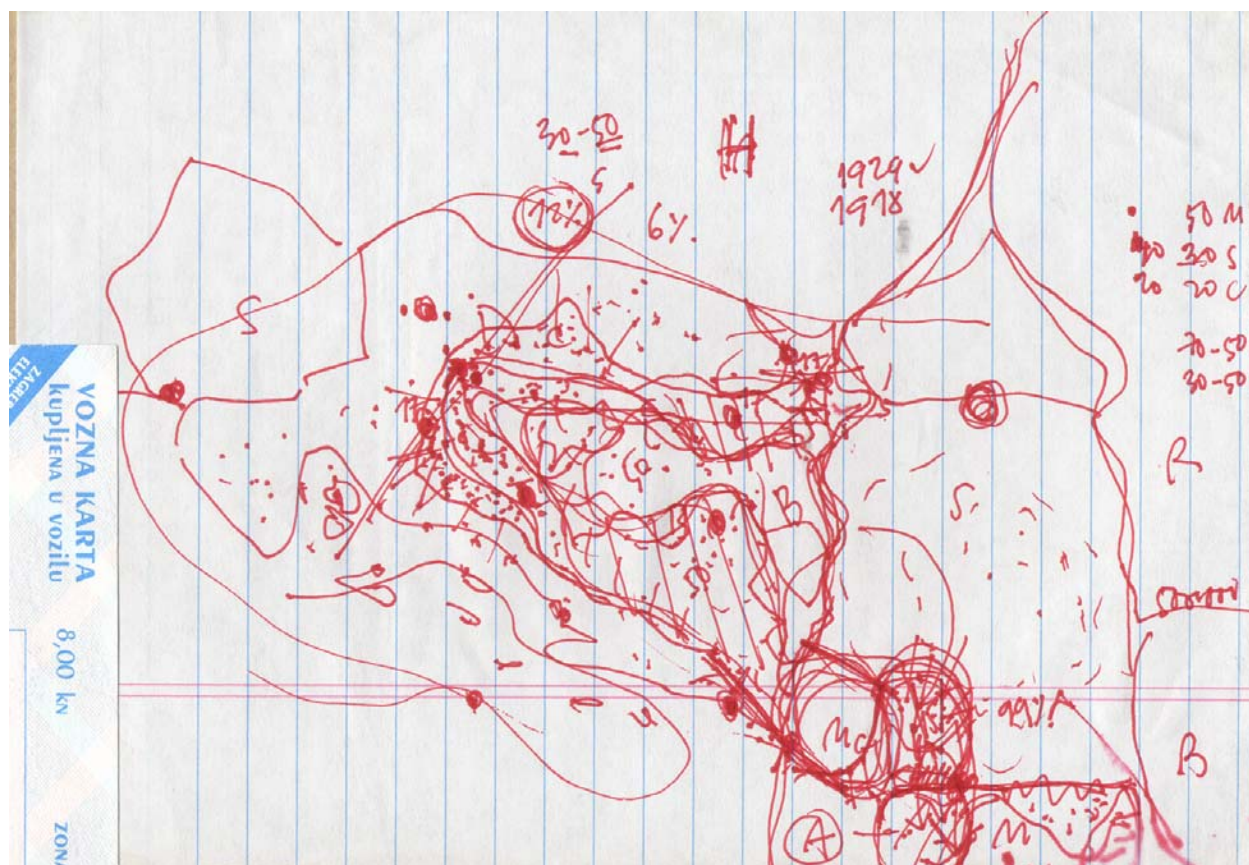


Figure 3.6 Bojan Baletić's Map

CHAPTER 4

CONCEPTUAL PLANS FOR A BALKAN PEACE GARDEN

A Peace Garden Design Process

In considering an approach to designing a peace garden for formerly warring countries, Hamish Horsley, designer of the Tibetan Peace Garden, identifies how people affected by war focus first on sorrow and anguish. But after time a sense of reconciliation may arise. “After a period of bitter conflict (between countries and people) there seems to be a period where anger dominates forgiveness and the need to express grief at what has been lost seems more important than creating mutually inspired ‘healing grounds’. I suppose this is the ‘War Memorial’ phase; the creating of sites or sculptures that focus on loss, regret, pathos, heroism and/or courage and it is easily apparent just how motivated our societies become on the building, maintaining and honoring these monuments. But with time (and good political guidance) the wish to create something far more profound can become of real social and political importance; where the need for peace and reflection seems to predominate over the wish to commemorate. That, in my opinion, is the moment when a peace garden/monument can become hugely effective.”⁹²

No healing grounds or peace gardens presently exist in Croatia. There are instead many war memorials. Large monuments that fill up centrally located public spaces are found in the towns of Vukovar and Osijek. (See Figures 4.1 & 4.2) These places also have many other smaller tributes like the scores of paper flyers posted to trees with pictures of those who gave their lives defending the Homeland. There are also discretely placed plaques mentioning a war battle like one tucked in the corner of the Osijek railroad station. (See Figure 4.3)

⁹² Interview: Hamish Horsley, (10 August 2004).



Figure 4.1 War Memorial, Vukovar, Croatia



Figure 4.2 War Memorial at Vukovar Hospital



Figure 4.3 War Memorial at Osijek Train Station

Unlike a war memorial, a peace garden is a powerful symbol of the harmony that can be created between different people and cultures through mutual respect and understanding. For Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia, it is envisioned that several outdoor spaces be created at the borders separating each country to bring the ethnic groups together in peaceful environments. These peace parks would be both gathering spots for group interaction as well as places for solitary meditative and contemplated purposes.

This thesis does not attempt to present a finished design plan for a Balkan Peace Garden. Rather it proposes a process for community leaders and landscape designers to follow that will one day produce designs for places dedicated to the peace and non-violent existence of all people living in this region. The process identifies six factors that must be simultaneously addressed. The six parts are: conducting reconciliation meetings, forming multi-ethnic design teams, drawing inspiration from other case studies, choosing international sites, using universal peace symbols, and locating funding. (See Figure 4.4) With the exception of funding, which is previously discussed earlier in this thesis, the following is an explanation of the process.

Reconciliation

Perhaps the most important piece of this process is the issue of reconciliation between the former warring countries. The history outlined at the beginning of this study has shown that Croats and Serbs have lived together for more than one thousand years. The two ethnic groups have helped each other's communities grow and have existed in a mostly peaceful state up until the Twentieth Century where two World Wars and the most recent Balkan Wars have torn these people apart. As the UN continues to enforce peace in the region a question remains to be answered: Has reconciliation been achieved and will peace remain once the UN leaves? In the process for considering a Balkan peace garden it is vital and necessary for reconciliation

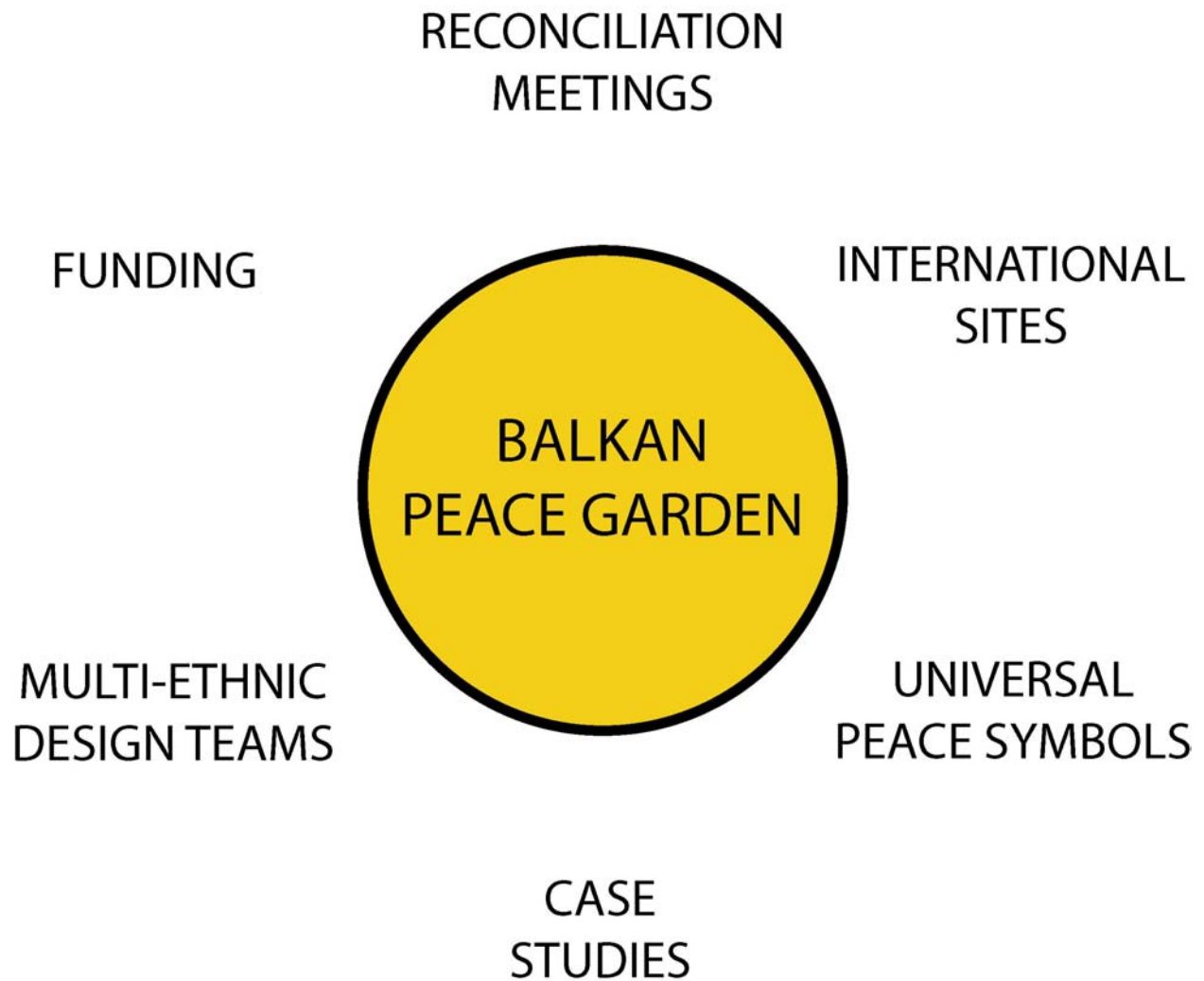


Figure 4.4 Balkan Peace Garden Process Diagram

meetings to be initiated and sustained so that old grievances can be appropriately addressed and non-violent solutions formed to remedy them.

Psychologist Arlene Audergon has facilitated large forums in Croatia in a United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) sponsored project working with post-war reconciliation and community building. Working along with Udruga Mi, a non-governmental organization based in Split, Audergon and her partner Lane Arye have held four-day seminars in many war-torn towns throughout Croatia. The first forum occurred in 1996 in the Eastern Slavonia city of Osijek. Since then Drs. Audergon and Ayre have worked in more than eight other Croatian cities including Split, Dubrovnik, Nasice and finally Vukovar in 2001.

In the seminars Audergon and Arye “[opened] up discussions about the many issues on people’s minds, such as human rights, youth, elderly, gender issues, community hopelessness, economic issues in the community, young people leaving their communities, the need to find mass graves, the separation and reconciliation of communities, and outbreaks of violence.”⁹³ The seminars took aim at addressing the post-war trauma felt by entire communities rather than just a single individual. “While finding an internal witness is essential for individuals who have been traumatized, narrating the story is only healing for the individual when there is a community of people who can listen, feel and respond.”⁹⁴

Audergon’s approach to post-war healing involves acknowledgement of the atrocities by all formerly warring parties and having them accept that both the oppressed and the oppressor must share in the pain and outrage.⁹⁵ “When accountability is refused, the urge for revenge is greater. Working with issues of accountability is therefore an essential part of conflict

⁹³ Audergon, Arlene “Collective Trauma: The Nightmare Of History” *Psychology And Politics International*, 2(1), (2004) 16-31.

⁹⁴ Shay, J *Achilles In Vietnam: Combat Trauma And The Undoing Of Character* London: Touchstone Books, (1994) 188.

⁹⁵ Audergon, 16-31.

resolution.”⁹⁶ The forums held in Croatia stressed the need for accountability in order for reconciliation to occur. Audergon and Arye have provided opportunities for communities to work through their deepest issues regarding the war. Without their facilitation of conflict resolution discussions the Croatian communities would have been forced to move forward in life while the trauma remained firmly in place, replaying over and over and impeding the healing process.⁹⁷

In a sign that reconciliation is further along for Croats and Serbs, Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader and Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Miroljub Labus met in May 2004 to discuss reconciliation issues in Zagreb.⁹⁸ After their discussions the Croatian leader Sanader said, “We discussed the very painful issue of some 1,200 missing persons and agreed that the issues relating to the war should be resolved as soon as possible.”⁹⁹ In a sign that a sense of security and trust has progressed between the countries, Sanader also stated that he wished to see military personnel patrolling the Croatian-Serbian border be replaced with the more typical border police found along most peacefully held international boundaries.

To continue in the spirit of these multi-ethnic discussions design teams planning peace gardens should be comprised of Croats, Serbs and Bosnians to encourage more dialogs between these ethnic groups regarding non-violent conflict resolution. A balanced design solution can be achieved by including ideas and contributions from representatives from the former warring countries. Non-Balkan landscape architect consultants can act as mediators as well as be active participants among design teams. However, peace gardens should be developed primarily by the

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ BBC Monitoring International Reports “Croatia-Serbia Relations Seen As Crucial For Stability Of Region” 18 May 2004

⁹⁹ Ibid

multi-ethnic designers since they have first-hand knowledge of their own particular cultures and presumably can generate a richer plan that considers a peaceful celebration of each ethnicity.

Case Studies

Since 1932 an International Peace Garden has existed on the border of Canada and the United States. Located in both Manitoba and North Dakota, the garden is spread out over 2,339 acres and is comprised of reflecting pools, colorful flower displays and many symbols of peace.¹⁰⁰ Approximately 888 acres are in the United States and 1,451 are in Canada.¹⁰¹

The peace garden was the dream of Canadian horticulturalist Dr. Henry Moore. After envisioning the idea in 1928 Dr. Moore presented his proposal of an International Peace Garden at the National Association of Gardener's 1929 annual meeting in Toronto. After the project was approved a site was selected in the Turtle Mountains when Moore and search committee member Joseph Dunlop visited the area by invitation of the International Picnic Association, a group promoting the region for the garden's site. While flying over the future garden grounds Moore was quoted to have said, "What a sight greeted the eye! Those undulating hills rising out of the limitless prairies are filled with lakes and streams. On the south of the unrecognizable boundary, wheat fields everywhere; and on the north, the Manitoba Forest Preserve. What a place for a garden!"¹⁰²

Before a gathering crowd of more than 50,000 people the garden was dedicated on July 14, 1932.¹⁰³ Since that formal ceremony took place the garden has been filled with many recreational park features as well as those dedicated to peace. From 1934 to 1942 the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was responsible for building several bridges, dams, lakes and picnic

¹⁰⁰ International Peace Gardens, *History*

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

areas.¹⁰⁴ The garden's terraced walkways are filled with more than 150,000 flowers. Four 120-foot concrete Peace Towers, symbolizing the gathering of people from all four corners of the earth, are located in close proximity to the Peace Chapel and sound a 14-bell chime heard throughout the garden. Seven Peace Poles contributed by the Japanese Government are inscribed with the message, "May Peace Prevail" in 28 languages.¹⁰⁵ The most recent addition to the peace garden are steel girders transported from the New York World Trade Center that have been placed at the 9/11 Memorial.¹⁰⁶

Due to the success of Dr. Moore's International Peace Garden several other gardens promoting global peace have been designed throughout the world. The International World Peace Rose Gardens (IWPRG), a non-profit organization, was started by T.J. David and Sylvia Villalobos in 1988 "to advance peace and understanding amongst all the peoples of the world through the creation of rose gardens that become centers for peaceful community activities."¹⁰⁷ Over the past 16 years IWPRG has raised over \$1,400,000 for its major projects and has volunteered over 20,000 hours to help build them.¹⁰⁸

There are currently five peace rose gardens built on cultural, historic and sacred grounds around the globe. The first was The Lake Shrine located in Pacific Palisades, CA, and was built in 1984 and added to in 1997. The Lake Shrine features the Gandhi World Peace Memorial and promotes the theme of "peace and harmony between cultures and religions."¹⁰⁹ Subsequent projects have included rose gardens built in Mexico City, Mexico, (Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe - "Friendship Between Mexico and the United States"), Assisi, Italy, (The Basilica of

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ International World Peace Gardens, *Who We Are*.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

St. Francis of Assisi - “Universal Peace with All Creation”) and Atlanta, Georgia, (The Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site - “Peace through Non-Violence”).¹¹⁰ The latest development is in the State Capitol Park in Sacramento, California. The peace garden promotes “Peace for Women, Children and Families”.¹¹¹

Commissioned by the Tibet Foundation, the Tibetan Peace Garden in London honors one of the principal teachings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama - the need to create understanding between different cultures and to establish places of peace and harmony in the world.¹¹² The garden, built inside the confines of the British Imperial War Museum, also serves to create a greater awareness of Buddhist culture. Hamish Horsley, the designer and sculptor of the project, used a fundamental Buddhist image, the Wheel of Time, to give the garden its circular shape.¹¹³ The Wheel of Time, or Kalachakra Mandala, is the name of one of the Buddhist deities that represent particular aspects of the Enlightened Mind.¹¹⁴ It forms a part of a system of teachings and practice conferred by the Buddha to his disciples and is a symbol associated with world peace.¹¹⁵ Typically made from colored sand placed by Buddhist monks over the course of several weeks, the Tibetan Peace Garden has a bronze casting of the image centrally located for all visitors to view.

Designer Horsley envisions the garden to indicate the meeting of East and West. Through his use of Western materials such as Kilkenny limestone, Portland stone and steel to render key garden sculptures symbolizing Eastern teachings, Horsley has made an effort to combine the two cultures.¹¹⁶ His works are representative of the Buddhist teachings of the noble eightfold path as

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Tibetan Peace Garden, *Background*.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ BuddhaNet, *Chart of the Elements in a Kalachakra Sand Mandala*.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Tibetan Peace Garden

well as the key elements of the Mandala: earth, fire, water, air and space. Near to the Garden's entrance, is a stone pillar known as the Language Pillar. Carved into each side of this pillar is a special message from His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Tibetan, English, Chinese and Hindi. The inscription reads:

“We human beings are passing through a crucial period in our development.

Conflicts and mistrust have plagued the past century, which has brought immeasurable human suffering and environmental destruction.

It is in the interests of all of us on this planet that we make a joint effort to turn the next century into an era of peace and harmony.

May this peace garden become a monument to the courage of the Tibetan people and their commitment to peace

May it remain as a symbol to remind us that human survival depends on living in harmony and always choosing the path of non-violence in resolving our differences.”¹¹⁷

The Tibetan Peace Garden was opened by the Dalai Lama in May 1999.

Crafted in a similar fashion to peace gardens are peace parks. These ecologically rich parks focus on a holistic peace between all species by focusing on natural ecosystems and ecological processes. The 27.5 acre Prairie Peace Park in Lincoln, Nebraska, presents the prairie grass lands as a model and metaphor for raising new thoughts about how the world can live together in peace and develop a much better world.¹¹⁸ The park's guiding theme is “Where Children's Visions Come To Life” and serves as a place for public forums discussing and actualizing these dreams.¹¹⁹

Further north along the United States/Canadian is found the Waterton Glacier International Peace Park. Listed on the UNESCO World Heritage Site list, this peace park was

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Prairie Peace Park, *What Are We?* (19 June 1996).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

established in 1931 and combines Waterton Lakes National Park in Alberta and Glacier National Park in Montana into one large outdoor recreation outpost.¹²⁰ The park preserves more than 1,000,000 acres of forests, alpine meadows, and lakes.¹²¹ It is home to more than 70 species of mammals and hundreds of species of birds.¹²² The glaciated landscape contains 700 miles of trails that lead deep into a largely diverse ecosystem.¹²³

Throughout Africa the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) exists, in part, to facilitate the establishment of Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCA).¹²⁴ TFCAs are large protected areas that straddle international borders between two or more countries and cover large-scale natural systems encompassing one or more protected areas. Very often both human and animal populations traditionally migrated across the political boundaries. Due to international difficulties the journey customs were at risk.¹²⁵ Because of PPF's efforts there now exists six TFCAs throughout South Africa along sections of its borders with Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho.¹²⁶ Fifteen more peace parks are currently being planned for other international sites throughout the Southern African region.¹²⁷

Choosing An International Site & Universal Symbolism

The case studies above show many ways in which spaces have been dedicated to peace throughout the world. In regards to Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the international approaches seen in Canada/United States and throughout Africa are very applicable to the process for designing a Balkan peace garden. A site that spans international borders has the potential to physically connect groups of people in a non-violent embrace.

¹²⁰ National Park Service, *Glacier National Park*.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ The Peace Park Foundation, *Profile: The Origins of Peace Parks Foundations*.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ The Peace Park Foundation, *Interact with Peace Parks: Where We Work* (29 July 2004).

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Coupled with choosing an international site is selecting universal symbolism in the peace garden's design. Looking again to the ideas of Horsley, the "focus [of the peace garden] needs to be on universality rather than nationality."¹²⁸ With this in mind the symbolism included in a Balkan peace garden should not be identified with only one nationality. Commonly shared or universally recognized icons, emblems or signs are ideal.

For example, a symbolic bridge spanning two countries can demonstrate how seemingly different people are closer than what first appears. Possibly a grand arch at Vukovar over the Danube River that separates Croatia and Serbia in the most war damaged Slavonia region might be a great visual connection joining the two countries that announces their commitment to a future of mutual respect and peace. The arch may evolve in phases as a symbolic gesture to the steady movement towards peaceful relations between the countries. Establishing solid foundations in both countries could be the first step with the gradual construction of the arch to follow and coincide with the growth of diplomatic peace. Just as the bridge recently rebuilt at Mostar now brings two previously warring groups together so too could a similar structure shared between the Croats and Serbs.

If a selected international site has no physical border like a river separating the countries other symbolic devices can be used to create a sense of unity. A meditative labyrinth is one such symbol. (See Figure 4.5) Labyrinth's date back nearly 5,000 years and are designed to be walked so one can meditate and experience inner peace. Perchance this symbol can be the centerpiece for a peace garden where the international border is situated among an open field. Although a labyrinth traditionally has only one entrance the design could be expanded to designate multiple entrances originating in different countries. People entering the labyrinth from one country would eventually meet and pass along the path that is making a course into the bordering

¹²⁸ Interview: Hamish Horsley



Figure 4.5 Labyrinth

country. In the center of the labyrinth might be a collection of cultural items from the different countries that promote peace on display for quiet reflection. Or it could also be a place for a peace pillar or peace pole like the one at the Tibetan Peace Garden that shares a message of peace between the countries and is written in each native language on the structure's four sides. (See Figure 4.6)

The International Banner of Peace is another symbol that can be applied to the Balkan peace garden design. (See Figure 4.7) The International Banner of Peace has three dots representing the past, present and future enclosed in a red circle representing infinity. It was devised after World War I by Nicholas Roerich, a Russian artist of German descent who spent most of his life in India painting and developing mystic philosophies. (*The Moscow Times*, March 25, 1998) A literal depiction of this somewhat obscure symbol is not necessary. Using it as a source of inspiration may be more applicable. For example the three inner dots could be represented with the planting of olive trees – long a symbol of peace. The outer ring encircling the dots could be established by planting vegetation that also represents peace and accord. (See Table 4.1 for a plant list.)



Figure 4.6 Peace Pillar

Credit: <http://www.tibetanpeacegarden.com/>

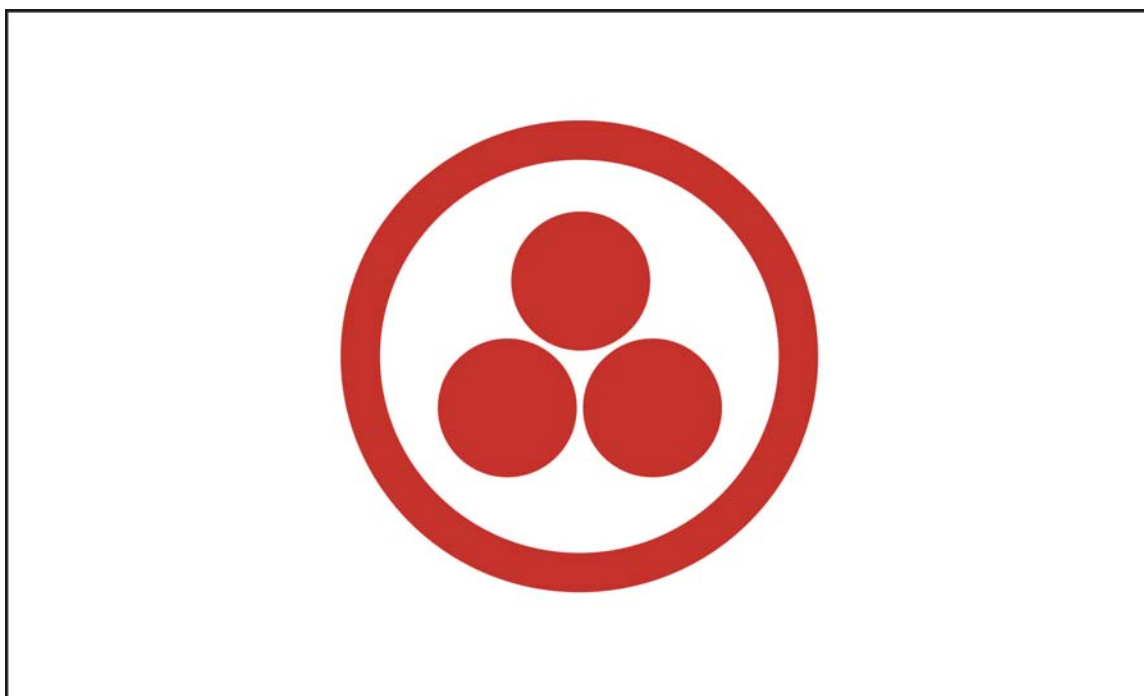


Figure 4.7 International Peace Banner

Table 4.1 Vegetation Associated With Peace*Source: PHOTOVALET*

<i>Eryngium leavenworthii</i>	Eryngo
<i>Gardenia jasminoides</i>	Gardenia
<i>Hyacinthus orientalis</i>	Hyacinth
<i>Lavandula latifolia</i>	Lavender
<i>Lythrum salicaria</i>	Loosestrife
<i>Mentha Pulegium</i>	Pennyroyal
<i>Myrtus communis</i>	Myrtle
<i>Olea europaea</i>	Olive
<i>Passiflora caerulea</i>	Passion Flower
<i>Scutellaria lateriflora</i>	Skullcap
<i>Spiraea Ulmaria</i>	Meadowsweet
<i>Verbena officinalis</i>	Vervain
<i>Viola spp.</i>	Violet

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As stated earlier in this thesis it is impossible to “de-ethnicize” a common heritage. In the Croatia, and all throughout the Balkans, history has shown that all ethnic groups are intertwined by marriages, births and long established partnerships that helped to establish the fabric of the now independent nation. During the war of the 1990s the many groups that destroyed the multicultural towns, buildings, homes, libraries and public squares also damaged all of the ethnic legacies tied to it. When a JNA bomb hit the Eltz Castle museum in Vukovar one can be assured that its explosion did not discriminate with the damage it scattered upon the artifacts of Croatians, Serbians and Bosnians. Everyone lost in that battle – including those not directly affected by the war machine. Now, because of the destruction, some historic and culturally rich places will never be visited by an outsider simply because some of those places cease to exist.

This thesis has looked at the lengthy history of Croatia and its long road to its current place as a free, sovereign nation. Along the way it was found that Croatians, Serbians and Bosnians have lived in this region for many centuries and have made significant contributions to each other’s lives. Marshall Tito, despite being a Communist dictator, did realize that the people living under him had a shared common bond that united them all. They were first Slavs before they were from any other country, nation or place. And in being Slavs they were all cut from the same cloth at one point in their rich histories.

Realizing that there is a shared heritage among the ethnic groups makes the recent war almost incomprehensible to understand. While the battles were being fought a curious question

kept being asked: Why are these people who have lived together – literally right next door to each other – now killing each other? In this case the answer opens up many more questions. And after the war between Croatia, Serbia and later Bosnia was finally put to an end in Paris after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord, these new questions were never really addressed.

The post-war years have found much aid and relief pouring into Croatia. Billions of dollars are being channeled into the country to rebuild houses, schools and city infrastructure. Refugees, both Croats and Serbs, are being urged through financial incentives to return to their homes and partake in building back the country's cultural and financial wealth. By doing so Croatia is working toward its short-term goal to be accepted into the EU. To meet this goal peace and stability has to prosper in the region.

Introducing a process to incorporate landscape design as a way to promote harmonious relationships among the formerly warring parties can be a powerful healing device in the Balkans. Bringing together the many ethnic groups involved to address reconciliation is a vital component of the process. Choosing international sites that span borders and utilizing mutually agreeable symbols that represent peace to all interested groups can help aid in the recovery/healing process. Having places built for the celebration of peace and understanding is a very different (and much more positive) gesture than a traditional war memorial that dwells on grief and loss. Their presence can perhaps ward off renewed hostilities by being a constant, physical reminder of each country's commitment to living together without violence.

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APPENDIX A

BELGRADE DECLARATION

May 11, 2004

We, the participants* of the Regional Conference on Preventive Activities in Preservation of Cultural Heritage in the Areas Affected by Ethnic Tensions and Armed Conflicts held in Belgrade on May 10 – 11, 2004 have gathered at the initiative of the ICOMOS National Committee of Serbia and Montenegro, fully supported by all National Committees of ICOMOS of the region, regarding the 2004 March events in Serbia as to loss of lives and devastation of the cultural heritage, religious buildings, residences and other properties. Mindful of the significant damages we gathered in good will and took into account the efforts of the government of Serbia and Montenegro, the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, the present administration in Kosovo and Metohija, all NGOs and others involved.

It is precisely on the basis of professional ethics and responsibility for preservation of cultural heritage as a common good, we adopted by consensus the Belgrade Declaration.

1. We condemn ethnic violence, which caused loss of lives and devastation of precious tangible, intangible and moral values belonging to all communities in the area.
2. We call for international and national institutions to assure permanent and efficient protection of the multicultural heritage of the region of South Eastern Europe to avoid possible tragic events in future.
3. In view of this, we
 - urge for taking emergency measures for saving the damaged buildings and preventing them from further decay;
 - strongly recommend immediate evaluation of the level of damage to the heritage by professional approach.
4. We express our commitment to devote all our efforts to contribute for:
 - finding mechanism for permanent dissemination of precise information about the current state of the cultural heritage in Kosovo and Metohija;
 - addressing the information to all levels of decision-making bodies concerned;

* See Appendix 1

- involving the ICOMOS Secretariat to review all possibilities for integrating activities with National Committees in Europe and the region;
- encouraging members of NGOs to take part in common activities for the protection and enhancement of their common heritage and to try to develop in future;
- improvement of the attitude towards cultural heritage through education and establishment of multicultural society;

The achievement of this goal is a long and complex process and for its successful realization, we strongly advocate fulfillment of the activities as stated in the enclosed Appendix 2.

Appendixes 1 and 2 are incorporated herein and they are integral part of this Declaration. This Declaration was adopted by the participants and is made in the Serbian, English and French language.

APPENDIX 1

Incorporated part of the Belgrade Declaration

May 11, 2004

List of participants:

1. Marko OMČIKUS, National Committee ICOMOS, Serbia and Montenegro
2. Nicolas AGRIANTONIS, ICOMOS Greece
3. Lazar ŠUMANOV, ICOMOS Macedonia
4. Alkiviades PREPIS, ICOMOS Greece
5. Jovo GROBOVŠEK, ICOMOS Slovenia
6. Adam ARNOTH, ICOMOS Hungary
7. Sorin VASILESCU, ICOMOS Romania
8. Valter SHTYLLA, ICOMOS Albania
9. Hristina STANEVA, ICOMOS Bulgaria
10. Yordanka KANDULKOVA, ICOMOS Bulgaria
11. Hrvoje GIACONI, ICOMOS Croatia

12. Evangelia HADJITRYPHONOS, European Center of Byzantine&Post-Byzantine Monuments, Thessalonike, Greece
13. Alessandro BIANCHI, Istituto Centrale per il Restauro, Rome, Italy
14. Andreas ADAHL, The Swedish foundation Cultural Heritage without Borders, Stockholm, Sweden
15. Krste BOGOESKI, Blue Shild, Macedonia
16. Ferhad MULABEGOVIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historical Heritage, Sarajevo, Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnia and Herzegovina
17. Milica KOTUR, Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage, Banja Luka, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina
18. Risto TANESKI, Ministry of Culture, Macedonia
19. Slobodan MITROVIĆ, Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Cetinje, Serbia and Montenegro
20. Ilija LALOŠEVIĆ, Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Kotor, Serbia and Montenegro
21. Nadja KURTOVIĆ-FOLIĆ, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro
22. Branka ŠEKARIĆ, National Committee, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro
23. Brana STOJKOVIĆ-PAVELKA, National Committee, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro
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25. Estela RADONJIĆ-ŽIVKOV, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro
26. Miladin LUKIĆ, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, Serbia and Montenegro
27. Borislav ŠURDIĆ, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, Serbia and Montenegro
28. Jovan ĆIRILOV, National Commission for UNESCO, Serbia and Montenegro
29. Ranko MILIĆ, National Commission for UNESCO, Serbia and Montenegro

30. Svetlana BAKIĆ, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro
31. Sava STRAŽMEŠTEROV, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro
32. Dejan RADOVANOVIĆ, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro
33. Mirjana ĐEKIĆ, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro
34. Zoran VAPA, ICOMOS Serbia and Montenegro

35. Radojka ZARIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia
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36. Božidar KRSTANOVIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments
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37. Emilija PEJOVIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of
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38. Dragoljub TODOROVIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments
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42. Gordana SIMIĆ, Steering Committee, Institute for the Protection of Cultural
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43. Zvonimir ZEKOVIĆ, Steering Committee, Institute for the Protection of
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44. Gojko SUBOTIĆ, Serbian Academy of Science and Art, Belgrade, Serbia and
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45. Slavica VUJOVIĆ, Association of Conservators of Serbia, Serbia and
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46. Vera PAVLOVIĆ-LONČARSKI, Institute for the Protection of Cultural
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47. Snežana JEJIĆ, Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Smederevo, Serbia and Montenegro
48. Slobodanka PEROVIĆ, Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Pančevo, Serbia and Montenegro
49. Zoran JAGLIĆ, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Kragujevac, Serbia and Montenegro
50. Sonja KOSTIĆ, Town Planning Institute of Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro
51. Vjera MITROVIĆ, Archive of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro
52. Mila ŽIVANČEVIĆ-POPOVIĆ, ICOM Serbia and Montenegro

APPENDIX 2

Incorporated part of the Belgrade Declaration May 11, 2004

ACTIVITIES TO REMOVE CONSEQUENCES OF
DISASTROUS EVENT FALL INTO THREE STAGES AS FOLLOWS:

FIRST STAGE **BEFORE DISASTROUS EVENT**

1. Permanent awareness rising

Permanent education and additional education of entire population regardless class or age especially in the regions liable to ethnic tensions should be carried out. At this stage heads of religious communities should have particularly active part regarding values and importance of cultural heritage.

2. Permanent education

Permanent education and additional education of all public servants on the level of state and home rule regarding values and significance of cultural heritage;

Permanent education and additional education of all instruments of authorities (force of order) regarding comprehension, protection and treatment of cultural heritage.

As instruments for education and awareness rising, all kinds of mass media (printed or digital) and services and expertise of governmental and non governmental organizations, national and international organizations such as UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, ICA,

IFLA and others should be used. Organizing special presentations, workshops, seminars, conferences and alike can also be used as instruments.

3. Institutional preparation

Adoption and ratification of all international conventions relating to treatment of cultural heritage during the armed conflict and ethnic tensions and its incorporation and implementation in law projects on the national level.

Taking inventory and documentation in full on registered and listed buildings of cultural heritage (according to the national models/systems in conventional or digital model) and identification (the inventory list) of movable and immovable cultural property in the region of possible ethnic tensions. Permanent data updating is indispensable.

Identification of heritage should be done in accordance with the Hague Convention and other protocols.

Making of topographical maps of a state with sites of cultural heritage according to the UNESCO criteria. The maps should be made on the national and local level.

Planning of technical measures by which a treatment on movable and immovable properties is defined. These measures would be applied “in situ” (immovable property) and for evacuation (movable property).

Establishment of bilateral cooperation in fields of exchange of experiences and realization of joint projects, workshops, seminars and conferences on that subject.

Establishment of multilateral cooperation with governmental and non governmental organizations in fields of education, improvement and specialization of human resources and experts (UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, ICOM and others).

Establishment of non governmental national committee “Blue Shield” which basic objective should be treatment of cultural heritage before, during and after disastrous event caused by activities of nature and men.

Making of the National Plan for Protection from Disastrous Events with already incorporated National Plan for Protection of Cultural Heritage. The Plan should be updated and tested.

Establishment of the National Crisis Council having this or other title that should incorporate representatives of various ethnic and religious groups if there are more ethnic and religious groups in the state. This Council would have a significant part as prevention in avoiding and decreasing a degree of devastation of cultural heritage, especially before and during possible ethnic tensions or armed conflict.

SECOND STAGE **DURING DISASTROUS EVENT**

Activation of the National Plan for Protection from Disastrous Events in the stage when the event is in course, on the national, local and institutional level.

Activation of function of the National Crisis Council.

STAGE THREE **AFTER THE DISASTROUS EVENT** **(REHABILITATION STAGE)**

Physical guarding (by men) from further devastating of cultural heritage (monitoring)

Urgent dislocation of devastated and undamaged movable property within immovable devastated property.

Preventive treatment “in situ” of devastated buildings in order to prevent further damage.

Urgent assessment (type and volume) of damage followed by full documentation that should be immediately incorporated (updated) in the existing monument data bank.

Making the Priority List for realization of rehabilitating and conserving intervention based on value of monuments, type and volume of damage obtained by the assessment, which was based on research, projection and physical activity. It is especially important that all these activities are performed solely under control of professional national and international experts.

Getting international community, governmental and non governmental organizations acquainted on values of devastated buildings, type and volume of damage – severally and totally for entire devastated buildings. Their cooperation and financial assistance should be called for, especially in conserving and restoring as well as in education, improvement and specialization of human resources of the affected states.

Establishment of the Regional Expert Group as consequence of the latest events that would jointly establish methodology and criteria regarding entry in the data bank, its updating and managing.

Establishment of Expert Regional Group as motive for more efficient rehabilitation and restoration of cultural heritage in the region of South East Europe after all these long standing devastations. The Group should be based on agreement of the National Committees of ICOMOS of this region by delegating their members. Participation of the experts delegated by ICOMOS of Paris is recommended as well.

ON KOSOVO AND METOHIJA

Convoked on the two-day Regional Conference of ICOMOS, we condemn most strongly the March violence at Kosovo and Metohija. The violence resulted in loss of lives and huge intentional devastation of cultural heritage, religious buildings, residences and property.

It is indispensable to prevent unauthorized taking away of movable property from the devastated buildings.

Before taking measures in restoration and full rehabilitation of the cultural heritage it is necessary to prevent further decay of the authentic heritage under professional survey.

Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro
May 11, 2004