ABSTRACT

The loss of cultural heritage is familiar to us all in both current times with the looting of the Iraqi Museum in Baghdad and in the past as seen in the bombing of many cities during World War Two. The reasons for destruction are often complex and difficult to determine despite much speculation in the news. What is perhaps given less news coverage is what comes next; the equally complex task of reconstructing the damaged heritage. Throughout this study it became apparent that there was a problem with the current post-war approach, looking at heritage in terms of destruction and reconstruction. This thesis attempts to create a new term for approaching heritage post-war; historical re-evaluation. This approach hopes to provide a deeper understanding of cultural heritage and how it reflects and is reflected by a society post-war.

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Fig 1. A Middle-Eastern soldier
fights alongside a Bosniak soldier
(Horvat, F 1992)

destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya, India, where more than two thousand people lost their lives (CNN 2002). Most of the deaths in India occurred in riots but people were willing to take part in violent clashes to fight for their heritage. This shows that we cannot rely solely on the academic discourse of post-conflict heritage reconstruction. It is important to look at the communications of the citizens whose heritage is in question. A previous study looking at the destruction of heritage during modern conflicts highlighted that organising bodies are not successful in preventing the destruction of cultural heritage (Clancy 2007). The conventions which have been written to prevent such destruction of heritage have even been manipulated during wartime. During the 1990 Gulf War Iraq stole a large amount of Kuwaiti cultural property and placed items of this property around military objectives in order to shield them, knowing that the opposition were either legally or morally bound to the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (Nafziger 2003). It can also be argued that one of the reasons for the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas was the international attention and condemnation their destruction would attract (Francioni & Lenzerini 2006:266). This raises difficult questions about the importance of heritage and to what extent it should be protected during war.

Motivations for the destruction of heritage are often difficult to determine and multiple reasons may be present. For example, the Mostar Bridge in Bosnia-Hercegovina could have been targeted for destruction due to its cultural significance or its role as infrastructure. Similarly Croatia's Adriatic Coast was damaged partly due to its rich cultural heritage but also to destroy the tourist infrastructure (Rose 2007:106). Rose suggests some reasons for destroying the heritage of others; 'destroying what is held most dear...obliterating any historic trace of the Other; erasing reminders of a painful or contested past; eliminating perceived symbols of oppression... "wiping the slate clean" in moments of regime change' (Rose 2007:106). Whilst these clearly are possible reasons for the destruction of heritage they could also be, and have been, agendas in the reconstruction of heritage. For example, in museums of the former Yugoslavia those in charge of reconstructing the museums are in a position to decide which political figures to promote and demote according to present political views (Rose 2007:107). This highlights a great difficulty in this research; whether

intentioned or not reconstructing heritage will always be a political act (Ashworth 2007:3). 'As destruction itself is also part of history, the decision to rebuild is politically charged, sometimes cleansing history of its scars and delivering an incomplete narrative' (Anheier & Isar 2007:435).

As previously noted heritage reconstruction is a highly emotive topic.   Many areas that have suffered the destruction of cultural heritage are still discussing years later how to approach the reconstruction.   Where reconstruction has occurred it has been approached in a variety of ways.   Cambodia attempted to come to terms with their destroyed heritage by preserving it the way the Khmer Rouge left it.   The bodies of victims were piled up into stupas to act as memorials, effectively creating heritage, however years of 'war tourism' have destroyed the stupas as bones have been removed by both tourists and animals (Jarvis 2002:96).   Paradoxically since heritage is preserved partially so tourism can help to boost the economy of a war-torn country but some feel that tourism 'chips away' at the heritage and culture of a place, quite literally in Cambodia, but also symbolically as was felt in Indonesia where some communities began to refuse tourists (Robinson 1999).   Other approaches have been to reconstruct damaged heritage as it originally looked, such as the Mostar Bridge, or to reconstruct something entirely different as occurred in many British cities after World War Two.   Cities like Coventry, which were heavily bombed, were rebuilt in a modern style which is today criticised as being unattractive.   This is in contrast with the approach taken to reconstruct Dresden, Germany.   The city was heavily bombed like many others during World War Two but the reconstruction was focused on retaining much of its original beauty.   It seems apparent that in the post-war period Britain and Germany took different approaches to urban reconstruction.   In Britain, despite much interest in newspapers and radio, the post-war debate on reconstruction was unclear (Bullock 2002 9). Most architects wanted to rebuild Britain in a modern style but they were unsure exactly what this modern architecture should look like (Bullock 2002:25).   In contrast, although Germany demolished many historic buildings which reflected the neoclassical style favoured by Hitler, Germany had a debate between its citizens and officials over how to rebuild the cities (Diefendorf 1993 106).   This led to a mixture of both historic preservation, primarily of the city's old towns (Diefendorf 1993 67) and modern architecture.   This highlights a

question which is difficult for a post-war society to answer; whether we should reconstruct quickly and practically or with aesthetics in mind in order to satisfy generations to come.

Heritage reconstruction has come under criticism by scholars such as Holtorf (2001) and Newby (1994) due to the dilemma that we are inevitably deciding for future generations what they should value as important. This is an impossible task - we cannot know if those in the future will even regard heritage as important. However the effort to which some communities go to save their heritage and to destroy the heritage of others, suggests that reconstruction will be of comfort to many who have seen their cities and homes transformed during war. When reconstructing heritage it is very difficult to decide the best course of action in terms of what the 'owners' of the heritage want and what is best for the political climate. Much care needs to be taken not to keep 'signposts of discord' (Rose 2007:112) which may breed tensions.

It has been highlighted by some scholars (Holtorf 2005) that the destruction of heritage and the reconstruction of heritage are essentially the same thing. A destroyed object is effectively reconstructed into another state. Equally the original state of a reconstructed object is destroyed. Other scholars such as Lowenthal (1985) clearly differentiate between the terms with destruction being inherently negative, reconstruction inherently positive. I suggest the terms reconstruction and destruction are not only simplistic terms but highly emotive terms which are perhaps unhelpful in this research. I believe a more appropriate way of looking at post-war societies is by using the term historical re-evaluation. This is the act of changing the cultural heritage of a place through any means with the conscious or subconscious intention of changing the historical landscape, often for political means. I believe this term is less emotive, more accurate and accepts that a vast variety of changes can occur; not simply reconstruction and destruction. Historical re-evaluation accepts that any form of heritage manipulation may have both positive and negative affects depending on the perspective of the viewer. Additionally historical re-evaluation sees acts of heritage change as part of an historical process rather than individual concluded events of destruction or reconstruction. Many acts of heritage change are merely another event in the history of a building/place. For this reason the term historical re-evaluation looks at a

wider picture and addresses questions which would not be addressed when looking at heritage destruction or reconstruction.   It is also important to use a term which addresses the thought processes which have preceded the change, the physical change itself and a change in the intangible landscape post-change. This may help us to better understand the factors at work in post-conflict societies and enable us to have a more informed approach to post-war societies.

I wanted to develop a case study to show how the new term better suits post-conflict situations, deepening our understanding of the area.   I believe that the motivations behind the destruction of heritage during war are often the same as those behind the reconstruction of heritage post-war and that the term historical re-evaluation will bridge the gap between the two seemingly different acts.   Outlined below are some of the primary questions which needed to be addressed in order to understand the background to the study and find a suitable case study for the thesis:

- o   What are the arguments surrounding heritage reconstruction? (Chapter 2).
- o   How are post-conflict situations approached in relation to different types of heritage and in different regions? (Chapter 3).
- o   Are destruction and reconstruction the same? (Chapter 3 and 4).
- o   What are the problems in trying to study post-conflict situations? (Chapter 4).
- o   How can an alternative term for reconstruction, historical re-evaluation, benefit the way we approach and treat heritage in modern post-conflict situations? (Chapter 3 and 4).
- o   Which country or region could be used as a case study to highlight how a new way of approaching heritage in a post-conflict situation, the idea of historical re-evaluation, is applied? (Chapter 4).

In this study historical re-evaluation is not just about creating an exact replica of an original building or object destroyed during war.   There are many other factors involved in re-building a post-war society.   Some buildings are preserved in their destroyed state, buildings that sustained no war damage may be pulled down and road names may be changed.   The changed heritage I have focused on is tangible heritage rather than

intangible heritage such as language.   Although intangible heritage may also be affected by war it would create too large a scope to be examined here.   The heritage featured is heritage that has undergone change due to a post-war country attempting to re-evaluate their cultural landscape.   I have limited the modern conflicts to post-World War Two as once again I needed to limit the scope of the study in order to fully analyse as many issues as possible.

This topic was researched using a variety of methods to look into the reconstruction of heritage post-modern conflicts.   There is still a lot of research unpublished or not yet undertaken but increasingly more is becoming available.   There are many new books that examine heritage and war for example The Cultures and Globalization Series edited by Anheier and Isar, Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery edited by Stanley-Price and The Heritage Reader edited by Fairclough and Schofield.   Where published material was not available the internet was an important source as it is often where research organisations can reach out to other interested parties, as well as the public, for support.   As much as possible surveys carried out both during and after the wars were sought, such as the Council of Europe documents on damage to the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia Hercegovina. Primary evidence is very important to every study, as in relation to secondary information, I needed to remain aware of the possible political stances of those interpreting the material, whether intentioned or not.

As conflicts are very complicated, historical re-evaluation is not a simple process.   There are many different ways in which heritage can be manipulated as well as multiple opinions on how we should approach post-war situations in terms of heritage.   The next chapter will attempt to understand and consolidate some of the existing views and the realms of discourse in which they lie.   Chapter three will look back at some historical examples of heritage manipulation and show how looking at these examples using the new term of historical re-evaluation can provide us with a deeper understanding of these events. Chapter four will discuss the reasons for the chosen case-study.   It will also focus on how I gathered data on the post-war changes that have been happening to the heritage in the chosen case-study.   Chapter five will consist of the data gathered from both the field study

and remote research.   Chapter six will revisit the idea of historical re-evaluation showing how the data can be interpreted in terms of historical re-evaluation to show the processes at work in a post-war society and give us a wider understanding the political climate.   Chapter seven will discuss the processes involved in post-war societies and how historical re-evaluation has highlighted these ideas.   I will create a table to clarify some of the patterns which will emerge.   I will then discuss how looking at post-war heritage changes in terms of historical re-evaluation can show us that these changes are part of a longer, deeper process and how this affects the political climate of a place.   The thesis will conclude in chapter eight by bringing together the key points that have been made which show how historical re-evaluation is a more appropriate way of looking at the heritage of a post-war society as opposed to the more black and white terms of reconstruction and destruction.

2

DISCOURSES IN HERITAGE RECONSTRUCTION

This chapter will look into the different realms of discourse that appear in the literature of post-conflict heritage management.   Firstly I intend to look at the question many scholars ask; 'what is heritage?'   Some scholars believe that heritage is a modern phenomenon created by us in the present although others believe that heritage is a concept which goes back much further in time.   This is an issue I intend to address first; how scholars are defining heritage in the current literature.   There is a large amount of literature on the reconstruction and preservation of heritage and the decision making process behind it. This discourse is widely varied and I will attempt to address some of the key arguments.   I will then look at the discourse surrounding heritage as a process.   This discourse features opposing arguments such as those who want to reconstruct a damaged building as it once was and those who believe that heritage is a process and so the destruction of heritage is a valid event in its history and should be remembered.   The three discourses above are most often the arguments of individual scholars who may, or may not, additionally work for heritage organisations.   As independent scholars they have the freedom to write from their own point of view within the relevant discourse.   However many heritage organisations often take an official line, for example, that heritage should always be protected from harm. I intend to look at some of these official lines as well as those of the academic community. These academics often fall into two categories: those who have an emotional investment in their work and those who try to remain detached.   This chapter continues with the arguments within the discourse of defining heritage.

What is heritage?

It is perhaps easier to discuss what heritage is not than try to define what heritage is. Ashworth refers to this as heritage delusions, listed as follows:

'1. Heritage is [not]about preserving or recreating pasts.

2. Heritage is [not] a bridge between pasts and futures.

3. Heritage is [not] a fortuitous endowment, richly or [parsimoniously] bestowed on us as beneficiaries whether we wish it or not.

4. Heritage is [not] a collective phenomenon in which collective pasts contribute through a collective endowment and collective memory to a collective future.

5. Heritage [does not] [unite] people through a process of common inheritance from a common past to a common future.'

(Ashworth 2007)

Ashworth believes that our views of heritage are truly about creating something, that we treat 'the past as continuous re-created present' (2007). He goes on to raise the question 'what are the needs of the present that heritage can satisfy?' (2007). Heritage has its purpose but its purpose is not to show us the true past, instead we use the past to legitimise the actions and feelings of the present (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:46). This is also hinted at by Hughes who uses the example of the Vietnamese appearance in the Tuol Sleng exhibition as a way of legitimising their continued presence in Cambodia (Hughes 2006:178). At first Ashworth appears to stand against all modern approaches to heritage management which believes heritage is a reflection of the past to be preserved for future generations, but this is not the case. Ashworth makes it clear that, as heritage is about power and has been central to many conflicts, it is important not to be naive but acutely aware of how and why we deal with heritage in the present. This is because 'national heritage depends upon the

prior acceptance of a national history' (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:46) and as history is heavily contested so is heritage.

If we cannot define heritage perhaps we need to discuss why heritage is so important. Ascherson (2007) asks an interesting question; why does the destruction of heritage often hurt more than the loss of human lives? Slavenka Drakuli, who Ascherson cites, tries to give one possible answer with reference to the fall of the Mostar Bridge:

'Perhaps because we see our own mortality in the collapse of the bridge, We expect people to die...the bridge in all its beauty and grace was built to outlive us...A dead woman is one of us, but the bridge is all of us for ever.'

(Slavenka Drakuli 1993 cited in Ascherson 2007:23)

When a building or work of art is destroyed in war 'the injury done is usually to continuity...an alarm is aroused when a gap appears in a familiar landscape...' (Ascherson 2007:23). Additionally the physicality of the bridge 'gives these feelings [of identity] an added sense of material reality' (Smith 2006:48) emphasising that the attack is not on the bridge but on the people. This highlights a universal vulnerability, more so than the loss of a life. This argument opposes that of Ashworth's, believing that heritage is in fact an emotional reflection of people and their past. Drakuli expresses that for her it was important to rebuild the bridge to unite people 'through a process of common inheritance from a common past to a common future,' (Ashworth 2007) echoing Barakat who believes '...reconstruction begins in the hearts and minds of those who suffer the horrors of war and want to change societies so that there is no return to mass violence' (Barakat 2005d:1). However Ashworth believes the idea of heritage as a reflection of the past to be a delusion. Bevan emphasises the efforts of the present trying to control the past with a particularly shocking example. He quotes the Bosnian Serb Mayor of Zvornik after the Muslim population was driven out and their mosques destroyed; '[T]here never were any mosques in Zvornik' (Bevan 2007:7). The shock here is the ease at which whole populations can be written out of history. However similarly to Amiry, as we shall see below, Bevan writes of his guilt at prioritising his interest in the destruction of architecture as a young child even

though 'the Holocaust had touched the lives of family friends terribly' (Bevan 2007:7). However like Lambourne, Bevan recognises that 'the link between erasing any physical reminder of a people and its collective memory and the killing of the people themselves is ineluctable' (Bevan 2007:8). This question is not one I am attempting to address or answer, however I believe that a discussion of the question emphasises one important factor; that heritage is widely believed to be important to a society both before, during and after conflict.

ICOMOS, however, also believe that heritage is a reflection of the past, 'a broad concept that encompasses our natural, indigenous and historic or cultural inheritance' (PICTURE 2005). This idea expresses that heritage is something which we receive from the past, assuming that heritage is a creation of the past. Skeates takes a different view from those above, writing that both the idea of heritage as inheritance and heritage as a reworking of the past for the present are common and valid usages and that 'it is pointless to argue over which of these two definitions is correct' (Skeates 2000:10). Interestingly Skeates points out that recently historians have started to lean towards the idea of heritage as a modern construction, while governments and professional bodies are sticking to the concept of heritage as resource from the past. Perhaps this is because 'they actively dominate the re-evaluation and re-use of it in the present' (Skeates 2000:10).

As we have seen above it is very difficult to define what heritage is; some go as far as to say heritage 'defies definition' (Lowenthal 1998:95) or even that '[t]here is really, no such thing as heritage' (Smith 2006:11). This is reflected in the difficulty in finding a definition for the term on the websites of organisations such as English Heritage who specialise in the area. This chapter will continue with some of the themes that surround heritage and the decision making process behind the way heritage is managed.

Preservation/reconstructions of heritage

Some of the strongest arguments linked with heritage reconstruction in the field of

archaeological heritage management are those who oppose or strongly criticise our current obsession with saving our archaeological resource.   Those who oppose reconstruction may do so for entirely different reasons.

Darvill (1993:6) believes that our archaeological heritage is finite and non-renewable therefore any preservation would inevitably be false and inaccurate.   Additionally Anheier & Isar criticise reconstruction, that 'destruction itself is also part of history, the decision to rebuild is politically charged sometimes cleansing history of its scars and delivering an incomplete narrative' (Anheier & Isar 2007:435).   This echoes what Ashworth spoke of above in relation to heritage being a modern concept because there are contemporary political reasons behind heritage decisions.   Holtorf also criticises reconstruction but for different reasons.   Holtorf believes that the archaeological resource is renewable precisely because history is a process and not something which lies solely in the past.   Holtorf's article pokes fun at the Western fear of fundamentalists by 'warning about the dangers of the [Western] fundamentalist ideology of heritage preservation' (2006:102).   Holtorf even jokes that we will remember little else about the past apart from our efforts to preserve it; 'remember remembering the past' (Holtorf 2006:102).   Further into Holtorf's paper he disagrees with the stance of many international organisations suggesting that the destruction of heritage is in fact the consumption of heritage (2006:104).   This is shown in Cambodia where the Cambodian government were displeased with people writing the names of the Tuol Sleng prison victims on their photographs, despite these being personal consumptions and memorialisations of heritage which some believe are just as valid uses of heritage.   Holtorf uses the example of Diocletian's Palace in Split to emphasise that destruction and change is as much a part of history as the original construction.   'It is precisely this kind of change over many centuries that made Diocletian's Palace in Split a World Heritage Site and enchants visitors' (Holtorf 2006:107).   As we have seen above Ashworth goes even further than Holtorf, suggesting that heritage is in fact a delusion - it does not exist (Ashworth 2007:1).   In a sense Ashworth is saying that he is against heritage reconstruction and preservation because it is not possible; 'you cannot preserve what does not exist' (Ashworth 2007:2).

Robert Bevan's book, although focusing on the destruction of architecture over the past century, hints at his views on the reconstruction of architecture.   Bevan uses many examples of how reconstruction has been used to falsely construct history and cultural identities.   'Rebuilding can be as symbolic as the destruction that necessitated it' (Bevan 2007:176).   The new Mostar Bridge, Bevan believes, is merely a 'statement of hope in a less divided future' (Bevan 2007:177) rather than a step towards reuniting communities. Perhaps this is why Talal stresses the importance of addressing not just physical reconstruction but intangible heritage; 'more obscure structures: the relationships between citizens and adherents of different faiths' (Talal 2005: ix).

Like Oradour-sur-Glane, which will be discussed later, the Cambodian government chose to turn Tuol Sleng, a place of tragic human suffering, into a memorial to honour those who died.   The Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocide Crimes is 'a place of national traumatic history' (Hughes 2006:175) where the decision was made to use heritage to consciously remember the victims of the war.   The building was originally a school but was turned into a prison and torture camp by the Khmer Rouge who ruled the country between 1975 and 1979. Few people survived Tuol Sleng and the thousands who died were buried in the so-called 'killing fields' not far from the site.   The prison was discovered just hours after the country was liberated from the Khmer Rouge due to a Vietnamese invasion in January 1979.   Tuol Sleng opened as a museum relatively quickly in July 1980 which, Hughes writes, aimed to educate and honour victims (Hughes 2006:176).   The apparent ease at opening the museum during famine and with much of the country's educated people murdered suggests that the decision to open the memorial was collective and unopposed.   However, Hughes suggests multiple reasons for the opening of such a museum- to create a coherent memory and not expose the political violence in the country (Hughes 2006:177) echoing Ashworth's belief that all heritage decisions are motivated by politics.   Hughes tells us of the emotionally connective, visual nature of the exhibition showing photographs of victims both alive and dead and primarily without text.   It is striking however that Hughes describes one map depicting the Vietnamese invasion and acts of aggression towards the Vietnamese which she describes as appearing like a humanitarian intervention on Vietnam's part (Hughes 2006:178).   Perhaps Vietnam wanted to create a heroic image of the country in

the eyes of the Cambodians and legitimise Vietnam's invasion and continued presence in Cambodia (Hughes 2006:178).   The museum has been challenged for other ideas but not for its decision to preserve the prison the way it was during Khmer Rouge rule.   Hughes describes people writing the names of the people they recognise on the victim photographs (2006:183) suggesting Cambodians crave a more personal approach in their memorialisation of victims.   Since the Vietnamese occupation ended in Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge Communist Insurgency broke up, Cambodia has felt stability and the future of the Tuol Sleng Museum holdings have been questioned with some arguing that the storing of skeletons does not allow for correct Cambodian cultural and religious practise (Hughes 2006:188). Hughes' article seems to show that the act of presenting the prison as a memorial is suitable for Cambodians but they struggle morally between memorialising the skeletons and treating them in a manner that is culturally and religiously correct for Cambodians today.

Opaić's article for geografija.hr is somewhat contradictory.   The article opens by questioning the morality behind memorialising places such as battlefields and concentration camps, turning them into tourist attractions for financial gain (Opaić 2007).   This is a valid question, however towards the end of the article Opaić writes, 'I do believe that Croatia has to present its heritage of Croatian War of Independence as a part of its tourist offer' (Opaić 2007).   The bulk of the article continues on the critical theme of historical memorials referring to cultural tourism as a trend and presenting shock at Auschwitz's 'half a million a year tourists' (Opaić 2007) despite many of these visitors perhaps visiting the site as a memorial place and not to follow a trend.   Opaić's tone changes when discussing Croatia's cultural tourism potential, revealing his bias.   Opaić talks of plans to organise a memorial centre in Vukovar, the location of a tragic siege during Croatia's War of Independence which 'is far beyond national interest because of its role in development of world military strategy' (Opaić 2007).   Despite being contradictory at times, Opaić does highlight the idea that perhaps an intended memorial site would have helped Croatia to consolidate its post-war recovery.   Although it is still possible to create memorials in Croatia, places may already act as unofficial memorials such as Vukovar's water tower (Fig 7) that has been left unreconstructed since the war.   Arguably this is occurring in Zadar region where some destroyed houses have fresh flowers placed on what would have once been the front of the

house.   However some believe that when places have been left for too long after a war and buildings suffer further from neglect and a lack of money they start to represent a suffering post-war society.   This is suggested by Barakat who writes:

'...when destruction by war follows a long period of neglect and decline in which historic neighbourhoods are abandoned by the elite and given over to multiple occupations by the poor.   They are then associated with poverty and backwardness.'

(Barakat 2007:35)

Though perhaps this distinction is not necessarily a problem in that a consolidation of grief is valid whether it focuses on war destruction or the post-war society.   Both the destruction of a building during war and the neglect of a building due to a suffering post-war economy are consequences of war.

Oradour-sur-Glane is a memorial town of great tragedy where '642 men, women and children,' (Stone 2004:131) were killed by gunfire, burning and suffocation by a German army unit in June 1944.   Similarly to Tuol Sleng, the site was declared a national monument shortly after the tragedy.   However this site has changed over time as Stone describes. The first memorial centre saw the town kept exactly as it was left after the German invasion with a small kiosk constructed to sell guide books.   Small plaques were placed outside houses but the personal objects 'needed no written interpretation' (Stone 2004:132). There is also an annual remembrance ceremony which continues today.   The memorial site at this stage appears to be primarily for the few who survived or those with connections to the tragedy.   Like Tuol Sleng there were deeper motives for the memorial site of Oradour-sur-Glane.   By 'remembering Oradour, the French were exempt from remembering the countless other tragedies of the war' (Stone 2004:132) such as the government's involvement in the deportation of French Jews (Adler 2001:1065-1066).   So this is not the true preservation of history but picking and choosing the history people want to remember.   Selective preservation is sometimes an important instrument in aiding post-war recovery.   Memorialising Tuol Sleng enables Cambodians to consolidate their grief and grieve as a community.   Stone points out that the centre wants to remain relevant to

today's generation who do not remember World War Two perhaps in order to maintain the 'hot' interpretation (Uzzell 1989a).   The centre counteracts this by presenting itself as a symbol for genocide worldwide (Stone 2004:133) so Oradour-sur-Glane becomes not just a local symbol but a global one.

Changes over time

Oradour-sur-Glane, as discussed above, has changed over the years since there are less and less people who remember the events of even the immediate post-war society.   Over the years the centre has become bigger and more self-aware in its message and displays.   The new exhibition is criticised by Stone as one that frames 'the ruins within a museum format and diminishes the shock of entering the ruins directly' (Stone 2004:139).   There is conflict at the centre as this poignant 'hot' interpretation, as Uzzell saw it (1989a), has become cold over time.   This is not just because fewer people remember the war but because the museum is no longer a preservation of history but a creation of history.   This preservation can never be real and so the original shock felt by visitors is no longer felt.   Perhaps preservation and memorialisation only works and is only needed short-term and as there become fewer people who truly remember the events, memorial sites will cease to be poignant and merely become cold museum spaces.   This is evidence for one of the recent arguments that has emerged from the heritage field, that heritage is a process (Holtorf 2005:237).   Heritage is not innate; we control what heritage is and how we deal with it (Ashworth 2007).   As the audience for Oradour-sur-Glane has changed, with fewer people each year remembering the events first-hand, the site will inevitably change.   This is perhaps also the case at Auschwitz where the types of visitors at the site are changing over time.   When the site first opened it was a memorial to those who died.   Since the 1990s it has become a site for tourists and for educational purposes as there were fewer people who remember the tragedies first-hand, and more young people visiting (Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum 2008b).   Recent 'war tourism' has been a reason for people to visit, to witness the effects of a war they have only read about.   Stone presents us with another more physical

problem to do with heritage.   Oradour-sur-Glane is rapidly disappearing and conservation techniques can only be used for so long before conservation becomes reconstruction. Should the memorial town be reconstructed so future generations may learn or should we allow 'the dignified and natural decay of the ruins' (Stone 2004:143)?   People often fear that those 'who cannot remember the past are condemned to relive it' (Santayana 1905 cited in Stone 2004:138).   However wars and tragedies have always been remembered through spoken or written word, yet over thousands of years of memory, wars and tragedies have never ceased to exist.   It may be the argument that we have a need to preserve reminders of our human tragedy is invalid.   Perhaps Ashworth (2007) is right that it is not possible to preserve and reconstruct heritage.   This is not necessarily because, as Ashworth believes, heritage does not exist, but because there are two processes that threaten any heritage which attempts to remain 'frozen.'   Firstly people change and people are ultimately in control of heritage.   Secondly natural decay affects everything; heritage cannot exist unchanged forever.

Foote addresses the way Americans approach their tragedies, arguing that 'attitudes towards violence and tragedy are closely aligned with cultural values' (Foote 2003:6) therefore different cultures will react differently.   Foote feels it is important to study how people want to remember events, not just in the immediate aftermath, but in the long-term (Foote 2003:5).   Tragic events in America which have become stigmatised, usually mass murder, are deliberately forgotten, in contrast with the memorials addressed above. Interestingly however Foote notes that despite being deliberately forgotten, the house of mass murderer John Wayne Gacy, for example, stands out as much as a sacred space. '[T]here are breaks in the texture of landscape that are noticeable by way of contrast' (Foote 2003:25).

The Americans have treated the remains of the World Trade Centre somewhat differently and chosen to actively memorialise the event, unlike many events in American history.   The difference may be that, as Bevan discusses, the twin towers of the World Trade Centre have become the symbol of an entire nation (Bevan 2007:61).   It is perhaps of no surprise the space has been treated in a unique manner due to the globally reaching impact the events of

9/11 had.   Once rebuilt the site will feature a complex of towers including one which will be taller than the original towers and a memorial garden that will be built on the foundations of the fallen towers.   There were many opinions as to what should happen to the space the towers left.   Some felt that rebuilding the towers would be an act of resistance; some felt that rebuilding would be sacrilege; others felt turning the remains into a memorial would place its loss above the human loss (Bevan 2007:198).   Equally Foote stresses the huge diversity among the victims, making the memorialisation process highly complicated (Foote 2003:344).   Although the site aims to both memorialise and rebuild, Foote believes that America's approach to the site is too hurried (Foote 2003:345).

Official views

Stanley-Price writes on behalf of ICCROM and believes that 'culture should be recognized as an important [factor] from early in the recovery phase' (Stanley-Price 2007:1). Stanley-Price believes that culture should primarily be restored, stating that it is a 'popular concern to restore immediately war-damaged heritage…to re-establish the familiar and the cherished following a phase of violent disruption of normal life' (Stanley-Price 2007:1). However Stanley-Price does highlight a problem which is often made by the opponents of heritage reconstruction, that although cultural heritage is crucial to post-war situations 'culture is itself transformed by conflict,' (Stanley-Price 2007:2) echoing Holtorf's view that heritage is a process.   Heritage is not lost, merely transformed by its change in usage. Although an academic, Stanley-Price is writing as a member of an international heritage organisation which is why he emphasises that heritage should be reconstructed, the major line taken by organisations in this field.

Barakat, also writing for ICCROM, holds a similar view to Stanley-Price above.   Barakat calls for a comprehensive, critical and integrated approach to reconstruction in post-war situations, finding many flaws in the current approaches.   Barakat believes that so far the subject has not been studied enough and what is required is a 'multidisciplinary problem-solving approach to address the complexities of recovery' (Barakat 2007:29).

Barakat is using the term reconstruction in a different way to many of the scholars in this chapter.   Barakat is not referring to literal heritage reconstruction but whatever activities are needed to reconstruct a feeling of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in a post-war society.   '[C]ultural heritage reconstruction needs to go beyond physical restoration and address the wider economic and social dimensions' (Barakat 2007:38).   This study will look at the other side of this, how the historical re-evaluation of heritage is currently reflecting 'the wider economic and social dimensions' (Barakat 2007:38).   Barakat's work is advocating how we should reconstruct post-war societies and not just in terms of cultural heritage as he does above.   Other articles see Barakat address reconstruction in terms of infrastructure, security and rebuilding institutions among other areas, even 'as a key element in achieving global stability' (Barakat 2005c:7).   Along with scholars such as Loizos below, this study is trying to address part of the wider rebuilding of post war societies, what is or has happened to the cultural heritage of a place and how we can view these changes to deepen our knowledge of the historical processes at work in post-war societies.

Organisations such as UNESCO and ICCROM take the line that lives are more important than cultural heritage during conflict situations (Council of Europe 1993c:26; Stanley-Price 2007:6).   However this is not the belief of everyone and individuals in the field are prepared to admit they felt more shock at certain instances of heritage destruction than they have when confronted with lives lost during war.   It is a slight paradox that institutions give culture a back seat in post-conflict situations yet the destruction of heritage receives far more news coverage than an instance of loss of life during war (Holtorf 2005:230; Wijesuriya 2007:90).

Academic arguments

Although neither international organisations nor academics take the view that heritage is more important than people, some academics approach this subject from a much more emotional and less defined angle than others.   Loizos and Amiry write from much more personal perspectives.   Loizos is an anthropologist who studied a group of Greek Cypriot

villagers both before and after the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Both writers highlighted the importance of cultural heritage to those who have lost heritage during war, the effect of which can be equivalent to, if not more, than grieving a human loss. Loizos writes that the Greek Cypriot refugees 'talked, obsessively I thought, about the things they had lost – the orchards, the houses, their contents – and rather less about any disruption of social relations...' (Loizos 1981:200). Loizos writes that he was confused at times because it seemed as though they valued things more than people. However he realised that providing for their children and passing on property was central to most Cypriot families and they no longer had anything to pass to their children which was a huge loss to them (Loizos 1981:200). The commitment people had to material things was in effect the same as their commitment to their children. This highlights both the importance of post-war recovery and the complexities involved in approaching the destruction of material things as they are so interlinked with the emotions of a place.

Amiry is an architect turned writer for Sharon and my Mother-in-Law. Ramallah Diaries, a non-fiction book written from Amiry's own memories growing up in Ramallah during Israeli occupation. In April 2002 Amiry was watching al-jazeera when news broke of a bomb attack in Nablus which resulted in the possible death of thirteen people from the same family. Other bombs had razed an Eighteenth Century Ottoman caravanserai and the Nabulsi and Canaan soap factories. Amiry was shocked:

''Oh, God, no!' I jumped up and screamed at the top of my voice. I hit the marble tabletop in front of me with my fist. 'Oh, God, not the soap factory! When is this nightmare going to end? When will they stop destroying our historic buildings, erasing our cultural heritage?'...All of a sudden I remembered that it was the thirteen people under the rubble,...I was rather ashamed.'

(Amiry 2006:165-166)

Although Amiry is suggesting that we should prioritise people during war, her reaction to cry out at the destruction of the soap factories was immediate and natural. This echoes the link people have to place; it is immediate and natural and so should the relationship be

between heritage and people during post-war recovery.

Brown, writing for the American Red Cross, a humanitarian organisation, also understands the importance of making cultural heritage a high priority, 'realizing that [heritage destruction] is an effective way to demoralize an entire group' (Brown 2001).   This links back to the idea above that, like heritage and politics and heritage and war, heritage and people are heavily linked.   This link should be reflected in post-war heritage management. Lambourne questions how appropriate it is 'studying war damage to historic monuments when the same air raids caused loss of life' (Lambourne 2001:5).   However Lambourne goes on to say that bombs do not discriminate so neither should we, 'it is not a question of prioritising buildings over people' (Lambourne 2001:5).   They can be studied together, particularly when the result of genocide is often, but not always, the destruction of both people and heritage.   Lambourne writes that for most people the loss of lives in World War Two was worse than damage done to buildings and architecture, but in citing the Council of Europe reports from Bosnia 1991-5 Lambourne suggests a different view.   The Council of Europe state that they believe people suffering are the priority but not everyone does, namely the people whose heritage is being destroyed 'take global destruction of their monuments very seriously indeed' (Council of Europe 1993c:26).   The Western view may be that people come first but the above discussion has highlighted that people and heritage are very closely linked.   Therefore organisations should make room for other ideas and allow both cultural heritage and people to be a priority during war.

BACKGROUND ON THE HISTORICAL RE-EVALUATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE DIFFERENT POLITICAL CONTEXTS IN WHICH IT CAN OCCUR

The idea of cultural heritage is a modern phenomenon, a contemporary creation (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:30).   Although some scholars may disagree with this statement, (Hewison 1987) most recognise that there has at least been a fast increasing obsession with heritage in recent times (Hewison 1987:10).   Many scholars believe heritage was created by nations over the last few centuries through a growing interest in archaeology, history and art (Aldridge 1989:77-78).   This heritage was used to show how a nation had developed, how far they had evolved through art techniques and the development of tools.   This in turn meant that archaeology, history and art could show how long a nation had occupied an area of land, breed a sense of community and 'a sense of national belonging among the entire population' (Carman 1996:79).   In a sense this legitimises their right to name that area of land as their own.   The early Twentieth Century saw two World Wars and it became important for some areas to 'prove' their right to hold borders and this was done through heritage promotion and adaptation.   It is no accident that the rise of the European Nation State occurred whilst interest was gathering in history, archaeology and art (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:46).   Heritage came to be seen by national leaders as a powerful tool that should be protected.   For the same reason the destruction of another nation's heritage or 'claim' could be equally beneficial.   The destruction of one heritage could reconstruct and strengthen the heritage of another.   Holtorf goes as far as to say that the logic behind reconstructing heritage is the same as the logic behind wars and genocide, 'managing material resources, controlling disputed spaces, and creating desired collective memories' (Holtorf 2005:232).   This, alongside the 'accidental' destruction of cultural heritage during wars, led to huge cultural losses throughout the early Twentieth Century and was the reason

for establishing the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.   The Twentieth Century also saw the creation of new countries such as Israel and the re-establishment of others such as Croatia.   These new populations sought to acquire legitimacy through heritage adaptation and creation (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:86).   This occurred in the city of Salonica, as we shall see below, where ethnicity was both a consequence and cause of unrest.   Each time a new power took control of the city, the visual nature of the buildings were historically re-evaluated accordingly to reflect the political intentions of the new leaders.

Heritage is not always historically re-evaluated in response to wars and territorial disputes. The use of values to assess heritage in the heritage management field shows how heritage always has the potential to be manipulated for political gain.   Carman (2002) lists the value criteria which various countries state for inclusion onto heritage protection lists.   These are values such as; cultural/ethnic affiliations, rarity, research potential, amenity value and group value (Carman 2002:157-160).   These values could be applied to all sorts of heritage and could be politically beneficial to those who are in the position to manipulate it.   Mason (2008) has also tried to apply values to heritage to help us to understand it better.   Mason offers a provisional set of heritage values which are divided into two categories; these are sociocultural and economic values.   The values are listed as following in no particular order. The sociocultural values are; historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious and aesthetic.   The Economic values are; use (market) value, non-use (nonmarket) value, existence, option and bequest (Mason 2008:103).   Although Mason and Carman are writing from different disciplinary bases, both lists could be exploited for political gain; for example the bequest value that 'stems from the wish to bequeath a heritage asset to future generations' (Mason 2008:107) may be the motive behind the theft of museum assets in Croatia, particularly from the town of Vukovar which were then put on display in Serbia (Council of Europe 1993a: Appendix B).   However none of these values are intrinsic, 'they don't emanate from the article itself' (Mason 2008:100).   Values are given to heritage by the curator, the public and scholars and these values can 'only be understood with reference to social, historical and even spatial contexts' (Mason 2008:100) including political contexts

and so political values can easily be given to heritage in order for it to be manipulated.

As we have seen, heritage does not hold these values naturally.   Rather, heritage is given symbolic meaning and can be reconstructed in many political contexts and manipulated for the benefit of those in control of the heritage.   This can occur during peace time, for economic reasons and for religious reasons to name just two.   Either way, according to Barakat (2005b:567), reconstruction is always institutional, economic and social and therefore is hugely political.

Destruction and reconstruction versus historical re-evaluation

In the opening chapter I outlined the problems I feel stem from using the terms destruction and reconstruction.   Some scholars have argued that the destruction of heritage is merely a reconstruction of heritage (Holtorf 2005).   Holtorf suggests that when an object is destroyed it can in fact create heritage, not destroy it (Holtorf 2005:236).   Similarly Johnson states that 'destruction is part of every construction' (Johnson 2001:76).   This idea sees history as a process and not a series of concluded events.   Others, however, (Darvill 1993; WHC 2008) see heritage as a finite resource, that 'everything surviving from the past has some value which is forfeited unless it is preserved,' (Lowenthal 1985:400) and that there are clear distinctions between heritage destruction and reconstruction.   This is reflected in the way Lowenthal (1985) discusses heritage conservation as though there are only two options; to either preserve or not preserve, in which case all value is lost.

In the discussion below I will give examples of historical re-evaluation throughout the Twentieth Century.   I will discuss examples where heritage has been manipulated with the intention of re-evaluating the historic landscape of a place.   I am not including in this discussion general acts of heritage destruction as this is far too broad an area to be addressed in this chapter.   This chapter will also discuss examples where heritage has been re-evaluated during peace-time, during conflict and post-conflict.   I intend to show how we can look at these examples in terms of historical re-evaluation to deepen our understanding

Fig 2.   A sketch of the proposed Palace of the Soviets (Source unknown).

population that the Soviets are stronger and more powerful than God and religion. Alongside this, Stalin relocated minority groups and distorted histories in order to reconstruct new histories (Bevan 2007:116).   This is an example of why, for minority groups, heritage conservation can be seen as political survival (Tunbridge 2008:239).   Stalin was re-evaluating the history of the Soviet Union to politically weaken minority groups within the Union.   The Palace of the Soviets was never built however the church has since been rebuilt in the old style (The Russian Orthodox Church 2001) demonstrating another phase of historical re-evaluation on the site.

Nazi Germany saw the historical re-evaluation of cultural heritage in a similar way to the Soviets, but the aim was slightly different.   The Soviets promoted their own ideologies and strengths for political gain.   After the humiliation of the First World War Germany used the historical re-evaluation of prehistory to restore self respect and politically legitimise the expansionist ideas of the Nazis (Bettina 1990:464-465).   They also primarily vilified the Jewish people living in Germany and blamed them for everything that was weak in German society in order to gain political support and promote the idea that Germany would be a much stronger nation if they were a 'pure' nation.   The Nazi persecution of Jews was similar to the Soviet's efforts to distort the histories of their minority groups in the way that Jewish culture and neighbourhoods were destroyed (Bevan 2007:28).   However the Nazi ethnic cleansing of Jews is unlike the ethnic cleansing that has occurred around the world since. The Nazis were not threatened by the existence of Jews in Germany nor did they feel the need to eradicate them to legitimize their own culture.   In the mid-Nineteen Thirties they became aware of how to manipulate archaeology for their own gain (Bettina 1990:475). They wanted to cleanse Europe of Jews and defame them as a race but not wipe them from history.   The Nazis wanted to remember persecuting the Jews and build a museum in Prague to hold evidence of this (Bevan 2007:28) and perhaps hide some evidence from view. The Holocaust was not a battle for territory as in places such as Yugoslavia or Somalia but a political battle for strength and supremacy in Europe.   The true intentions behind the acts of heritage re-evaluation only come out when viewed as part of a historical process and not individual acts of heritage destruction.

Fig 3.   'Crowds cheer as a statue of Saddam
           Hussein falls' (CNN 2003).

destroying Saddam's image could be reported back through the Western media to justify the war to those who opposed it and gain more support.   The war in Iraq can also show us that the reasons behind the 'destruction' during war and the 'reconstruction' post-war is essentially the same.   Barakat (2005b:9) writes that the United States policy in Iraq was 'pre-emptive military action policy with a pre-emptive approach to post-war reconstruction... in an attempt to "deconstruct to reconstruct"' (Barakat 2005b:9).   The United States wanted to deconstruct Iraq to historically re-evaluate the political ideology. In turn the United States wanted to reconstruct Iraq to historically re-evaluate the political ideology.   If viewed as an act of heritage destruction, the toppling of Saddam's statue may be viewed as merely an act of defiance against Saddam's regime rather than part of a wider process of re-evaluating Iraq's political identity.

The historical re-evaluation of towns in Palestine has occurred at the hands of Israelis in the form of building to meet the needs of the Israeli settlers (Amiry & Bshara 2007:69).   Also in Palestine the Arab communities have been trying to counteract this by rebuilding towns in order to establish themselves in the area to avoid further Israeli control.   For example The Old City of Jerusalem Revitalization Program was set up in Palestinian East Jerusalem in order to promote and conserve the cultural heritage of the old city.   However, due to the political climate, conservation of the old town was often restricted by the practical needs of the Arab residents and the need to build further spaces (Amiry & Bshara 2007:71).   This also pushes Palestinians into an impossible situation.   If they build new settlements in Western Jerusalem this compromises their cultural heritage and their claim for land. However if they do not build settlements they keep their cultural heritage intact but have fewer settlements for their people.

The politics behind the re-evaluation of heritage does not have to be linked to just one country or region.   There are international political agendas behind decisions relating to the management of cultural heritage.   The Council of Europe for example have in recent years tried to focus archaeological interests across Europe on The Bronze Age.   Exhibits from The Bronze Age can be found all over Europe, it is Pan-European.   Topics such as the Vikings and Romans are not as highly encouraged as they refer to conquests and subjection which

Fig 4.   Saddam Hussein with Nebuchadnezzar
(Zinda Inc. 2001-2003).

during peace-time as they are 'often the most accessible entry people have to their past' (Carman 2002:84).   This is perhaps the reason for both peaceful and violent re-evaluations of history in places such as Croatia (MDC 2005), Serbia (Council of Europe 1993a), Williamsburg (Gable and Handler 1997) and the Soviet Union (Bevan 2007).   This is something that can be done both consciously and unconsciously by the curator but there will always be some agenda behind how a collection has been presented.   Below we shall see how this has been used in Zagreb's Archaeological Museum to promote Croatia's ethnic legitimacy since the war that caused so much damage to museums and collections. Zagreb's Archaeological Museum has been placed within the context of promoting cultural legitimacy.   However, like many examples in this discussion, there are multiple political reasons for the historical re-evaluation of cultural heritage.

To promote cultural legitimacy

As has been mentioned above, museums in Croatia suffered greatly during the war in the 1990's through both theft and deliberate destruction.   The reason behind this destruction was to remove historical evidence that backs up the ethnic Croat's claims to the land, effectively re-evaluating the history of Croatia in the eyes of the Serbo-Croats.   Since the war many museums have reopened although some are still recovering from significant inventory losses (MDC 2005).   Museums that have opened, such as Zagreb's Archaeological Museum, have sought to counteract this threat to their heritage in their displaying of such heritage.   The museum holds an exhibition on the archaeology of humans in Croatia from the Late Stone Age to the Late Iron Age which is sandwiched between two exhibitions on ancient Egypt.   Placing the Croatian exhibition between the Egyptian exhibitions seems to endorse the legitimacy of the Croatian history as it is set amongst possibly the most well known and accepted civilisation in ancient history.   Politics are further identified in the exhibition in the lack of mention of any Serb or Slav contribution yet the exhibition does mention Bosnia-Hercegovina as another area where Croatian culture can be found.   In this case it is not to say that the museum curators have consciously tried to deceive the visitor

but the historical re-evaluation of the exhibits are clear.   This example shows that the 'the relationship between nationalism and national heritage is obviously intimate,' (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:46) even that nationalism is 'deeply embedded in the very concept of archaeology' (Diaz-Andreu & Champion 1996:3).   Historical re-evaluation shows us that post-war museums are not simply restored but that the exhibits are part of the larger historical process.

Historical re-evaluation of the history of Palestine is something that has occurred since the formation of Israel in 1948.   Previously Islamic places of worship have been appropriated by Israel even if there has been no Jewish tradition there (Bevan 2007:110).   The grave of Muslim Sheikh Gharib was turned into the grave of Israel's Samson and later turned into the grave of Dan, again by the Israelis (Bevan 2007:110).   This is a clear example of a political structure physically re-evaluating heritage in order to re-evaluate history and gain political support for their territorial claims.   Israel has continued this idea within the occupied territories to this day.   Israel is currently in the process of redrawing borders with its security wall that annexes fertile land and Arab towns into its own territory (BBC 2004). Like towns in the Former Yugoslavia, Israel has attempted to historically re-evaluate Jerusalem as a Jewish town so that it legitimizes its historical claims to the town and is further helped by Arabs no longer wanting to live in a town they no longer see as their own. In Jerusalem this has been successful for the Israelis with just 13.5% of Palestinians wanting to remain in Jerusalem (Bevan 2007:112) but this was not successful in Yugoslavia.   Perhaps this is because there was more political equality in the former Yugoslavia, whereas the Palestinians are considerably overpowered by Israeli strength.   The deliberate re-evaluation of the heritage of a defeated society by a conquering successor is common '[It] demonstrates the completeness and irreversibility of the succession' (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:55-56).   This is perhaps a political message that Israel wants to promote to its people; security in its borders.   Israel wants to assure its people that the establishment of their homeland is irreversible.

Salonica was a city of diverse ethnicities with a colourful history.   The city was conquered by the Ottomans in 1430 who subsequently turned many of the Greek churches into

mosques (Mazower 2004: 15).   The Ottomans did not aim to wipe out Christianity in Salonica but to create an Islamic city.   '[T]o outsiders, its Islamic character was immediate' (Mazower 2004:36) despite the Muslim population not being dominant in numbers, the city's population included Greeks, Turks, Sefardic Jews and Bulgarians among others.   This is an historical re-evaluation by the Ottomans to show people that, although they conquered the city from the Greeks and do not hold a population majority, Salonica is an Islamic city and not a Christian one.   Like many historical re-evaluations there are a number of reasons behind such acts, in this case both religious and political.

In 1830 Greece gained independence from the Ottomans and in 1923 there were forced population exchanges which overnight turned Salonica into an Orthodox Christian city (Mazower 2004:6).   Since then the Greeks have sought to historically re-evaluate the city as though the Ottoman occupation and Jewish population dominance had not occurred, 'the Ottoman city has banished, exciting little comment except among preservationists and scholars' (Mazower 2004:5).   Although it can be said that the Greeks have simply reversed what the Ottomans started five centuries ago, both have enacted the same process of historical re-evaluation to promote their own cultural and political legitimacy and undermine the history of another.   It is also interesting to point out that for centuries until World War Two Salonica had a large Jewish population and Jews were even the largest ethnic group in Salonica in 1912 (Mazower 2004:6).   Mazower writes (2004: 6-9) that despite this accounts by Greek scholars of Salonica's history scarcely mention the Jewish community there. Equally, Jewish scholars do not mention Greeks in their accounts of the City and both hardly mention the Muslims who ruled Salonica for five centuries.   Each ethnic group is historically re-evaluating the history of Salonica to teach its own version of events of an ever-evolving city.

In the context of economic benefit

The historical re-evaluation of heritage is not always a negative sign for minority groups. Growing tourism is perhaps a positive sign for cultural heritage in some ways as countries

need to 'sell' themselves with distinctiveness and diversity to compete in the tourist market which may encourage the recognition of minority groups (Tunbridge 2008:241).   It is not by chance that international tourism and heritage conservation have evolved together (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:58).   Heritage conservation is usually part of the bigger economic strategy which will discount or be unaware of the bigger cultural or political uses of heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:62).   Perhaps this is why the Croatian tourist office gives no mention of the war on tourist boards near cultural buildings that have been reconstructed due damage during the war.   This is particularly interesting at St James Cathedral, Šibenik which can be seen in Appendix A.9.

There have been a few but not many attempts at museums in larger cities to historically re-evaluate to promote multi-cultural ideas.   Such examples of these exhibitions are 'The Peopling of London' and a relatively recent exhibition entitled 'Illuminating Faith: Art and Culture from the Middle East' at Birmingham's Museum and Art Gallery which sought 'to celebrate the rich cultural heritage of the Middle East and to demonstrate its relevance to communities living in Birmingham today' (Illuminating Faith 2005).   'The Peopling of London' exhibition chose not to focus on the heritage of a particular region and its relevance to citizens today but to focus on the heritage of immigration in London.   The exhibition featured immigrants dating back over one thousand years and depicted the areas where these communities settled in London (Moorehead 2003).   Although these are different approaches, both exhibitions historically re-evaluate a British city as a place where, in these cases, not just white British heritage is found but highly diverse heritages which appropriately reflect the ethnic makeup of these cities today.

In many cases of historical re-evaluation there may be a primary motive, however there are usually more factors involved.   Kristallnacht can be viewed as Nazi Germany's first step of many that would contribute to the evolution of their final solution in 1942 in which they would rid Germany of Jews.   During Kristallnacht, Jewish businesses, homes and places of worship were burnt, destroyed and forcibly sold at low prices to Germans in order to economically alienate the Jews before physically removing them from society.   This had two main economic benefits for the Nazis.   Firstly it contributed to the weakening of Jews

Fig 5.   Statue of Bruce Lee in Mostar after being vandalised, 2003 (Bax 2008).

Before Atatürk, the population of what is now Turkey believed they descended from the small Islamic tribe the Osmans and did not wish to go back any further into history (Alp 1970:208-209).   The population at this time were not interested in the Turkish language or culture which to the Ottomans meant 'peasant' (Kedourie 1970:48).   Atatürk came to power in Turkey in 1923 and wanted a history that could rival the Romans and Greeks. Atatürk had his historians historically re-evaluate the records to declare that they did descend from the Turks and they were the world's first cultured people, founded 12,000 years before Christ (Lowenthal 1985:337).   This was a radical step, declaring that 'when other peoples simply followed their conscience and their instincts, the Turks were agents of culture and progress' (Alp 1970:210).   Alp (1970) writes that now few people believe the 'age-old prejudice' concerning Turkey's history and that they 'occupy a prominent position among the Indo-European peoples' (Alp 1970:212).   Whether the Turks descended from Indo-Europeans, Mongoloids or an Islamic tribe is effectively irrelevant here as Atatürk did not re-evaluate the history of Turkey in order to find the truth.   Atatürk wanted to rival European powers in terms of their strength and culture.   Additionally, in order to create a stable nation, Atatürk needed to unite a large, ethnically diverse population; historically re-evaluating a new proud history was one way of doing this.

To endorse religious control

In 1992 in Ayodhya, India, we saw the destruction of a Muslim shrine in order to build a Hindu shrine.   There had been dispute for many years over who had the right to worship on the site that had been shut down for some time.   Both the Hindus and the Muslims in India believe that the original religious building on this spot was that of their respective religions. Although there are archaeological arguments for either side of the conflict, the historical re-evaluations are a reflection of the ongoing Hindu-Muslim conflict in India.   The debate continues but whichever side wins the Ayodhya debate will perhaps gain political strength in the eyes of the Indian population.   The Hindus already believe themselves to be the winners and have erected the beginnings of a temple close to the site.   This is arguably

similar to the situation in the Former Yugoslavia where different ethnic and religious groups were fighting for political dominance, in this case between Hindus and Muslims as well as Sikhs in other examples.   Additionally the destruction of the Babri mosque and reconstruction of a partial Hindu temple was followed by genocide, a common pattern that has emerged throughout this study.   Ayodhya is also an example of where the historical re-evaluation of heritage has been given additional context in order to support political views.   Flood (2002:652) writes that the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas was perhaps a much delayed response to the destruction of the Babri mosque by Hindus.   There are many theories behind the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas but this is perhaps placing additional context onto the Ayodhya debate.

Historical re-evaluation was used by the Taliban to gain religious and political hegemony over the Afghan population.   The Taliban systematically targeted and destroyed numerous objects of Afghan history to control the civilians and instil their extreme doctrine on the Afghan people.   Their doctrine stated that statues and objects of art are idols and therefore against Islam.   This destruction of heritage had the desired effect in that the population were controlled by the Taliban for some time and the Afghan people lived in fear of breaking the rules.   However this is arguably due to the violent threat from the Taliban rather than successful attempts at making the Afghans believe that statues were against God.

Like many historical re-evaluations, there are multiple political reasons for such rewriting of history and this case is no exception.   Along with destroying statues, the Taliban's extreme religious views effectively returned Afghanistan to how it may have been before external influence; they historically re-evaluated Afghanistan as if external influence and particularly Western influence in Afghanistan had never occurred.   This anti-'other' sentiment was further emphasised by the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas which were deemed offensive by the Taliban but works of art by other world and religious leaders.   However it is widely believed that the statues were blown up because the Taliban knew that it would reach worldwide attention and condemnation (Francioni & Lenzerini 2006:266).   This emphasises to the Western world just how ideologically different the Taliban are.   However there are not just religious reasons behind the Taliban's historical re-evaluation of Afghan

culture. Politics in Taliban-occupied Afghanistan were based on the extremely strict Shariah Law. This emphasises that when heritage is historically re-evaluated there can be multiple reasons behind the actions but they are always part of a larger historical process.

Conclusion

'War is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means' (Clausewitz translated by Howard & Paret 1989:87). Similarly historical re-evaluation can never be separated from politics, it is simply a continuation. It could also be said that war is a continuation of historical re-evaluation by other means. War, heritage and politics are all interlinked.

The examples above show that not only can heritage be manipulated in many different ways and under many contexts but that in order to fully understand these changes they must be viewed as part of a longer historical process. The rebuilding of Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Saviour cannot be viewed merely in terms of a reconstruction when the history of the church goes back at least two centuries. The examples above further emphasise that the manipulation of heritage is always political and is prone to disinherit non-participating groups as their heritage may be ignored, distorted (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:29) and sometimes destroyed in order to historically re-evaluate the heritage of another. This point may not be clear when looking at individual cases of heritage destruction and reconstruction. The examples further show that heritage is used to re-evaluate history in the same way before, during and after war. District Six for example was razed during peacetime to re-evaluate the history of the black South Africans in the same way that the villages of opposing ethnic groups were razed during the wars in Yugoslavia. The intention to transform history for the benefit of one party is the true aim; the physical change is just a consequence but historical re-evaluation allows us to go deeper. It is important to point out another pattern that has emerged in these examples. It can be seen that the historical re-evaluation of cultural heritage is often linked to the ethnic cleansing of a particular group. This is particularly evident in the Former Yugoslavia and India (Ayodhya).

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As we have seen, cultural heritage can be historically re-evaluated within many different political contexts.   This point shall be revisited in chapter six when I analyse the data gathered from the case study in terms of historical re-evaluation to show how it deepens our understanding of the case study.   The next chapter will discuss the chosen case-study, the methodology I adopted for this study and the limitations which were faced.

4

METHODOLOGY

In choosing a case study for this thesis I was looking for a country or region that fulfilled a number of criteria. Firstly, it needed to have undergone a relatively recent conflict as I felt it would be interesting to study somewhere that has historically re-evaluated its heritage following a period of war but still has decisions to be made. This would give an insight into the prioritisation of heritage within the region. Secondly, as I was intent on visiting the place in question, I felt that the country needed to be relatively safe to travel around. It was also important that travel was relatively unrestricted in order to accumulate as much data as possible. Accordingly I felt that freedom in movement as well as a good transport infrastructure was essential. Thirdly, as I am arguing that the post-war historical re-evaluation of a place directly reflects the political climate, I felt it was important to choose a case-study where the political climate is highly charged as I believed this would give me a wide range of examples of historically re-evaluated heritage. Although most post-war countries are highly politically charged there was one region whose wars surrounded the break-up of a political entity. Additionally many believe the war to have been fought and controlled from the top-down with the primary politicians in each of the republics using political and historical propaganda to encourage their citizens to fight. This region is the former Yugoslavia.

Within Yugoslavia I chose to visit Croatia and make it my primary case study. I decided against using Serbia as although the country has historically re-evaluated some aspects of its heritage since the war, the actual fighting did not take place here. Bosnia-Hercegovina is a country that is divided into two governing entities; Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Hercegovina. These two entities divide three ethnic groups; Bosnian-Serbs, Bosniaks and Bosnian-Croats. I felt that if I chose Bosnia-Hercegovina as the case study I would find it difficult trying to balance the heritage of the different ethnic groups fairly in

terms of data and the thesis may appear imbalanced. Croatia however saw much fighting during the war and has experienced a lot of historical re-evaluation since the war ended. There are also many areas which are still visibly war damaged with decisions waiting to be made. Although reduced, Croatia still has many ethnic groups living in the country, particularly Serbo-Croats, and I felt it would be interesting to see how they have been catered for in terms of the historical re-evaluation. During the war there was much media attention and interest from international cultural institutions. The war in Croatia saw the implementation and failure of the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. In Dubrovnik UNESCO flags signalling the protection of the town under international law were placed on the city walls but ignored by the Serb dominated JNA army. There were also reports and assessments from individual scholars as well as organisations such as the Council of Europe. This interest has continued since the end of the war in 1995 as although a large amount of rebuilding has occurred in the larger tourist areas, less rebuilding has taken place in areas not frequented by tourists. The former Yugoslavia has both the luxury of hindsight and a continuing need for help in rebuilding. Croatia has also opened up dramatically in recent years with a steady increase in tourism. This has benefited the study as there were time and money constraints on the field study and Croatia has both a competitive tourist market and a comprehensive transport structure. Additionally I hoped that many of the sites of cultural heritage would be open and accessible due to the growing tourist industry.

A change in focus

My objective for gathering data in Croatia was a two-sided approach. I wanted to gather data on as many buildings and objects of heritage as I could. I wanted these structures to be from a relatively even mixture of ethnic backgrounds. I would gather this data by filling out record sheets. Alongside a standard set of questions I would leave room for additional information as well as any information I hoped to get from people on the ground that may have worked at the site or accompanied me on the visit. I wanted this data to inform me of the ways in which Croatia is rebuilding its heritage, whether different ethnic groups are

having their heritage treated differently and if different types of heritage are being treated differently. This would help me answer my broader questions on how Croatia is historically re-evaluating its heritage and how this may inform future post-conflict situations. My second approach was to make contact with people within Croatia working at relevant institutions. I had intended to interview these people on Croatia's heritage, asking how they feel it is being reconstructed, how they feel it should be reconstructed and whether they feel it is being fairly reconstructed among other questions. I hoped that they would also lead me to further contacts or that my contact with them would perhaps open up doors on site visits I intended to make. In the months leading up to the field trip I made four contacts in Croatia. One from Zadar's Archaeological Museum, one from Zadar University, one from the Ministry of Culture in Zagreb and one from Zagreb's Archaeological Museum. Each person seemed interested in the study and one offered to escort me around places I wanted to visit in the Zadar region. However in the final weeks before I was due to depart I did not hear again from any of the four. I tried to make further contacts at the last minute but this was unsuccessful. I contacted the four people again once I arrived in each of the towns I was due to visit them in but again I had no response. Since returning from Croatia I have discovered, through speaking to people familiar with the region, that the contacts I made probably had no intention to meet with me. I am informed that this is merely a cultural difference and that in Croatia 'yes' often means 'perhaps'- a degree of interpretation is required. I also found that there were very few, if any, people working around most of the sites I visited, Dubrovnik being the only exception to this rule. This may be due to the timing of my visit, just before the tourist season began. Unfortunately my lack of experience in planning a field study means that this study now suffers from a lack communication with people on the ground.

As the field study progressed it became clear that there were some problems with my initial methodology. It became apparent that I was unlikely to make any contacts within Croatia and the vast majority of the buildings around were Catholic buildings belonging to the majority ethnic Croat community. Only in Dubrovnik did they contain information stating that they had been damaged during the recent war even when I knew others had been damaged. I was therefore not going to get any interviews or be able to gather solid data on

how the heritage of the different ethnic groups is being treated in the post-war years. However there were some other things I began to notice and I soon realised there were some less obvious but significant factors at work in Croatia's post-war society today.

My few days in Zagreb were not entirely fruitful. I visited one building I knew to have been damaged during the war but it was closed like many of the sites in Croatia so I could not enter. I also did not notice much about the rest of the visual landscape in Zagreb. Like many capital cities, Zagreb has a lot of graffiti as well as roads and squares named after significant places and events. The significance of these observations only became apparent once I travelled around other cities. I began to see various forms of the name 'Ante Gotovina Heroj' everywhere, as graffiti, on buses and in shop windows. I also saw the 'U' symbol I now know to stand for a Neo-Ustaše political movement. In addition to this many streets were named after their war-time president and named after the nation Croatia rather than the republic; these changes were clearly post-war changes. It soon became clear that there was a form of silent communication happening within Croatia, a communication for ethnic Croats and a communication against primarily Serbo-Croats. This communication, alongside the data gathered on buildings that have been historically re-evaluated, emphasised the complicated nature of a society that is still multi-ethnic to a degree, coming to terms with the events of the war and rebuilding their society in the eyes of the ethnic majority, the Croats. I wanted to use Croatia as a tool to show how nations historically re-evaluate their heritage and to see how this deepens our understanding of a post-war society to help future situations. I believe that Croatia has been a successful example as it emphasises post-war historical re-evaluation is not about building materials but about the politics behind the war and the renegotiated post-war relationship between divided communities.

In order to conduct this research on the cultural heritage of post-war Croatia I felt that it was crucial to visit various towns in Croatia to see how heritage reconstruction has been approached first-hand. I intended to see how various places have dealt with the memory of war in respect to their heritage, how, or even if, it has been addressed in museums, institutions or elsewhere. I chose to visit four main cities. First I was to visit Zagreb which became the capital city of Croatia in 1991 when Croatia pulled out of Yugoslavia. The city

was attacked by rockets on the second and third of May 1995 but the damage caused was relatively minimal. There are however buildings of note, such as the Church of St Marks, which received damage to its roof but has since been repaired. Zadar was the second place I intended to visit as it was heavily shelled during the war, particularly after ethnic Croats sought refuge in Zadar following the destruction in surrounding towns. From Zadar it was also possible to visit the town of Benkovac and the city of Šibenik. The Holy Virgin Church in Benkovac was completely destroyed and an entirely new church has since been built in its place. Šibenik is home to the World Heritage Cathedral of St James that received damage to its dome during the war. The next place I visited in Croatia was Split. Although Split did not suffer any destruction during the war it is a popular tourist destination and I wanted to see how or if the city approached the recent war with concern for tourists. The last destination on the field study was Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik suffered heavily during the war but interestingly, unlike the other places I visited, Dubrovnik addresses the recent war in their tourist offer. The other towns and cities only appear to address damage as a consequence of World War Two and occasionally the Sixteenth Century Turkish invasion. The duration of the field study was seventeen days and I intended to use that time to visit many sites of cultural heritage. By cultural heritage I am referring to buildings and structures of historical value. This value can be measured in terms of world value, for example noted by organisations like UNESCO, or on a more local scale. I focused largely on architectural structures such as buildings, statues and bridges. However I also looked at other visual representations of the political climate such as pointedly named places and roads.

Limitations of the study

There were limiting factors that affected the structure of this study. First there are limitations which I placed on the study due to time constraints among other factors. Second there are the limitations which were out of my control such as a lack of data on some of the buildings. I deliberately placed further restrictions on the study in a few ways. I chose to focus the study on Croatia primarily as I believed that the example would be successful in showing how complicated and multifaceted is the act of historically re-evaluating a place

post-war. I believed it would be ideal to focus on one country due to the time constraints on this study. I always intended to visit the main focus for my study and it would not have been possible to visit more than one country in the time available. Croatia is culturally broad and the country has seen much historical re-evaluation, although the country still has many war-damaged areas which need addressing. Additionally Croatia has had a relatively recent war, yet the majority of the country is safe to travel around. Apart from the railways which were heavily damaged during the war, Croatia has a comprehensive and relatively cheap transport network in which a vast range of towns can be reached from just a few main cities. I felt that the latter reason would enable me to travel around Croatia in more depth than I would perhaps have been able to in another country. This would help me to gather a much wider range of data. Within Croatia my preliminary research identified many towns and cities I wanted to visit. I would have liked to have visited Vukovar in the North-East of Croatia as this is a town which has seen much reconstruction and memorialising, yet the consequences of war are still highly visible. It is also a town with a relatively large post-war Serbo-Croat population and it would be interesting to see how Vukovar has historically re-evaluated in a highly ethnically divided town. Unfortunately Vukovar is much further away from the rest of the places I wanted to visit and Vukovar itself is much less open than the towns on the Dalmatian Coast. I felt that as the town suffered so much during the war and does not really have a tourist industry I would have been unsuccessful in communicating with many people. However unfortunately, as I explained above, my efforts to communicate with people in other parts of Croatia were not highly successful either.

As I mentioned above I chose to visit four main towns with the possibility of day trips to other towns as I felt this would enable me plenty of time to gather information in the seventeen days I had in Croatia. It also enabled me the flexibility of having days off to reflect on the data gathered in between. Although I believe in hindsight I would have been able to visit a couple more towns along the coast I do not think I would have been able to process the extra amount of data in the writing-up stage of the study.

There were many factors which were out of my control whilst planning the field study in Croatia. A lack of data affected my preliminary research. In order to concretely determine if

a building had been reconstructed in any way it was advisable to have some form of evidence to say that the buildings were damaged during the war. This was particularly difficult when it was not clear whether the visible reconstruction was a result of World War Two damage or other means. Additionally, with the exception of museums, there were very few people in and around the other sites I knew to have been damaged so I was unable to ask questions. Where there was some form of documentary evidence of war damage it was sometimes unclear. St Elijah's Church in Zadar for example was described as being 'devastated' and 'burglarized' by the Serb-dominated JNA Army, however it is not clear where and to what extent this 'devastation' occurred. Similarly there is an imbalance in the media representation of damage throughout Croatia. There is a very large amount of information on Dubrovnik, including a publication from the town itself. However there is no documentation, merely a line in a book or two about Donje Biljane, a town on the road between Benkovac and Zadar which was entirely destroyed during the recent war. Another problem was the lack of communication from people outside of Dubrovnik. Zadar for example does not mention the recent war in any of the tourist information boards for the buildings which were damaged during the war. Equally the official website for the town of Zadar does not mention the war, even in its history section. I would have liked to have witnessed more Serb Orthodox heritage as I only have data for two churches. However this informs of the political climate of Croatia today. The Orthodox heritage is limited in the towns that I visited and the few churches I saw are not highlighted by the tourist departments in the same way as the Catholic heritage.

As I was carrying out my field study in a country that has a different culture to my own it was crucial to be aware of the problems that may have arisen. It was important not to make any assumptions which may ultimately originate from my own cultural background. For example in Zagreb I did not notice any potentially significant graffiti as I would have simply viewed the graffiti as I would in England; as a reference to a form of pop culture or as meaningless 'tagging.' It was not until I had seen countless 'Gotovina's' and 'U's' that I realised graffiti in Croatia was being used on a much deeper level. There were also text passages and graffiti which I translated myself. Although I used multiple translation tools to translate the text as accurately as possible, there will of course be mistakes, particularly with concern to phrases

and figures of speech. Additionally I am sure there are cross-cultural issues which I have not identified. For this reason throughout the study I merely make suggestions on how the data may be interpreted. This simply adds to the complicated nature of post-war recovery which I am trying to identify. It is also important to stress that despite being a relatively small country, Croatia is highly culturally diverse and this study has primarily gathered data from the Dalmatian Coast. Although this limits the study somewhat I am not attempting to state definitively how Croatia has rebuilt its heritage post-war. I am using the places I have visited as a tool to show how historical re-evaluation has been approached and how this form of communication affects the political climate of a post-war country.

Questions to be applied to the case study on Croatia comprise:

- What are the different ways in which heritage in Croatia is being historically re-evaluated?
- Are there any alternatives besides reconstructing damaged buildings?
- In what context was a structure: entirely newly built; left as it was by choice (including deliberate forgetting); rebuilt as it was in another point in time?
- Does any particular heritage stand out as being given priority in reconstruction?
- Is there any heritage still waiting to be dealt with, if so why is this yet to happen?
- What does the historical re-evaluation tell us about the political climate of Croatia today?
- Is heritage being treated differently by different groups within Croatian society, for example; by citizens, government or organisations?
- In what context is war damage addressed, ignored or denied?
- How does the historical re-evaluation of heritage vary throughout Croatia?

These questions, along with the data I gathered in Croatia, enabled me to analyse how the country has approached its post-war reconstruction. I expected to find that examples of historical re-evaluation vary considerably across the country and building types.

The data I collected to answer these questions were drawn from a series of records built up at each site. Through preliminary research I identified an itinerary of sites which had received damage or have changed since the war (Table 1). At each site I filled out a form

with consistent questions about the site but with room for additional information to be added. There was also a series of photographs taken of each structure or example of historical re-evaluation where possible. This was not always possible due to photography restrictions and the need to respect the people connected to the building, for example at the Cathedral of St James, Šibenik. I intended to pose questions to members of staff at the buildings or sites visited as well as more general questions on Croatia's heritage. However, many buildings, churches in particular, were either closed or had no members of staff to be seen. Additional data was gathered from street maps of some of the towns, comparing them with pre-war street maps. The relevant graffiti was all recorded and where possible the photographs taken were compared to older photographs taken both before and during the war. A full collection of these can be seen in appendix C.

Table 1. Sites of interest in Croatia

Region	Town/City	Site of Interest
Zagreb Region	Zagreb	Archaeological Museum.
		Strossmayer Promenade.
		Petrinjska and Stara Vlaska streets.
		St Marks Church.
		Croatian National Theatre.
Zadar Region	Zadar	Old Town walls and Port Gate.
		Roman Forum.
		Cathedral of Anastasia.
		St Chrisogonus' Church.
		St Elijah's Church.
		St Donat's Church.
	Benkovac	Scar damage around the town.

		Regional Archaeological Museum.
		Holy Virgin Church.
	Šibenik	Cathedral of St James.
Northern Dalmatia	Split	Split City Museum.
		Archaeological Museum.
		Diocletian's Palace.
		City walls.
Southern Dalmatia	Dubrovnik	Franciscan Monastery Complex.
		Sponza Palace and the Memorial Room for the Defenders of Dubrovnik.
		Stradun, the main street in the old town.
		St Saviour's Church.
		Onofrio's Fountain.

* This is not a complete list of the places I intended to visit as other buildings and structures were identified once I had arrived.

** There was always the possibility that I would not be able to visit some of the more remote places I had identified. Although Croatia has a comprehensive bus transport system it was difficult to identify more local bus routes before I travelled to Croatia as the information I had found was all in Croatian. Time constraints were also an issue.

Once the information had been gathered from the field study, I decided to analyse the data in terms of the political contexts which I identified in the previous chapter, to show the many reasons behind the historical re-evaluation of a site. I also intended to identify any patterns in the way sites are dealt with. These patterns could be present in many ways; patterns in the way different towns deal with the heritage or how different building types are dealt with. I planned to put these patterns into a table to clarify the results. I then

intended to use this to answer my questions in relation to Croatia and to show that despite the presence of patterns, they cannot be applied universally to post-conflict situations due to the complicated nature of the study.

I then moved on to my broader theoretical questions, which I hoped would bring together my research both inside and outside of Croatia to discuss the complexity and political consequences of post-conflict historical re-evaluation. These questions are as follows:

- o What patterns have emerged from the analysis of the data? (Chapter 7)
- o What can the post-conflict historical re-evaluation of Croatia tell us about the political climate? (Chapter 7)
- o What does the case study of Croatia tell us about studying post-conflict situations in the future? (Chapter 7)
- o What does the idea of historical re-evaluation tell us about studying post-war situations? (Chapter 8)

The next stage of this study was the research trip itself. The data compiled from this study was collected in the following chapter and is displayed for each city or town separately; this can also be seen in Appendix A. The data was then analysed in terms of the political agendas behind each instance of historical re-evaluation.

*A note clarifying terminology

A Croat or Croatian is a person living in Croatia of ethnic Croat descent. Croatians are predominantly Catholic Christian.

A Serbo-Croat is a person living in Croatia of ethnic Serb descent. Serbo-Croats are predominantly Orthodox Christian.

A Bosniak is a person living in Bosnia of ethnic Bosnian descent. Bosniaks are predominantly Muslim.

A Bosnian-Serb is a person living in Bosnia of ethnic Serb descent. Bosnian-Serbs are predominantly Orthodox Christian.

A Bosnian-Croat is a person living in Bosnia of ethnic Croat descent. Bosnian-Croats are predominantly Catholic Christian.

The term Serb will be used when discussing people from Serbia, or ethnic Serbs in general.

5

DATA COLLECTION

The data within this chapter will primarily consist of information that I gathered during my seventeen day field study to Croatia. The data is made up of reports and photographs primarily based on buildings within Croatia that have been reconstructed since the war. These can also be seen in detail in appendix A along with some additional images. Other data features photographs and maps showing road name changes, recent graffiti that is politically provocative and posters and imagery of a more official nature that reflect the post-war political climate in Croatia. Additional images of graffiti may be referred to in Appendix B, and Appendix C features a collection of photographs taken during the war compared with ones taken during the field study in 2008. Although some of the posters which will be featured are more official in nature, they appear to have been set up at a local level rather than by the government. The majority of the data will be structured in order of the city in which the data was gathered. However some data is relevant to the country as a whole and will be discussed separate to the regional data. Firstly I will outline the background to the war in Croatia and the post-war Neo-Ustaše movement.

Background to the war

There are many different views on what finally triggered the break-up of Yugoslavia, from the death of Tito to tensions dating back to World War Two to some, such as John Major, believing that communism kept war in Yugoslavia at bay, that the fall of communism was its undoing (Bet-el 2002:214-216). I am not going to argue this point, instead I will start my background to the conflict in 1990; the year that saw the first free elections in Yugoslavia since World War Two when in each of the republics the strong nationalist parties won

(Hayden 1992:654). Re-emerging nationalist ideas had been brewing in Yugoslavia for some time and some of the republics, including Croatia and Serbia, began to practise a system known as constitutional nationalism which is a legal structure that privileges the members of one ethnically defined nation over other ethnic groups within that nation (Hayden 1992:655). This caused tensions to grow in Yugoslavia as federal leaders felt their citizens living in other republics were being treated unfairly. During this time fears were also growing over the idea of a 'Greater Serbia' in which towns outside Serbia with an ethnic Serb majority would declare independence and unify with Serbia. Tensions came to a head in 1991 when Slovenia declared independence and pulled out of Yugoslavia, followed by Croatia. Civil war broke out in Croatia and Slovenia as the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army (JNA) tried to stop them from leaving the federation (Zaknic 1992:115). The war with Slovenia did not last long, just a matter of days, and was described as being 'swift and relatively bloodless' (Bet-el 2002:207). It is believed this is due to there not being many Serbs living in Slovenia and Serbia having no territorial claims in Slovenia. However in Croatia the fighting spread quickly as there were many ethnic Serbs living in Croatian cities as well as majority-Serb communities and villages throughout the Croatian hinterland. Throughout the war Serbia had control of the entire Yugoslav army, including the ethnic Croatian soldiers, so the fighting was heavily unbalanced. Although Croatia effectively had no army they did have some paramilitary forces (Macdonald 2003:1). Ethnic Serb civilians living in Croatia also took up arms to declare independence from Croatia, encouraged by Miloševi 's propaganda. The worst of the fighting occurred in regions that had the highest Serbo-Croat population, regions such as Eastern Slavonia, the Krajina, a region declared to be part of Greater Serbia and South-East Bosnia-Hercegovina. Both presidents Miloševi and Tu man gave powerful speeches to encourage violence between their people (Bet-el 2002:208; 210-212) and claimed their people to be the first victims of genocide since World War Two (Macdonald 2003:2). These notions were not helped by anonymous Serbian pamphlets such as Memorandum which declared in 1986 that Serbs were facing annihilation (Tanner 2001:212) when in fact until 1991 the Serbo-Croat population had steadily increased. Although it is wrong to say that only Serbia was guilty of war propaganda, (Macdonald 2003:2) Miloševi was particularly known for his aggressive and propagandist

speeches. Milošević encouraged much of the fighting in his speeches; 'If we must fight, then my God, we will fight... at least we know how to fight' (Milošević cited in Zaknic 1992:115). Milošević made a speech in Kosovo in 1989 which some describe as nationalist, racist and the point at which Yugoslavia could no longer exist united (Tanner 2001:219). Milošević felt that if the other republics wanted greater independence then he would 'seek the creation of a Greater Serbia – that is, a state embracing all Serbs living in Yugoslavia' (Magaš 1993:283). As the war progressed it transferred from ethnic fighting to cultural cleansing. In order for Serbia to achieve their 'Greater Serbia' and legitimise the presence of Serbs living outside Serbia, they sought to destroy the cultural heritage belonging to ethnic Croats in Croatia and Bosniaks in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was done through many means; killing civilians, destroying buildings and propaganda, for example, when the Serbian Mayor of Zvornik declared 'there were never any mosques in Zvornik,' (Bevan 2007:7) a town in Bosnia-Hercegovina which had a majority Muslim population in 1991 (Burns 1992). The main targets during the war were churches and mosques which they felt not only needed to be destroyed but even the rubble cleared in order to destroy the past and present occupation of the opposing ethnic population (Chapman 1994:122). Serbia intended to remove ethnic Croatian communities and replace them with relocated Serb communities. They also targeted the infrastructure of Croatia to damage both tourism and the economy (Zaknic 1992:117). However Croatia responded to this by targeting Serbian communities, killing civilians and destroying Serbo-Croat cultural heritage.

By 1993 approximately two thirds of the territory of Croatia had been occupied or exposed to war (Council of Europe 1993a: App C.III.19) yet the international response to this crisis was slow. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher did call for the defensive arming of Croatia as Serbia had control of the Serb dominated Yugoslav Army, yet the United States was criticised for not supporting Croatia and Slovenia's right to democracy (Zaknic 1992:119). UNESCO encouraged Croatia to fly their flag on cultural monuments at risk of damage. The flag represents protection under the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, however it is widely recognised to have been ignored by the Serbs when targeting Croatia's cultural heritage. Museums in Croatia were targeted and looted by Serbs in order to destroy what evidence

Fig 6. Old and new roof tiles,
Dubrovnik (Clancy 2008)

Fig 7. Vukovar's war-damaged
water tower. (I-x.info 2005-
2008)

Post-war Neo-Ustaše in Croatia

The Neo-Ustaše movement in Croatia today is associating itself with the Ustaša of the Second World War. Much of the graffiti I recorded in Croatia is linked to Neo-Ustaše ideas as well as having links to popular music and football. I feel it is therefore important to summarise a history of the Ustaša and Neo-Ustaša of today.

The Ustaša were a far-right nationalist party in Croatia that officially lasted for 16 years between 1929 and 1945 when they were defeated and disbanded by the Communist Partisans (Tanner 2001:125). The Ustaša ruled under Nazi protection in a part of Yugoslavia occupied by the Axis powers and the party instilled strict race laws based on those of the Nazis. The organisation sought to create an independent Croatian state but their means were criticised as acts of terrorism and genocide that included events at the Jasenovac concentration camp in which Jews, Gypsies and Serbs were brutally killed (Magaš 1993:314). In 1929 Paveli , who led the Ustaše movement, made contact with IMRO, the anti-Serb International Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (Tanner 2001:125). The two groups agreed to work together to pursue freedom and independence for the two countries which resulted in the two leaders being sentenced to death by the Yugoslavian government. The leaders were tipped off and went into exile which is when their terrorist activities began. The Ustaša were banned across Europe for these activities, however they began to succeed in attracting youth sympathisers. They remained quiet for a few years until 1941 when the Axis powers invaded Yugoslavia and the Ustaša took control of Zagreb and former exiled members returned to Croatia (Tanner 2001:143-144). The Ustaša took control of Croatia agreeing to cooperate with the Axis powers and apply Nazi doctrine to Croatian law.

With Croatia now independent and without Yugoslavian control, the Ustaša relied on Germany for help in controlling the region as they did not have the army or the administration to control large parts of Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Ustaša soon began a regime of strict control at first outlawing those who opposed them and soon began killing them. This escalated into ethnic cleansing when Jews and Serbs were ordered to leave Zagreb and many Serbs throughout the country were transported to concentration camps. The Ustaša were primarily anti-Serb, who they believed were the enemies of

Croatia. During this time an anti-Ustaše communist movement based in Yugoslavia, known as the Partisans, increased its strength in Croatia and by 1943 they had become the main rebel force in Yugoslavia. The Partisans began to receive help from the allied forces to try and take control of Croatia, as the allied forces wanted to minimise Nazi influence in Europe. Their strength grew and they finally defeated the Ustaša shortly after the end of World War Two. Many of the Ustaša were then captured and killed in what is known as the Bleiburg Massacre (Tanner 2001:169-170) however some, such as leader Paveli , managed to escape once again into exile.

In 1945 Tito's Partisan Communist Party led a new Yugoslav Socialist Federation and managed to unite the republics post-war, largely suppressing nationalism for the next few decades. In 1971 after Tito's sixth re-election he re-organised the government of Yugoslavia. Tito declared that each of the six republics would have a representative in government along with the two provinces and each of the representatives of the republics would have a turn in holding chair of the committee of Yugoslavia and have the final say on decisions (Time 1971). Although Tito is widely accepted to have been successful in curbing national sentiment and uniting Yugoslavia it is not to say there were no nationalist feelings circulating during his time as president. If this were the case people would not mark Tito's death in 1980 as the turning point of relations within Yugoslavia when each of the republics in turn began to vocalise their nationalist views. These nationalist tensions rose quickly in post-Tito Yugoslavia and the federal leaders began to ally themselves accordingly. Slovenia and Croatia soon felt they could no longer remain in Yugoslavia as Serbia used force and manipulation to place Serbian loyalists in charge of the other republics, increasing Serbian dominance in Yugoslavia. As with the original Ustaše, the Neo-Ustaša of today hold primarily anti-Serb rather than Nazi views.

The current post-war government in Croatia is nationalist, however it does not associate itself with Neo-Ustaše ideas of any kind. Franjo Tu man won the first free elections in Croatia in 1990 and was the leader who announced independence for Croatia in 1991. Tu man was a controversial figure whose reputation perhaps made him a popular choice with the anti-Serb population. In the 1970s Tu man declared that just 60,000 people had

died in the Croatian concentration camps of the Second World War despite the United Nations Reparations Committee settling on a figure of 600,000 for Jasenovac alone (Tanner 2001:152). Neither figure is believed to be accurate; today's estimate for the number who died at Jasenovac is thought to be between 56,000 and 97,000 (USHMM 2008). It is also believed that Tu man was as culpable in the war as Miloševi and only escaped indictment by The Hague due to his death. The current government in Croatia declared in 2003 that pro-Ustaše symbols were to be restricted by law, however this has perhaps made the Neo-Ustaše movement turn to graffiti as a form of communication. The more recent leaders such as Mesi do not 'subscribe to an exclusivist or distinctly violent view of national identity' (Macdonald 2003:10). Despite this the political stance towards the right-wing in Croatia is a bit of a paradox. Officially they are anti-Ustaše and right-wing politicians do not gain much political support. However the Neo-Ustaše movement is popular among the younger generation who graffiti their messages and there seems to be little efforts made to catch spray painters or remove graffiti even in relatively prosperous tourist areas. It seems as though the government tolerates the anti-Serb sentiment and respects the old Ustaše desire for independence but will not be associated with the movement due to its connotations of racism and links with shameful episodes such as Jasenovac. This may also be linked to Croatia not having any laws against Holocaust denial. If the Holocaust is given as an undisputed fact with no room for revision then the idea of even being indifferent towards the Neo-Ustaše is shameful, despite their nationalist ideas being reflected amongst the masses. It seems it is difficult for many Croatians to reconcile that the Ustaša symbolise Croatia's struggle for independence yet are guilty of such despicable acts.

Data collected from the field study

The Kuna

After Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia Yugoslav Dinars were replaced by a temporary currency of Croatian Dinars. In May 1994 the Croatian National Bank issued the new currency of Croatia, the Kuna. The word Kuna is Croatian for marten, the mammal

popular for its fur. This became a source of controversy as this name had been used as Croatian currency once before by the Ustaša Independent State of Croatia. The official line by the Croatian National Bank is that the currency has been named 'because of the important role of marten pelts in the monetary and fiscal history of Croatia' (hnb 2009) however until recently it was not well known by Croatians that marten pelts were used as a form of currency in the past. The bank does recognise the use of Kuna by the Ustaša, 'Kuna was used in the issues of the Independent State of Croatia and of the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia' (hnb 2009). The mentioning of the second group tries to play down the significance of using Ustaše currency. However unlike the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia, which was a resistance movement who ruled no territory, the Ustaše ruled an entire country albeit as a puppet state and fixed the currency against the German Reich mark. Additionally like the use of marten pelts in the past the use of the Kuna by the Antifascist Council is not well known among Croatians. Many scholars agree that the most commonly known historical association of the Kuna is as the currency of the Ustaše state (Tanner 2001; Dallago & Uvalic 1998). A study by Winland (2002:703) also shows that Croatians in the Canadian diaspora were fearful of the introduction of the Kuna as they felt this would taint the image of themselves and other Croatians and associate them with dangerous nationalism and proto-fascism. As with the name, the choice of images and people on the Kuna banknotes are of interest to this study. Below is a table which shows the person and design depicted on each of the banknote denominations. Many of the people and designs on the banknotes can be linked to the recent war or historical fighting for an independent Croatia.

Table 2. Symbolism in Croatian Banknotes

Denomination	Person	Design
5 Kuna	Petar Zrinski & Fran Krsto Frankopan: Together they plotted against Vienna for an independent Croatia but failed and were executed for their actions (Tanner 2001:50-51).	Varaždin's fortress: Linked to the Frankopan family. The town suffered relatively minimal damage during the recent war.
10 Kuna	Juraj Dobrila: 19th Century Bishop. It is said that he defended the rights of Croats in Istria, seeking equality in language when Italian was widely used in schools (Villa 2009).	Pula's colosseum Motovun: A town in the Istria region.
20 Kuna	Josip Jela i : Mid-19th Century Ban of Croatia known for his military campaigns and abolishing the feudal system in Croatia (Tanner 201:86). He was not seen as a hero under Tito who took down his statue in a Zagreb square named after him. In 1990 the statue and square's name were returned by the post-communist government (Tanner 2001:93).	Count Eltz castle, Vukovar: Confiscated by the Communists in 1945 when the Eltz family were forced to leave. They returned in 1992 (Tanner 2001:56) to find the castle had suffered greatly during the recent war.
50 Kuna	Ivan Gunduli : 17th Century poet	Dubrovnik: Famously suffered

	who's most famous work was Dubravka. He wrote that Dubrovnik was the centre of Slav culture (Tanner 2001:75). The 1893 unveiling of his statue in Dubrovnik was said to have highlighted the difference between Croats and Serbs.	greatly during the recent war. Arguably the most internationally well known place of destruction within Croatia.
100 Kuna	Ivan Mažurani : Born a commoner, believed to have modernised the educational system in the mid-19th Century. Some feel he tried to reduce the integrity of Serbdom in Croatia. Baška Tablet: An inscription dated 1100 and is the first ever reference to Croatia and Croatians (Croatianhistory 2000).	St Vid, Rijeka
200 Kuna	Stjepan Radi : Very popular political figure famous for opposing what he saw as 'Greater-Serbian hegemony' in the early 20th Century.	High Command building Tvr a, Osijek
500 Kuna	Marko Maruli : A 16th Century humanist. He was active in struggles against the Ottomans. His writings are seen as highly Catholic and patriotic.	Diocletian's Palace, Split

1000 Kuna

Ante Starčević: Croatian political figure. He was 'the foremost advocate of the Croatian national idea in his time.' His works were printed by the Ustaše and again in 1990.

Zagreb Cathedral

Statue of King Tomislav: King Tomislav was the first king of Croatia in the 10th Century. There is controversial debate over how much of Bosnia he ruled, if at all.

Fig 8. St Mark's Church, Zagreb (Clancy 2008)
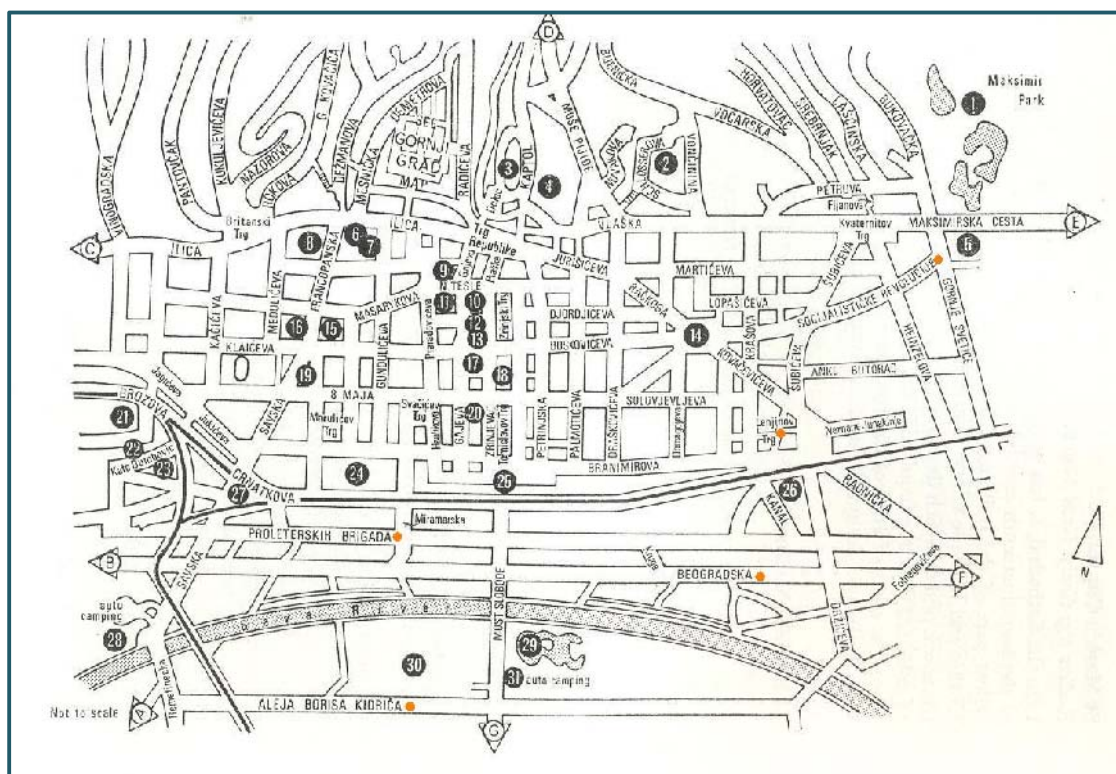
Fig 9. Old street map, Zagreb (Landau 1969)
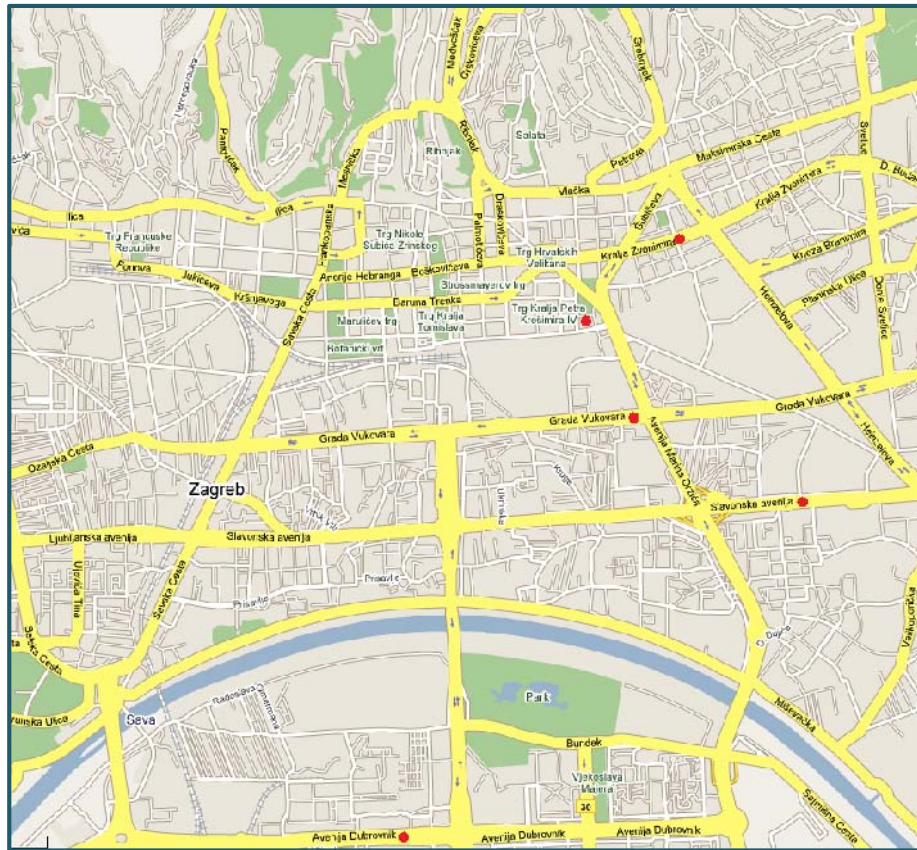
Fig 10. 2008 street map, Zagreb (Google Maps 2008)

Fig 11. St Anastasia's Cathedral, Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Fig 12. St Donat's Church, Zadar
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 13. Zadar's Roman forum (Clancy
2008)

Fig 14. Old postcard of Zadar's Roman
forum (Source unknown)

Fig 15. St Elijah's Church, Zadar
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 16. Diklo Parish Church,
Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Fig 17. WWII memorial,
Diklo (Clancy 2008)

Fig 18. Sculpture and
national anthem, Diklo
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 19. Monument of
President Tuđman, Diklo
(Clancy 2008)
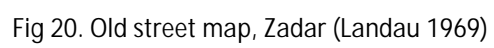
Fig 20. Old street map, Zadar (Landau 1969)

Fig 21. 2008 street map, Zadar (Google Maps 2008)

Fig 22. Photograph of Gotovina on a bus in Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Fig 23. The Ustaše symbol
painted on a wall in
Zadar's old town (Clancy
2008)

Fig 24. The Ustaše symbolism
on the shirts of Croatian
football team NK Imotski
(Index.hr 2002-2008)

Fig 25. The Holy Virgin
Church, Benkovac
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 26. Old photograph of the
Holy Virgin Church, Benkovac
(gProjekt 2005-2007b)

Fig 27. An older
structure next to the
new church (Clancy
2008)

Fig 28. The Orthodox
Church, Benkovac (Clancy
2008)

Fig 29. St James Cathedral, Šibenik (Clancy 2008)

Fig 30. Reconstruction of the
outside of the cathedral
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 31. Reconstruction of the South base
of the cathedral (Clancy 2008)

Fig 32. Graffiti on the walls of Šibenik (Clancy 2008)
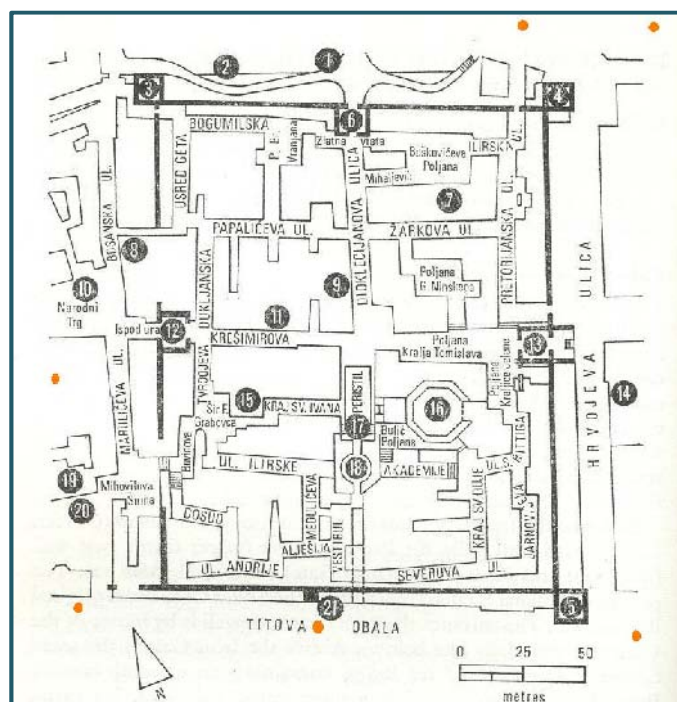
Fig 33. Old street map, Split (Landau 1969)
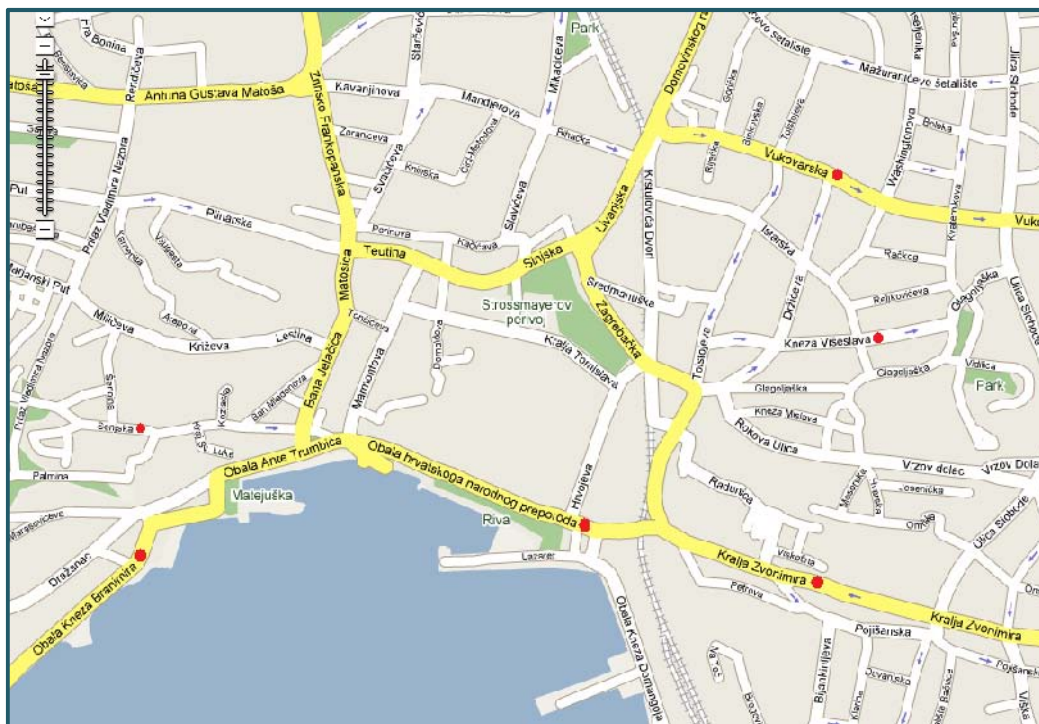
Fig 34. 2008 street map, Split (Google Maps 2008)

Fig 35. Franciscan
Monastery, Dubrovnik
(Clancy 2008)
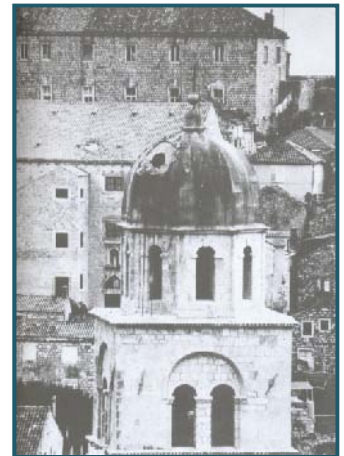
Fig 36. Franciscan
Monastery, photograph
taken during the war
(Mojaš 1991)

Fig 37. Onofrio's Fountain during the war (Žuki 1991)

Fig 38. Onofrio's Fountain in 2008 (Clancy 2008)
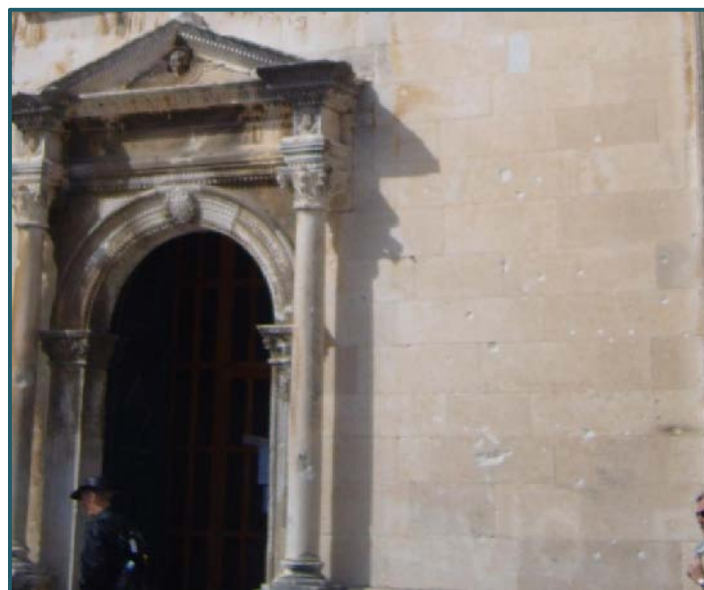
Fig 39. Detail of the walls of St Saviours Church
(Clancy 2008)
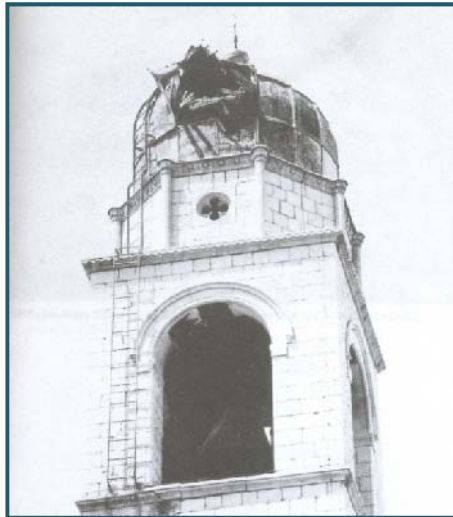
Fig 40. Dubrovnik's Clock Tower
during the war (Šoleti 1992)

Fig 41. Dubrovnik's Clock Tower
in 2008 (Clancy 2008)

Fig 42. Sponza Palace, Dubrovnik (Clancy
2008)

Fig 43. The flag from Mount Srd (Clancy 2008)
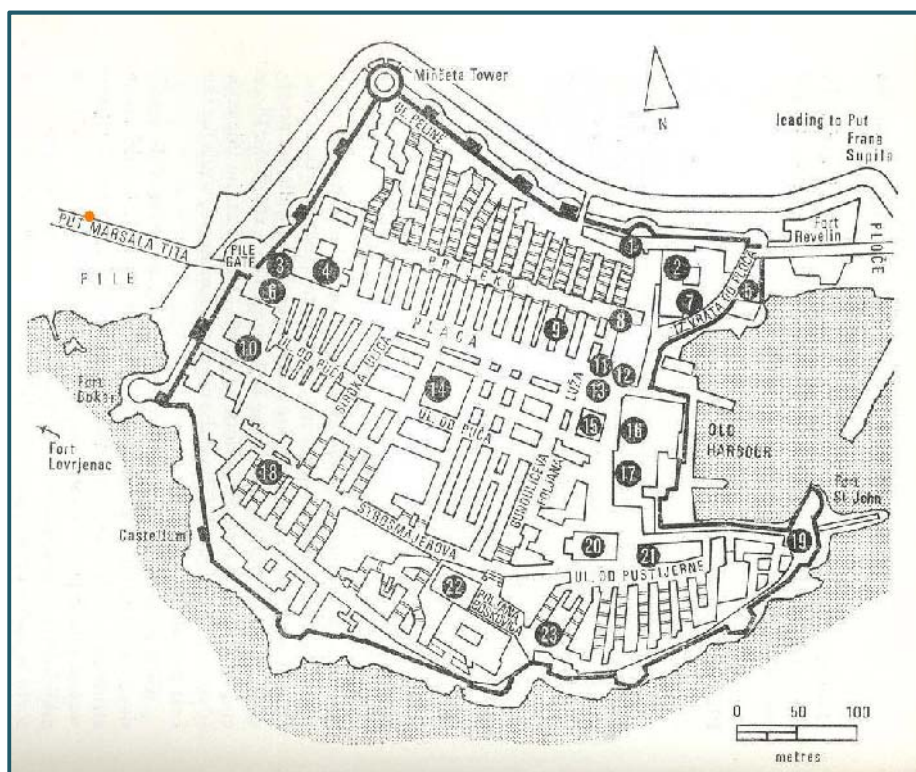
Fig 44. Old street map, Dubrovnik (Landau 1969)

Fig 45. 2008 street map, Dubrovnik (Google Maps 2008)

Fig 46. The categorization of damaged objects from armed destruction in the old town, in the centre of Dubrovnik. October-December 1991 (1) (Frani 1991a)

Fig 47. Damage to museum holdings in Croatia due to the war 1991-1995. Using data from MDC 2005 (Clancy 2008)

6

ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL RE-EVALUATION IN CROATIA

This chapter will analyse the data organised in the previous chapter. The analysis will be structured in an order aimed to highlight the political contexts discussed in chapter three. I intend to show that each instance of historical re-evaluation does not fit neatly into a particular political context. Instead these issues are far more complex and there are multiple different contexts for the post-conflict historical re-evaluation of cultural heritage. These changes are either physical changes, primarily to buildings, or the act of labelling or re-labelling a place usually in the form of road name changes or graffiti. Additionally the historical re-evaluations can be separated into official changes, at government level or popular changes at a more local level.

To endorse political control

The Memorial Room for the Defenders of Dubrovnik, like many examples of historical re-evaluation in Croatia, fits within more than one context and shall be discussed further below. There is a passage on the wall in the free-entry room displayed in various languages. The passage mentions the Serbian, Montenegrin and Yugoslav army's aggression towards Croatia but that is the last mention of Croatia as a whole. The rest of the passage refers to Dubrovnik only, its hardship, its defenders, its heroism as though what they suffered during the war they suffered separately to the other parts of Croatia affected by war. The passage also refers to those who fought the 'aggressors' as defenders rather than soldiers, perhaps as they had no members of the Croat army to defend them. This emphasises the strength of Dubrovnik's people and by referring to Dubrovnik as the 'city of freedom' sets them apart from the rest of Croatia without actually referring to the experience of the rest of Croatia.

Here the events are historically re-evaluated from a purely Dubrovnik-centred perspective and politically strengthens them in the eyes of the tourists. This is perhaps due to Dubrovnik only becoming part of Croatia in the late-Nineteenth Century. This shows how the history of a place can be reflected in the identities of the citizens today. The framed flag next to the passage in the memorial room further emphasises the political strength and position of Croatia encouraging the tourists who visit to see Croatia as a stronger nation. The flag which stood on the top of the highly bombarded Imperial Fort on Mount Srd is only partially remaining. However the flag is used as a symbol of the survival of the Croat nation. The flag is an echo of modern-day Croatia, it is damaged but it has survived. I am writing this from the perspective of a tourist rather than a Croat visiting the room as many tourists visit but I do not know how many Croats or citizens of Dubrovnik visit. My only indication is that perhaps the citizens of Dubrovnik themselves do not visit as a local man who ran the guest house I was staying at encouraged me to visit but said he does not like to go himself as it is upsetting to remember the war.

As mentioned above Dubrovnik has a unique way of dealing with the memory of the recent war. Unlike other towns and cities in Croatia they freely address the war with concern to tourists. Like the Memorial Room in Sponza Palace the Franciscan Monastery Museum addresses the war in a way that singles out the Dubrovnik experience from the Croat and Serbo-Croat experience. The museum features a laminated book with photographs of damage to Dubrovnik during the war as well as two missile hits on the walls that are marked with a plaque. This alienates fellow Croats by addressing the war so differently and also historically re-evaluates Dubrovnik as a unique place of strength. The palace and museum do not represent the people of Balkan countries, or even Croatia but Dubrovnik alone. This is further emphasised by the map below (Fig 48) along with Fig 46. These were published in a book entitled Dubrovnik in War, published in Dubrovnik. The book and the maps depicting detailed war damage in the old town show that for the people of Dubrovnik it is important to record and show people all of the damage the war caused even down to shell fragments. This is in stark contrast with the majority of Croatia I visited where even large scale damage is not addressed.

The categorization of damaged objects from armed destruction in the old town, in the centre of Dubrovnik. October –December 1991.

Legend:
- • Direct hit
- .... Damage from shell fragment
- △ Roof damage detonated by projectile
- ▲ Direct hit to roof
- ☐ Partially burnt object
- ■ Completely burnt object

Fig 48. The categorization of damaged objects from armed destruction in the old town, in the centre of Dubrovnik. October-December 1991 (2) (Frani 1991b)

memorialises the Croat people and reiterates the political movement away from Croatia's pre-war political ties. For example Balkanska Ulica (Balkan Street), where Croatia once associated itself with fellow Balkan nations, has become Vukovarska named after the town close to the border with Serbia that suffered many losses after a long siege in 1991. Although there are many reasons to name a road after a place I believe the reason for many of the changes in Croatia is political. Unlike the Bristol or Coventry roads in Birmingham, United Kingdom, Vukovarska does not lead or point to the town Vukovar. It is also, like many of the roads named after Vukovar in Croatia, a small road far from Vukovar itself. Additionally there are many roads in Europe named after places of great tragedy that equally do not lead or point to the places in question; Oradour-sur-Glane (8); Belchite (7); Dresden (6) (GoogleMaps 2008a; 2008b; 2008c). I cannot comment on each individual case to determine the reason they have been named in this way however I believe that as there appears to be no logistical or practical reason for the changes historical re-evaluation is a likely reason. Like many of the road name changes in Croatia this historical re-evaluation is a message to both ethnic Croats and also Bosnian and Serbo-Croats who continue to live in Croatian towns and cities in varying degrees. Although the Croatian government today wants to appear liberal and multi-ethnic it is a conscious decision to name streets after towns that suffered at the hands of Serbo-Croats.

The 'Srb Na Vrb' graffiti in Benkovac referring to Serbs hanging on willow trees shows how an individual can try and historically re-evaluate the landscape of a town centre to try and claim political and ethnic superiority. The graffiti artist has placed these words at the town's bus station, a place that will be seen by many people including ethnic Croats and Serbo-Croats. The aim of this graffiti is perhaps to make Serbo-Croats still living in the Benkovac area to feel politically and ethnically weaker. The aim was perhaps successful as evident by the painting over of the graffiti which was the only time I saw an effort to remove graffiti in Croatia. However, possibly to counteract this, the Serbo-Croat community in Benkovac has been renovating its church down the road from the Holy Virgin Church. The act of renovating and spending money on the church, which I do not believe to have been damaged during the war, suggests that the Serbo-Croat community in Benkovac are making their own attempts at historically re-evaluating Benkovac to keep themselves established in

the history of the town.

The historical re-evaluation of St Mark's Church in Zagreb is an example of historically re-evaluating a building as it was pre-war in order to emphasise political dominance in Croatia's capital city. The church is situated in a square named after it, Trg Svetog Marka, and surrounded by Banski Dvori a building that was occupied by the presidency during the war. The church is still surrounded by official buildings with the Croatian flag flying outside. Before the war the church was famous for its roof tiles and this, combined with the buildings surrounding St Marks, could be the reason it was one of the few places targeted for attack in Zagreb. Reconstructing the church as it was pre-war emphasises the political strength of Croatia against those who attacked their political structures. The reconstruction shows strength in recovery. The church would also have been historically re-evaluated for economic reasons as the church is a tourist attraction and its reconstruction would help to boost the post-war tourist industry.

In recent years road names in Zadar's old town have been changed to reflect the political views of the post-war government. The road names have been historically re-evaluated to show that the city no longer wants to associate itself with names that reflect old political ideas (Fig 20). Here we can see that road names such as Ulica Jug. Narodne Armije (Yugoslav People's Army Street) are no longer deemed appropriate as Croatia left Yugoslavia in 1991 but also as Yugoslavia belongs to a part of Croatian history Croatia does not want to honour. Instead the government has changed this road name to Kralja Dmitra Zvonimira, an Eleventh Century Croatian king who, as legend has it, was betrayed and murdered by his people leading him to put a curse on them so they would never again have a leader of their own blood (hrvati-amac.com 2006). It is believed by some that this curse was broken in 1991 and it is very interesting that the Croatian government want to remind the ethnic Croats, as well as the other ethnic groups within Croatia, that the importance of the ethnicity of a country's ruler is as current today as it was centuries ago when this legend was born. This is perhaps symbolised by the erecting of a statue of King Zvonimira in Storm Square, Knin, the square being named after the operation led by Gotovina to recapture the Krajina region of which Knin was the capital city (Kronja 2009). Interestingly apart from Benkovac, of which I have

no road name information for, all the other cities I visited have at least one road named after King Zvonimira, sometimes more than one, and they are often main and central roads. Biograd-na-Moru, a town in Zadar region, has named its main street Dr Franje Tu man Ulica after the war-time president. Many other towns have streets named after Tu man. It is interesting that they are honouring a man who only escaped from the prosecution of war crimes due to his death. Unfortunately I have no information as to the pre-war street names outside Zadar's old town in this region.

Posters erected in Turanj, Zadar region, are a similar kind of historical re-evaluation to what we have seen above only it seems at a more local rather than governmental level. These posters are large billboard sized images at the side of the road featuring the Croat hero Ante Gotovina. Although these posters do not appear to have replaced a previous image they are a re-evaluation of the visual, political landscape of Turanj. They are aimed at showing those who pass through the town that they support their indicted hero and therefore that this is a politically Croat town.

Peaceful reconstruction

The 'Dobar Dan' graffiti poem in Šibenik is more difficult to place in context. It is perhaps a peaceful protest or peaceful historical re-evaluation of Šibenik's streets that have been cleansed of all traces of the recent war as far as tourists and even Croatians are concerned. The writer of the poem seems to want to address the war, 'pisme po nasim ulicama!' (written on violent streets), although the person does not actually mention the war itself. The relevance of the street is mentioned at the beginning, 'Tvoje ime uvik e vodit' (Your street name shall sing us). The street in question is perhaps either Zagrebacka or Biskupa Fosca; the poem sits on a wall on the corner of the two streets. Zagrebacka refers to the city Zagreb which did not see much fighting during the war. Biskupa Fosca I believe refers to a pope. It seems unlikely then that the poem was written for this specific place and the only other reference to this poem is a very similar one found on an internet blog underneath a video of a Croatian football team (Brikjard 2007). Whether the poem was written

specifically for the walls of Šibenik or if it is linked to nationalism in Croatian football it seems apparent that whoever put this poem on Šibenik's streets is addressing the war in a city that has officially cleansed its streets of war memories.

The three monuments in Diklo (Fig 17; 18; 19) are examples of historical re-evaluation of Zadar's tourist areas in a peaceful manner while still communicating their feelings on the war. However there are also elements of economic control as I believe the tourist community would have been considered due to the highly visible nature of these monuments. These monuments are interesting because although they are highly visible to tourists and placed in a tourist suburb, they have not been designed primarily with tourists in mind. The first monument is a World War Two memorial dedicated to fifteen soldiers who died during the war. The monument lists the men who died along with a few lines explaining that they were townsmen of Diklo who were victims of Nazi terror. The memorial was placed here in 1998, just three years after the end of the recent war. Perhaps the community is using historical re-evaluation to honour people who have died for their country but without reminding both themselves and tourists of the tragedies of the recent war. This may be the reason why a World War Two monument was placed here so shortly after the recent war.

The next monument that sits beside the World War Two memorial features a large abstract sculpture and a poem on a small plaque. The poem is the Croatian national anthem and refers to Croatia as the beautiful homeland. The positioning of the poem here is interesting as it can be seen as a nationalist move. Perhaps this emphasises that the war memorial is effectively a memorial for those who died in the homeland war, rather than World War Two, but the real reason is masked for the sake of not putting tourists off or reminding citizens of events they want to forget.

The last monument along the coast of Diklo is a memorial to President Tu man who died in 1999. Tu man is referred to on this monument as Croatia's first President, again written in Croatian. This monument makes clear to tourists and local residents alike that figures such as Tu man are those the Croats of today want to memorialise and not those of the pre-war period. Despite none of these monuments referring to the recent war, the coast of Diklo has

been historically re-evaluated in peacetime because of the war. These monuments have been used to remember and memorialise those who are dedicated to the new Croatia. The monuments honour those who have worked and died for Croatia. The Croatia they are referring to is an independent Croatia particularly emphasised by the national anthem, which was a song written before the establishment of Yugoslavia and promoted to national anthem after the break-up of Yugoslavia.

St Elijah's Church (Fig 15; Appendix A.4) in Zadar does not appear to have had any skilful reconstruction since the war, yet there does not seem to have been a conscious decision to keep the church in this state. This is in contrast to the majority of buildings throughout Croatia, especially Catholic Churches that are fully reconstructed, fully rebuilt or consciously left as a reminder. As far as the evidence shows, St Elijah's Church was heavily damaged during the recent war yet the church has not been rebuilt, merely 'patched-up' in a manner which is untidy and not in keeping with the rest of the church. It can also be seen (Fig 14; 113; 55) that at some point in time buildings around St Elijah's have been removed and not in an orderly way. To the immediate side of the church are the remains of a structure which appears to be in this state due to damage. Equally, Roman columns have been placed next to this structure in an area where a building once stood. I could not determine a date for either of these changes. Despite the rest of Zadar's old town churches being refurbished for the growing tourist trade St Elijah's has been poorly reconstructed, perhaps reflecting the political position of the Serbo-Croat community living in Zadar. However the church is being reconstructed, showing that the Serbo-Croat community is attempting to historically re-evaluate the visual landscape of Zadar's old town to counteract the Croat community's own attempt during the war to remove the church from the history of the town. The church is a symbol of both the survival of the Serbo-Croat community in Zadar and the political imbalance in post-war Zadar.

Fig 49. The football shirt of Croatian
team NK Imotski (Dnevnik.hr 2007)

Fig 50. Gotovina graffiti,
Šibenik (Clancy 2008)

clippings and photographs of Ante Gotovina in shop windows and on buses (Fig 22; 88).
Although the ethnic make-up of towns and cities in Croatia has changed since the war, the
Serbo-Croat community still exists. This makes an impact on another level. This imagery
dictates that 'this is an ethnic Croat bus or shop.' This imagery is an extension of the
tensions that existed before and leading up to the war.

The graffiti throughout Croatia depicting Ustaše symbolism is an example of the country
unofficially re-evaluating the historical landscape of Croatia to promote the ethnic legitimacy
of Croats. This graffiti is seen throughout the Croatian towns and cities I visited with the
exception of Dubrovnik and Zagreb. As I mentioned earlier, the lack of graffiti data in Zagreb
is perhaps due to myself not realising the significance of the graffiti in my short stay there.
There are many examples of the Ustaše symbol around Zadar, the city which also has the
most vocal support for Ante Gotovina I have seen. Both Ante Gotovina and the Ustaše
symbol are associated with nationalism and fighting for an independent Croatia. The Ustaše
symbol is also a representation of Croat ethnicity so the use of the symbol to brand walls can
be seen as a way of marking territory. Unofficially someone is trying to portray the message
that Zadar is an ethnically Croat city. Like some of the road name changes and the
reconstruction of buildings which sees the war damage hidden from the tourists' view, these
Ustaše symbols may be a way of cutting out the history of the recent war. The Ustaše had
control of Croatia for a short period of time before half a century of control from Belgrade.
These symbols link back to a period when ethnic Croats ruled Croatia and the suggestion is
that this is how it should be. This sentiment in Zadar is further reflected in the state of St
Elijah's Church just outside the Roman Forum which was discussed above. The graffiti
around Zadar and the lack of effort to remove the graffiti suggests that many people believe
that Zadar is an ethnically Croat town and that Serbo-Croat buildings cannot expect the
same effort invested into rebuilding them post-war. This may be because either the
Croatian government will not provide the money or means to improve buildings or that the
Serbo-Croat community does not have the means as they are economically worse off than
the Croat community. These factors combine to show a post-war historical re-evaluation of
the strength of the Croat community in Croatia and the declining strength of the Serbo-Croat
position in the main towns.

Fig 51. 'Ante Gotovina
Heroj' and 'Dober Dan'
beneath a map of Šibenik
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 52. "Say no to NATO" on a
wall in Šibenik (Clancy 2008)

Fig 53. Stones from across Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, representing places where people have disappeared without being named or buried (Croatian World Network 2008a).

In the context of economic benefit

Onofrio's Fountain is perhaps a relatively simple example of historical re-evaluation compared with the majority of the other examples. Unlike many other buildings in this study, Onofrio's Fountain is not linked with a particular religion, ethnicity or political thought nor has it been disputed for other reasons. Yet despite the fountain being neutral, it can still be used for historical re-evaluation. The fountain was hit by a missile during the war and subsequently repaired in the original style with the reconstruction not being highly visible. Unlike some of the buildings in Dubrovnik, the reconstruction here is not very visible so this historical re-evaluation of heritage is perhaps purely for economic reasons. There is no apparent reason to leave the damage as a symbol of Dubrovnik's suffering as with the Franciscan Monastery. Instead the fountain was reconstructed to provide Dubrovnik with as many objects of cultural heritage as it had pre-war. The fountain was reconstructed as though it was not damaged to show tourists why Dubrovnik was such a huge tourist destination before the war and is still a competitive tourist destination post-war.

The Franciscan Monastery is also an example of Croatia historically re-evaluating its cultural heritage for economic reasons, only the Franciscan Monastery is more complicated. As we can see throughout this chapter there are multiple reasons for the historical re-evaluation of the various aspects of cultural heritage in the Franciscan Monastery since the recent war. All of these other reasons; political, ethnic and religious are beneficial to the economy of Croatia in both reconstructing and preserving damage in the monastery. The reason for this is that the monastery can now attract tourists on multiple levels. The tourists will visit the Franciscan Monastery as a religious building in its own right. This also reflects ethnicity, as the major religion for ethnic Croats is Catholic. The conscious preservation of damage within the church also attracts tourists which supports the economy through a growing trend in 'war tourism'. Since the opening of places such as Auschwitz and Oradour-sur-Glane as visitor sites, tourists have been increasingly interested in visiting places as memorials or places of international significance. Successful tourist sites can attract visitors on multiple levels, increasing revenue and contribution to the local economy.

The framed missile shot and the laminated booklet in the Franciscan Monastery Museum (Appendix A.12) is a clear attempt to educate the tourist on the recent war, even if they have not expressed a preliminary interest. The type of museum tourists are visiting in the monastery is a pharmacy museum so the additional information is unexpected and irrelevant. This appears to be evidence that in Dubrovnik, unlike other cities in Croatia, people are keen to inform visitors about the war. This historical re-evaluation, making the recent war evidence as important as any other artefact in the museum, may inspire some tourists to be interested in the war in a way they previously were not. In turn this may encourage people to visit other sites such as Sponza Palace and the city walls tour to try and spot reconstruction for themselves. This has the effect of making the Dubrovnik tourist offer richer and deeper which can only be beneficial to the economy of the city. Like the monastery, the Memorial Room highlights the large amount of damage sustained in the old town with photographs and maps showing damage severity. This may also encourage tourists to spend more time in the old town being amazed at how well the town has recovered. Dubrovnik appears to have a balance between conscious preservation of damage, full reconstruction and communication of the war to inform the tourist of how seriously the town suffered and how thorough the recovery was. Due to the high number of tourists that visit Dubrovnik, this balanced historical re-evaluation appears to be a successful way of boosting the economy through tourism.

Like the sites discussed above Sponza Palace, the clock tower and St Saviour's Church in Dubrovnik are all examples of historical re-evaluation for economic benefit. Sponza Palace has had many uses over the centuries and the recent historical re-evaluation has brought on yet another use. The Palace has taken on the use of both a gallery and a memorial room in order to gain economic benefit for the town and create a place to memorialise and honour Dubrovnik's defenders. Unlike many other tourist attractions, Sponza Palace is free to enter so the Palace itself does not contribute to the economy of Dubrovnik through revenue from tourists. Instead, like Onofrio's Fountain, the Palace can be used to promote the city and attract visitors to spend more time in Dubrovnik. The memorial room in particular is a unique contribution to the cultural landscape of Croatia as it is the only example I am aware

Fig 54. St James Cathedral, Šibenik (Clancy 2008)

Fig 55. Column in the
Roman Forum, Zadar
(Clancy 2008)

of 'extensive ravages' during World War Two will explain away any reconstruction a tourist may question.

Creating a history that can compete with other nations in modern society

In order to create a Croatian history that can compete with other modern nation states, Croatia has implemented the historical re-evaluation of road names. The benefit of having a history to rival other nation states is to try and show the legitimacy and security of Croatia as a nation state and not a republic within a larger federation. This is an idea which links very closely with the use of museums to legitimise Croatian history and archaeology, also used as a method by many developing nation states during the early Twentieth Century. Both Zagreb and Zadar have changed road names since the war and there has been much thought gone into these changes. In Zagreb Lenjinov Trg changed to Trg Kralja Petra Krešimira IV, a historical Croatian king. Similarly in Zadar, Obala Maršala Tita was changed to Zadarskog mira 1358, the date of a peace treaty signed in Zadar. This historical re-evaluation is communicating to those living in Croatia that they should no longer honour those people associated with communism or socialism but those who ruled an independent Croatia centuries ago.   This trend has continued in Split despite the city having a very different experience of the recent war. Here road names referring to the Partisans and the Yugoslav army have been changed to Kneza Višeslava and Obala Kneza Branimira respectively, showing that the Croatian government are attempting to historically re-evaluate who they honour. This is effectively dishonouring the pre-war political structures and honouring kings from a pre-Yugoslavian history. Honouring historical figures and Fourteenth Century peace treaties additionally legitimises Croatia's stake in its land and subsequently undermines those of Serbo-Croats and Bosnian-Croats.

Above we have seen how the post-war Croatian government has been historically re-evaluating the road names of its cities and towns to compete with the histories of other modern nation states. However, the same action is taking place at a local level that attempts to identify Croatia with the more modern histories of some nation states. This

historical re-evaluation comes in the form of graffiti. Fig 89 shows a photograph taken in Zadar in 2008. The graffiti says 'Zaboraht nikad Vukovar 91' (Never forget Vukovar 91'). This is referring to Croatia's martyr town that suffered greatly whilst under siege during the early phases of the war. This graffiti, written in a town on the other side of Croatia, suggests that this is an historical event Croats want to remember. Vukovar is Croatia's Auschwitz or Oradour-sur-Glane. This act tries to amplify that the ethnic Croats suffered during the war at the hands of others who wanted to eradicate them.

To endorse religious control

The Franciscan Monastery is an historical re-evaluation that emphasises the control of the Catholic Church in Dubrovnik. The Monastery has taken part in controlling what aspects of the war they will open up to tourists. The Pharmacy Museum in the monastery addresses the war in their laminated booklet that holds photographs of many buildings in Dubrovnik that sustained war damage, including many photographs of the monastery itself. Looking through the pamphlet, the tourist is made aware of the buildings that sustained damage in Dubrovnik. Additionally the book 'Dubrovnik and War,' which is sold in many shops in Dubrovnik, can direct the tourist where to visit in the old town if they are interested in the reconstruction.

The Holy Virgin Church in Benkovac is an example of historically re-evaluating the town of Benkovac in order to gain religious control over the war-damaged town. As discussed in the previous chapter, Benkovac was absorbed into the Serb-held Krajina region during the war. The ethnically Croat Catholic Holy Virgin Church was completely destroyed during the war and was rebuilt by 2003. The new church looks very different to the old photographs (Fig 25;26) perhaps to reflect the way Croatia today either looks forward to a new independent Croatia or very far back skipping over the history of Yugoslavia. In contrast to the old church, there are no trees surrounding the new building which almost hid the old church from view. The reason for this could be to make the new church even more visually different or a conscious effort to make the Catholic Church highly visible. There is still a small Serbo-Croat
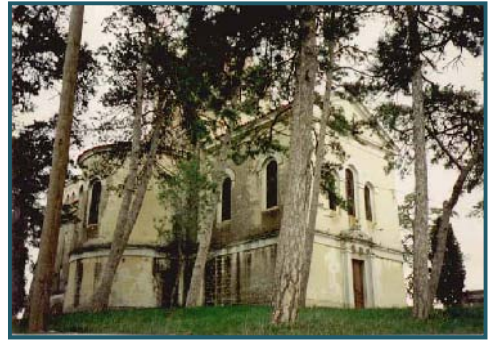
Fig 56. The Orthodox Church, Benkovac
(Benkovac.rs date unknown)

Conclusion

This analysis of data from Croatia shows that Croatia is a good case study to emphasise the complexity of post-war heritage reconstruction. Many of the examples above do not lie neatly in one political context; there are many factors which need to be considered for each example. Equally I have not identified all the contexts and reasons which may exist behind historical re-evaluation, but have focused on the main reasons. The Franciscan Monastery has multiple factors behind the decisions which went into the historical re-evaluation of the complex. There were purely political, religious and economic reasons. This is because each building has a unique history and so needs to be dealt with separately. Culture is a very complicated subject, religion in Croatia cannot be separated from culture and ethnicity and therefore a building will never have purely religious or purely ethnic reasons behind its historical re-evaluation. The next chapter will discuss this point in relation to historical re-evaluation in other countries and what the case study on Croatia can teach us about studying future post-conflict historical re-evaluations and how it shapes the political climate of a country or region.

7

DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter data gathered from Croatia was analysed in terms of the different political contexts we can determine for different instances of historical re-evaluation. I will now look at some of the patterns that have emerged in the analysis that can tell us how Croatia has approached its post-war historical re-evaluation, how this can inform us of the political climate and how this can be applied to other examples world-wide. For clarity I have also translated this information into a table format (Table 3). Additionally I will use this to help answer what this case study can tell us about studying future post-conflict situations.

Patterns emerging from the analysis of historical re-evaluation in Croatia

One of the problems arising from the case study on Croatia is that in recent years the country has seemingly made efforts to essentially wipe the Yugoslavia years out of its history. This makes it difficult to address the consequences that the break-up of Yugoslavia has had on the country. However, selective preservation may fill some of these gaps. The cleansing of history in Croatia can be seen in the official changes the Government has made to road names, place names, language and currency. As we have seen in the previous chapter, changes have been made in order to honour historical kings as well as the war-period and post-war government. Additionally names that once honoured leaders such as Tito have been changed in the majority of cases throughout Zagreb, Zadar and Split. Changing road names is a common tactic with post-war governments or governments that have undergone a dramatic political change. This has been seen in the Andalusia region of Spain, among other places (Faraco & Murphy 1997). This has a twofold effect of historically re-evaluating and influencing the public in showing them who they should honour. One of

the problems with trying to use road name changes as a pattern to inform how we should approach post-war situations is that although the changing of road names is common, the names come from the government and are not necessarily a reflection of who the general public would like to honour.

The analysis has highlighted that the Croatian government are keen to show the local ethnic Croat population that they honour those who died during the recent war and this is reflected in the changing nature of the towns and cities.   Streets have been named after towns such as Vukovar that suffered, in Zagreb, Split, Zadar, Knin and Biograd-na-Moru among others. I suggest that these roads are named after towns that suffered because the roads are often small and neither point or lead to the towns in question.   This is not a communication for tourists but to the local population as a way of remembrance.   France has at least six roads in various towns and cities named after Oradour-sur-Glane, their martyr town.   It has been said that having one great tragedy and honouring it is a way of consolidating grief to help a population cope in a place that has seen much suffering (Opa i 2007; Stone 2004). Interestingly Dubrovnik does not appear have a street named after Vukovar, Croatia's martyr town.   It has a road named after Zagreb but Zagreb did not sustain much damage during the war and the road may be thus named simply as it is the capital.   Dubrovnik however does have a road named after its own people who defended the city during the war.   This shows that Dubrovnik approaches the recent war differently to the other towns and cities on many different levels, stressing the difficulty in applying patterns in historical re-evaluation to other post-war situations.

Croatia has been using the historical re-evaluation of road names in order to evoke old legends which are used to show the importance they place on appointing ethnically Croat leaders.   On one level this alienates the non-ethnic Croat population in Croatia as they cannot relate to traditional Croat folk stories.   Additionally, the use of names such as King Zvonimira, who was discussed in the previous chapter, is another way of Croatia subtly evoking nationalist views.   Eleventh Century ruler King Zvonimira cursed Croatia declaring the country would never have a leader of blood again (Hrvati-Amac.com 2006).   Reminding Croats of this legend is effectively reminding people of the breaking of the curse and war

with Serbia.   Although the Croatian government of today are attempting to move forward and liberalise their former extreme nationalist views, they are potentially sustaining nationalist views and alienating any remaining Serbo-Croat community.   It is arguably not beneficial to harbour so many reminders of war in a way that could seem provocative to minority groups such as Serbo-Croats and Bosnian Croats.   This is a pattern which scholars such as Rose (2007:112) have spoken about in recent years and is something of which it is important to remain aware.   It seems to be something the government of Croatia are recognising and are trying to counteract by integrating Croatia with the wider European community.

Road names have been changed in order for the government to determine who the population should be honouring now that Yugoslavia has broken up and the political structure of Croatia has changed.   Street names are a way of 'guiding a new political order' (Faraco & Murphy 1997:123) and the post-war Croatian government are guiding the population to honour President Tu man and the Croatian Nation rather than the Communist Balkan republic.   A similar process happened in the Andalusia region of Spain, when Francisco Franco took power in 1936 and again when his long dictatorship came to an end in 1975.   When Franco came to power, the values of the political elite were encouraged and the Catholic Church was given less power.   This was reflected in road names being changed from religious themes to political themes (Faraco & Murphy 1997:135).   When Franco died and democracy became the new order, street names were changed from those of politicians and Generals to names that refer to localities and intellectuals (Faraco & Murphy 1997:135). Although there appears to be a conscious process behind the road name changes in Croatia and Spain, there is a subconscious process at work which complicates the way we may study post-war historical re-evaluation.   Official names are not given objectively; whether intentioned or not, names will always be given that are believed to be important to the political climate at a given time.   As the political climate of pre and post-war Croatia is nationalist it is very difficult to expect this not to be expressed in the decisions of the government even if they do not want to provoke the remaining Serbo-Croat community.

Fig 57. This image featured on many
banknotes during Saddam's rule in Iraq
(BANKNOTES.COM 2009)

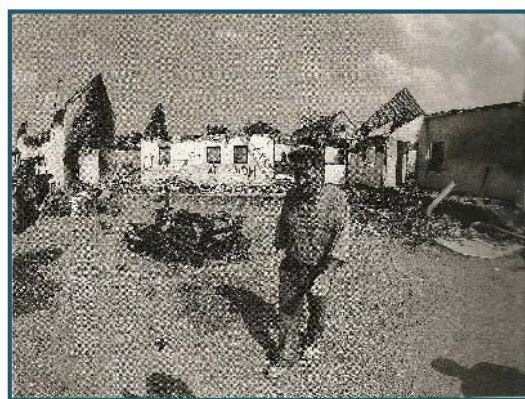Fig 58. Image of a Kurdish farmer on post-Saddam banknotes
(BANKNOTES.COM 2009)

Fig 59. Ustaše graffiti on houses damaged
during the war (Miljojkovic 1991)

any explicit recognition of the recent war.   However when the three monuments are placed together they arguably appear to be an indirect memorial to the homeland and its citizens who have worked and died for Croatia.   In contrast, Dubrovnik blatantly refers to its heroes who died defending the city.   This shows us that even within a relatively small country like Croatia, citizens have vastly different opinions on how their war dead should be honoured. This is perhaps because people want to honour their dead differently and also because many towns have different histories and this may be reflected in the ideas and perspectives of the citizens.   These differences may occur even when towns or cities have had relatively similar war experiences.   Some memorial sites are not opened until after the events which sought such a memorial, whereas others such as Tuol Sleng, Cambodia, were opened just a year after the fall of the Khmer Rouge.   The reaction of towns outside Dubrovnik is not unique. Foote writes that Salem, Massachusetts barely mentions the famous witch trials in the town but that 'acts of violence are not expunged from landscape but rather transformed into monuments and memorials,' (Foote 2003:3) much like the memorials along the coastal road in Diklo, Zadar.   Equally Foote writes that 'Salem has never completely resolved how to view the witchcraft scare' (Foote 2003:4) and this could be the same for many places in Croatia.   The war was very sudden and brutal; something which cannot be rationalised in a few years.

In Croatia many Catholic churches that hold a national importance are multi-functioning. This seems to be intentional in order to hold religious control in the eyes of both tourists and citizens.   Like in many countries, the Catholic heritage in Croatia acts as both a religious building and a tourist attraction.   St James' Cathedral in Šibenik for example, is regularly used to hold mass for the people who live in the city.   The cathedral is also used as a tourist attraction for people visiting the city to see the World Heritage site.   Other churches and cathedrals of national importance in Croatia are often used as music halls during the tourist season as well perhaps as having another use.   The Orthodox heritage on the other hand is not promoted as a tourist opportunity, except a small effort for St Elijah's Orthodox Church in Zadar on Zadar's official website (Zadar County Tourist Board 2008).   Promoting the multi-use of Catholic churches is a way of having religious control of the cities in Croatia and

as religion is such a strong factor in the ethnicities of the region, religious control is equal to ethnic control.   The way tourists factor in this is that Croatia becomes known for its Catholic heritage rather than the more diverse range of religious buildings it had before the war and this compliments Croatia's desire to be known as an independent ethnically Croat nation.

A pattern which has been evident among many nations over the last century is the importance of archaeology to prove legitimacy over territory and back up any historical claims a government or ethnic group may have.   Croatia is following the same steps in its historical re-evaluations that many other European nations took through the last century. We can see this pattern being repeated in the way Croatia is using museums in order to promote a history that appears to consciously exclude any Serbian history.   This is perhaps a response to Serbia's own efforts to use archaeology to support their claims for land on Croatian soil (Council of Europe 1993a: Appendix B).   Other countries to have done this are Nazi Germany (Kohl 1998:229-230) and Israel (Silberman 1996).   This pattern is one which can perhaps be expected in post-conflict situations where there has been an ethnic or territorial dispute.   This is problematic as this kind of historical re-evaluation reflects nationalism and can alienate minority groups.

All of the historical re-evaluations above, both official at the hands of the government and at a local level, are designed to alienate the remaining Serbo-Croat community.   However the government has had to have been much more subtle in the way that they have changed the visual landscape of Croatia.   This is a practice that is not unique to Croatia.   It can be argued that any act of historical re-evaluation will alienate some groups, as all societies have some form of diversity and no matter how small this is, a country cannot alter the visual nature of a place to encompass all groups of people.   This highlights one of the great difficulties in examining post-war countries.   Rebuilding a country and an economy is very important, but it is equally important not to create more tension in the rebuilding process. This has arguably happened in the Palestinian Occupied Territories where rebuilding and reconstruction on the part of both Palestinians and Israelis has caused further clashes. Additionally this is something that people are becoming more aware of and trying to

counteract by actively involving the heritage of immigrant communities in the cultural heritage of a place.   This has happened in England with exhibitions such as the 1993 exhibition in London entitled 'The Peopling of London: Fifteen thousand years of settlement from overseas.'   The approach may be to address the issues of a diverse population before tensions can develop and break out.

The historical re-evaluations in Croatia have already had a dramatic effect on the Serbo-Croat communities which remain in Croatia's main towns and cities.   Before the war many ethnic Croats complained that while Croats made up the majority of the population in most towns, Serbo-Croats held the vast majority of jobs in government.   This balance has shifted the other way and it seems that Serbo-Croats in the main towns and cities are in a relatively low position in society compared with ethnic Croats.   This can be seen in St Elijah's Orthodox Church in Zadar.   As discussed in previous chapters, the church was damaged during the war and although one side of the church looks undamaged, there are scars on the tower of the church and one side of the church looks badly reconstructed and poorly plastered.   This damaged side of the church is the first to be seen as the tourist walks from the centre of the Roman Forum to the Roman column and to the church.   We know that many churches in Zadar have undergone reconstruction since the war, partially to rebuild their tourist offer.   It appears however that it is not as important to rebuild the Orthodox Church properly or that it is not a priority as the reconstruction is still not complete.   This subject is a problematic one to approach; how do we decide how much Orthodox heritage should be reconstructed when the vast majority of the town is ethnic Croat?   However, if Orthodox heritage is allowed to be neglected, it may contribute to the atmosphere of Serbo-Croats not being an important factor in decision making in Croatian cities.

One pattern relating to how buildings are reconstructed since the war is that buildings of local importance that have been damaged tend to be reconstructed in a modern style.   This can be seen in the reconstruction of churches such as the Holy Virgin Church in Benkovac and the local parish church in Diklo, Zadar.   This pattern appears to hold outside the Dubrovnik region, however the pattern still cannot be reliably used to determine

reconstruction in other post-war situations.   This is because, like Dubrovnik, other regions that are approaching a post-war situation may have anomalous regions that require a different approach to heritage.   This need may not be apparent until post-war reconstruction has started.   The most useful factor we can take from this pattern to apply to other post-war situations is the importance of being aware that blanket decisions cannot be placed on a post-war country.   The reason for Dubrovnik approaching the war differently to the rest of Croatia is that they may feel they had a very different experience of the war and a different history to much of Croatia.   This may also be the case in other countries and regions.

Across Croatia, another of the patterns highlights that buildings of national importance that were damaged or destroyed during the war are rebuilt or reconstructed in their original style.   This is most apparent in Dubrovnik, where the whole town is recognised as one of international importance and where every building to have suffered damage during the war was reconstructed in the old style in keeping with the rest of the town.   The same can be said of Šibenik, which is known primarily for the Cathedral of St James, but also for the climbing winding streets of the old town.   The reason for this is perhaps to bring tourists back to the area as quickly as possible and rebuild the tourist economy which these towns benefited from before the war.   It is evident that in post-war situations, one of the main factors in decision making is how to rebuild the cultural heritage of a place to have a positive effect on the economy of the region.   This has been echoed in various memorial sites such as Auschwitz which makes a positive contribution to the economy as well as having a fund for the physical building and for research to which tourists and other visitors can make financial contributions (Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum 2008a).   This pattern creates a problem in examining how to reconstruct post-war regions.   It is important to rebuild the economy after a war, partially as this is a source of revenue to fund further reconstruction. However there is the possibility that there may be a contrast between what is best for the economy and what the population want.

The government appears to be in control of some of the Gotovina graffiti and imagery and also the football imagery where there has only recently been an effort to stop the Ustaše

symbols.   There is a paradox with the government; they turn a blind eye to some nationalist displays but heavily penalise others.   Perhaps the recent crackdown of football branding is due to initial complaints from FIFA who then expect the Government to act.

Table 3.   Patterns Emerging from the Analysis of Historical Re-evaluation in Croatia

Patterns which have emerged from the analysis	Croatian and international examples of each pattern
Historical re-evaluation is used to cleanse history of a past political movement.	Croatia, in the re-naming of streets after pre and post-Yugoslavian leaders.
	Andalusia, Spain, in the renaming of streets after Franco died in 1975.
Governments use historical re-evaluation to show the population that they honour towns that have suffered during war.	In Croatia many cities have streets named after their martyr town, Vukovar.
	Many cities in France have streets named after Oradour-sur-Glane.
	England has many streets named after Coventry.
Historical re-evaluation is used to evoke old legends, which culturally legitimises the actions of a government.	Croatia evokes the legend of Zvonimira to emphasise the importance of the country having an ethnically Croat leader.

	In a similar way Saddam Hussein evoked images of Nebuchadnezzar to present himself as a powerful war leader and legitimise his actions.
Historical re-evaluations of street names are used to '[guide] a new political order' (Faraco & Murphy 1997:123)	The Croatian government has done this by changing many names to honor the Croatian nation rather than the Balkan republic.
	Andalusia, Spain changed road names after Franco died to emphasise there is now a democracy, or influence people to believe there was.
Graffiti is used to express popular opinion which is not challenged by governments.	Graffiti is used to communicate the heroes of the Croatian people and little effort is made to stop it.
	The Berlin wall has been used as a canvas by many artists. The graffiti was unchallenged by the government on the West side of the wall.
Most towns are not comfortable with addressing war tragedies, yet indirect communication can be seen.	The three monuments of Diklo's coastal road in Zadar, Croatia is a good example of this.
	Salem, Massachusetts surprisingly does not make much of an effort to address the witch trials that occurred there.
Post-war, one town is usually given the responsibility of being the 'martyr town.'	In Croatia this town is Vukovar.

	Other towns include Oradour-sur-Glane, France; O wi cim, Poland; Coventry, England; Dresden, Germany.
Nationally important churches are reconstructed in an old style.	St James' Cathedral in Croatia.
	The Frauenkirche, Dresden.
Locally important churches are reconstructed in a more modern style.	The Holy Virgin Church, Benkovac.
	Architecturally striking churches can be seen frequently whilst travelling through towns in Croatia.
Archaeology is used to prove the legitimacy of a country or region.	Croatia has used archaeology in Zagreb's Archaeological Museum.
	Serbia tried to achieve this by stealing archaeology from Vukovar.
	Israel tried to achieve this with Operation Scroll.
Historical re-evaluation alienates minority groups.	Croatia's remaining Serbo-Croat community is alienated by Croatia's nationalist policies.
	This has happened frequently in the divided city of Jerusalem to Arabs, Jews and Catholics.
The heritage of minority groups can be neglected post-war.	St Elijah's Church in Zadar reflects this.
Historical re-evaluation of banknotes can be used to influence large numbers of citizens.	This has happened in Croatia and Iraq.

Fig 60. Oradour-sur-Glane
(Williams 2009)

Fig 61. Auschwitz (Grok Life
2009)

Fig 62. Vukovar (Sinisha 2007)

this can be problematic.   Physical processions in an ethnically divided town like Vukovar may breed further tensions, as seen in Northern Ireland where the Orange Day Parade has caused frequent clashes and riots in recent years.   This creates a problem for people approaching a post-conflict situation in which there has been an ethnic dispute.   The difficulty is how to allow each side in the dispute to honour their victims without provoking the opposing side.   These examples in Croatia and Northern Ireland show how historical re-evaluation can fuel an already divided political climate.

This study has highlighted that historical re-evaluation in Croatia has created an unease in the political climate.   The unease is in relation to how the government tries to balance its two sets of responsibilities post-war.   Firstly they have a responsibility to the population; whether the government chooses to be actively responsible for minority groups or not is a different matter.   Secondly they have a responsibility to the international community - a responsibility to create a situation where further conflict will not arise and to stabilise the region.   This case study on Croatia has highlighted that the Croatian government are in a paradox between these two responsibilities.   The Croatian government and the ethnic Croat public want full independence and a majority ethnic Croat country.   The government is supporting the will of its Croat people in the promotion of towns that suffered during the war and changing road names, language and currency to create a historically established nation.   However the government also wants to join the European Union and are fearful of encouraging nationalism which was at the root of the previous conflict.   For these reasons the government is making an effort to stop Ustaše symbolism and arrest its wanted war criminals.   Perhaps the government do not make as big an effort to stop the graffiti as they do not feel it is a strong enough communication to sustain tensions between ethnic Croats and Serbo-Croats.

Since the beginning of the recent war, Croatia has been an independent nation for the first time in fifty years, when the Ustaše controlled Croatia under Nazi protection for a short period of time.   The country therefore needs to exercise its rights as an independent nation and make decisions and policies which for a long time were largely made in Belgrade.   As

mentioned earlier Croatia is going through the same processes that many European countries have been through during the Twentieth Century while they were nation building. However, Croatia is practising a heritage model which Ashworth refers to as a single core model, where there is one set of common values and then minority groups (Ashworth 2007:4); Serbo-Croats in this case are seen as outsiders. Many historical re-evaluations in Croatia can be seen to reflect this model by alienating minority groups and reaffirming the heritage of the majority Croat community.

What does the case study of Croatia tell us about studying post-war situations in the future?

One of the main factors which I did not anticipate to be such an important issue before I visited Croatia was the unofficial or underground communication which is written all over the towns and cities in the form of posters and graffiti. This shows us that although a community may not talk about the war or communicate their feelings through official channels, the communication is still there. Therefore, when studying future post-war situations it is important to visit all areas in need of reconstruction and not just study a collection of data on the towns as each town may communicate and respond differently. The communication may come in many different forms; in Croatia it is graffiti and posters but other regions may use music, for example.

The study has also highlighted that governments have two responsibilities in a post-war country, to the international community and to their citizens. This can result in irregularities in the policies of the government such as banning Ustaše symbolism but making seemingly little effort to tackle the right wing graffiti. This is becoming more important as it is being increasingly recognised by the international community that cultural heritage and post-war reconstruction is an important element in global stability (Barakat 2007:26). Barakat also identifies a series of deficiencies in cultural heritage policy which this case study on Croatia supports. Barakat writes that it is important to have a shared

vision of recovery (Barakat 2007:27-28). The vision of recovery for the Croat population in Croatia is at odds with the vision of the remaining Serbo-Croat community and also at times at odds with the vision of the government. This creates tension which makes reconciliation of the two communities very difficult. Another point Barakat makes is the need for the integration of cultural heritage into the wider physical, economic and social needs (Barakat 2007:27-28). This is something which has worked well in Croatia, at least in the tourist areas, where the Catholic heritage has been given multiple uses to contribute to Croatian society on a range of levels.

It is important to look at cities and regions separately when approaching post-war reconstruction because, as we have seen, Dubrovnik has approached its reconstruction in a very different way to the rest of Croatia, partly as they see their war experience as separate to that of other towns. Dubrovnik also has a different history to most of Croatia as well as being geographically separate from the rest of the country. Dubrovnik has attempted to balance many different approaches to war damage in order to attract tourists on multiple levels. There is selective preservation in the Franciscan Monastery; full reconstruction of Onofrio's Fountain and heritage creation in the Memorial Room for the Defenders of Dubrovnik. Although this makes it more difficult to approach decision making in war damaged towns, Dubrovnik is perhaps a unique case and maybe not for their experience of the war. Unlike the other tourist towns in Croatia, before the war Dubrovnik was known across the world as a beautiful fortified city. The city was used to tourists, managing their heritage to accommodate them and was the only city during the recent war to receive large scale international attention. The difference with Dubrovnik is that prior to the war the citizens would have been much more aware of the process of making decisions in relation to cultural heritage.

It is possible that Dubrovnik is able to connect with tourists on a much more personal level as they have been communicating with them in one way or another for such a long time. However one local who recommended the memorial room in Sponza Palace told me that I should visit but that he did not like to as it was too painful. Although this is a singular case,

it does conjure up the question of whether Dubrovnik is addressing the war for tourists because they want the world to know what happened here, but at the expense of the local community. Arguably there are many reasons for Dubrovnik approaching the war so differently from the rest of the country. Perhaps, as it was the only city to receive any real international attention during the war, once the war had ended people wanted to know what had happened to the city and this is their response. These questions were not asked of places such as Zadar and Benkovac. The war was personal and places such as Zadar may wonder why they should address it. Another possible reason for the radically different response to the war from Dubrovnik is that Dubrovnik has only been part of Croatia since the late Nineteenth Century. This creates even more complexities. Not only can different areas within a region or country respond to a recent war differently but they can also have vastly differing histories which further add to the complexity. Additionally, like many countries, Croatia is geographically broad which can also affect the varying cultures of a place (Mazower 2001:19-22).

One of the main points uncovered here is that when studying future post-conflict situations, generalisations cannot be made and used in the decision making process, even in a relatively small space. Post-war decisions should only be made from the bottom up. Rose writes that in relation to post-conflict reconstruction, consultation should be collective and not paternalistic which may conjure up colonial memories (Rose 1997:113). However this is just one reason why the post-conflict decision making process should be collective. Another reason to make decisions on the ground is that, although we may be concerned with some of the decisions being made, it is not right for us to place our own agendas on a population. Just because we cannot see any communication of war does not mean it is not there. As I discussed in chapter four I was unaware of the Ustaše graffiti before I went to Croatia and although I eventually noticed its significance, there may be other communications I did not see and perhaps would have if I had have been able to make contacts with people within the country.

The final chapter will draw on some of the main points of the research questions and discuss the benefits of historical re-evaluation over other approaches.

8

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to develop an alternative approach to cultural heritage in post-war situations. The current approaches stem directly from the terms destruction and reconstruction of heritage. As I have discussed in chapters one and three, I believe these terms are problematic. I feel they are highly emotive terms and do not accept the complicated nature and diverse opinions related to post-war heritage, particularly in ethnically divided regions. Equally, I believe the terms may be one-dimensional and do not allow us to explore how each case of heritage reconstruction fits into the wider political landscape. There is also much debate surrounding the terms, as some believe destruction and reconstruction are essentially the same (Holtorf 2005; Newby 1994). I felt the term historical re-evaluation would be a helpful way of approaching post-war situations for many reasons. Firstly the term re-evaluation is neutral and suggests merely a change. The term historical is appropriate as it suggests a thought process preceding any changes as well as a longer historical process. In Croatia the historical re-evaluation links back to events as far as the Fifteenth Century. Together the term historical re-evaluation suggests a process whereby a country is consciously and subconsciously changing the historical landscape for political gain.

In chapter one I first highlighted the problem I felt stemmed from the terms destruction and reconstruction and introduced the idea of historical re-evaluation. I also discussed the relevance of the study today due to the continual targeting of heritage during wartime and the inability of international conventions to prevent this. The study continued with the discourses surrounding the general subject before re-introducing historical re-evaluation in practice in chapter three. Throughout this chapter we saw historic examples of where heritage has been re-evaluated or as some may say reconstructed or destroyed. The examples highlighted that if we view these events as historical re-evaluations we can build

up a wider picture of the historical process at work and we can see that the physical re-evaluations are merely a consequence of the thought processes of a party.

In chapter four I stated my reasons for choosing Croatia as a case study to show how historical re-evaluation can deepen our understanding of modern post-conflict situations. I laid out the data I intended to gather, the problems that occurred and the change in focus from buildings to wider forms of heritage, such as graffiti, when I arrived in Croatia for the field study. For the benefit of the reader and as some of the historical re-evaluations linked back to historical events, I felt it was necessary to give a brief background to the war and the current Neo-Ustaše movement in Croatia. Chapter five continued in setting out the data largely in regional order as I wanted to highlight the complexities of post-war studies by showing how relatively small towns in relatively small countries can have vastly different war experiences and reactions to war. In chapter six I analysed the data by ordering them under the same contexts that were used in chapter three. The reason was to create an analysis that mirrored the ideas in chapter three but focused on Croatia. Chapter six shows how each instance of historical re-evaluation in Croatia can give us an insight into the thought processes that preceded the re-evaluation and the political climate in Croatia today. I feel that this chapter has achieved a deeper insight into Croatia's post-war climate than would have been achieved if I had simply analysed Croatia's buildings in terms of reconstruction. Additionally, post-war reconstruction would not include many of the alternative forms of heritage such as graffiti which are central to understanding Croatia today. Chapter seven attempted to clarify some of the patterns we can see emerging from Croatia's post-war situation. The patterns were identified by the analysis, looking at the data in terms of historical re-evaluation and I feel this would not have been achieved using the term reconstruction. I feel this study has shown that heritage which has gone through change during wartime should not be approached in terms of how to reconstruct. The term is positive but I believe I have shown that reconstruction misses other factors. Additionally post-war heritage reconstruction should not be about making buildings better or making them look as they did pre-war. Post-war heritage reconstruction should look at the wider needs of the post-war society.

I feel that future research could look at how a country communicates post-war through a variety of ways. This would include heritage such as buildings, posters and graffiti along with other forms of communication such as music and language which are used to consciously or subconsciously reflect the political climate of a place. This study originally sought to research heritage in post-war situations but instead has shown that heritage cannot be studied alone; future post-war heritage research needs to address the wider aspects and communications of society. Many of these communications breed tension, and so perhaps this is where research needs to be undertaken in order to prevent future conflicts.

Fig 8. St Mark's Church, Zagreb (Clancy 2008)

Fig 13. Zadar's Roman Forum (Clancy 2008)

Fig 63. Reconstructed column in the Roman Forum
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 11. St Anastasia's
Cathedral, Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Fig 64. View of the newly rendered
baptistery (Clancy 2008)

Fig 65. Front view of the
cathedral (Clancy 2008)

Fig 15. St Elijah's Church, Zadar
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 66. Unfinished reconstruction on
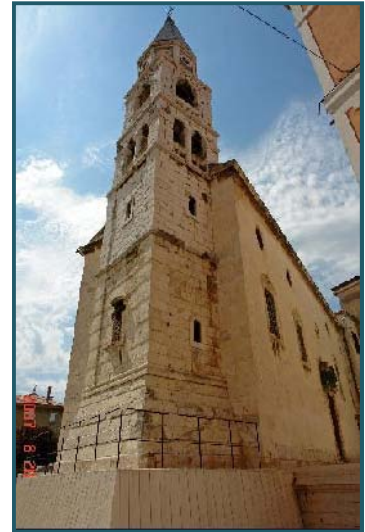the church (Clancy 2008)

Fig 67. The original tower has been patched up in places but is still intact (Clancy 2008)

Fig 68. St Donat's Church (Clancy 2008)

Fig 69. Detail of St Donat's upper half (Clancy 2008)

Fig 16. Diklo Parish Church,
Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Fig 70. The gate outside the main
church entrance (Clancy 2008)

Fig 71. Of the new churches I saw this one is a
little more traditional in style (Clancy 2008)

Fig 28. The Orthodox Church,
Benkovac (Clancy 2008)

Fig 72. Cleared greenery from around the Church
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 73. (SPC 2004)
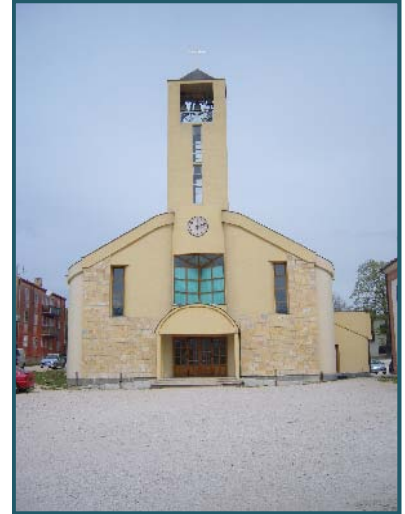

Fig 74. (Source unknown)

Fig 25. The Holy Virgin Church,
Benkovac (Clancy 2008)

Fig 27. An older structure
next to the new church
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 26. Old photograph of the
Holy Virgin Church (gProjekt
2005-2007b)

Fig 29. St James Cathedral, Šibenik
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 30. New stonework on the East side. (Clancy 2008)

Fig 31. Reconstructed stonework on the South base (Clancy 2008)

Fig 75. Construction on the North entrance (Clancy 2008)

Fig 77. New stonework on the South base
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 76. Reconstructed stonework
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 54. St James Cathedral (Clancy 2008)

Fig 42. Sponza Palace, Dubrovnik
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 43. Flag from Mount Srd (Clancy
2008)

Other comments and photographs:

The Memorial Room for the Defenders of Dubrovnik

A small bill board advertises the memorial room outside and it is free entry.

There is a passage on the wall displayed in various languages. It mentions Serbia, Montenegro and Yugoslavian Army aggression on Croatia, but everything else is about Dubrovnik. The room is dedicated to all those who died defending Dubrovnik.

Defenders killed = 200

Civilians killed = 100

Kidnapped/tortured = 300

Fled for safety = 33,000

* To put these figures in some perspective, Croatia has about a 1/13 of the population of Great Britain.

On the wall a feature is made of a damaged flag. This flag was mounted on the imperial fort on Mount Srd that was successfully held by the defenders.

A video reel shows photographs taken throughout the war including one of a map of the extent of damage around the old town.

The memorial room is very Dubrovnik-focused, their hero's of the 'city of freedom.' Perhaps this is related to Dubrovnik being cut off from much of Croatia during the war, so Dubrovnik's defenders had to act without the help of other regions.

Fig 38. Onofrio's Fountain in 2008 (Clancy 2008)

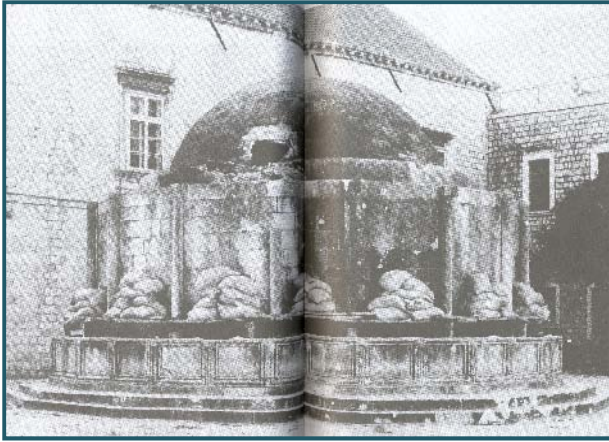Fig 78. Aerial view of the fountain (Clancy 2008)

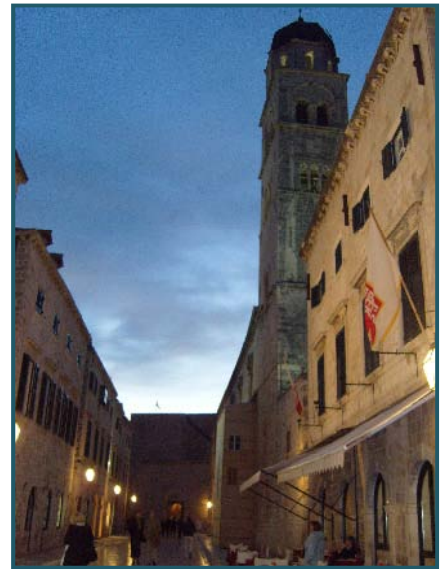Fig 37. Onofrio's fountain during the war (uki 1991)

Fig 79. View of the Franciscan Monastery from Stradun (Clancy 2008)

Fig 35. The Franciscan
Monastery (Clancy 2008)
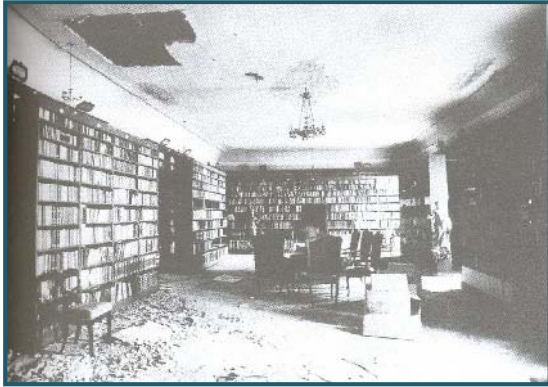
Fig 80. Inside the monastery (Šuki 1991)
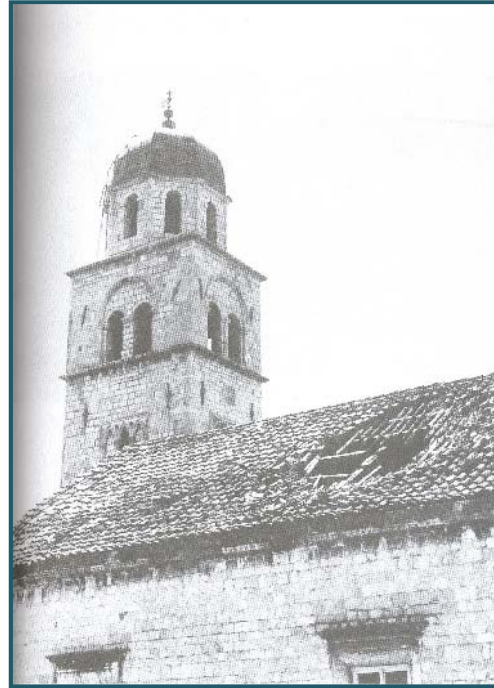
Fig 81. The bell tower (Šoleti 1992)

Fig 41. Dubrovnik's clock
tower in 2008 (Clancy 2008)
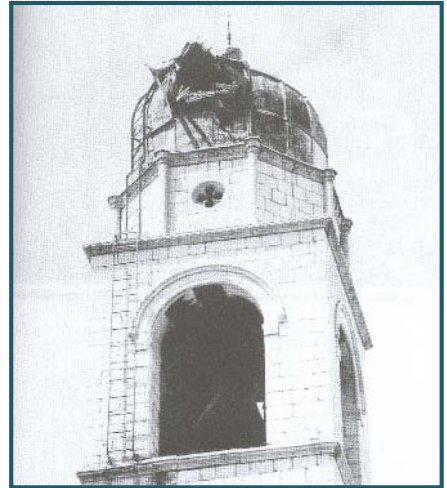
Fig 40. Dubrovnik's clock tower during the war (Šoleti 1992)

Fig 82. St Saviour's Church (Clancy 2008)
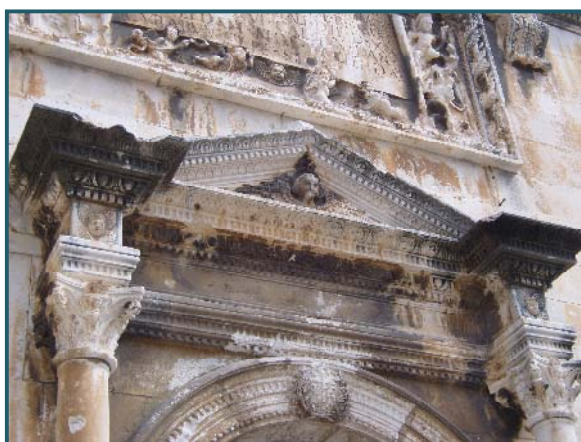
Fig 83. The balustrade of the church (Clancy 2008)

Fig 84. Surface scarring on the front of the church (Clancy 2008)

Fig 50. 'Gotovina graffiti, Šibenik
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 51. 'Ante Gotovina Heroj' and 'Dober
Dan' beneath a map of Šibenik (Clancy
2008)

Fig 23. The Ustaše symbol painted on a wall in Zadar's old town (Clancy 2008)

Fig 85. Right-wing football graffiti, an example of the very small amount of graffiti to be seen in Dubrovnik. (Acosta 2008).
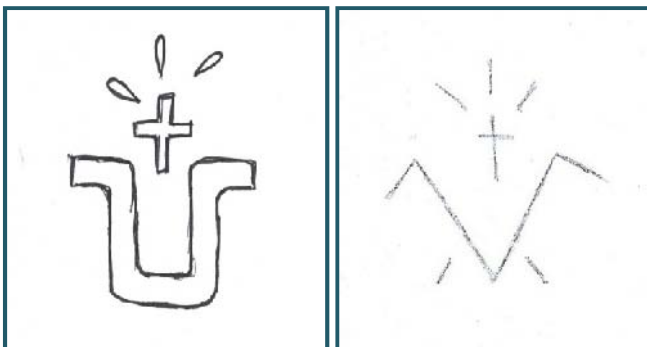
Fig 86. The various Ustaše symbols seen throughout Croatia (Clancy 2008)

These phrases can be seen primarily around Zadar and Šibenik.

Fig 87. "Europe knows slavery" on a wall in Šibenik (Clancy 2008)

Fig 52. "Say no to NATO" on a wall in Šibenik (Clancy 2008)

Fig 22. Photograph of Gotovina on a bus in Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Fig 88. Paper clippings of Ante Gotovina
in shop windows in Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Seen painted out alongside the Ustaše symbol
opposite the bus station in Benkovac.

Fig 89. "ZABORAHT NIKAD VUKOVAR
91'" (Never forget Vukovar 91'). This
passage was seen on a wall near high-
rise flats in Zadar (Clancy 2008)

Fig 32. Graffiti on the walls of Šibenik (Clancy 2008)

'Tvoje ime ulik e vodit nas... i ulik e se divat pisme po nasim ulicama! Šibenice gradino samo tebe mi volimo!'

(Your street name shall sing us... and [the] street shall itself [be] wondrous written on violent streets! Šibenik city we love thee!).

Fig 90. This passage was written on a scarred building on the main street in Benkovac (Clancy 2008)

"1991 BILI SMO 1995 KAO PRSTA DVA [PRSTA] DVA [JEDNE] RUKE"

(1991 were [and] are [now] 1995, like number two, number two [hands] [arms]).

Fig 91. Stradun, Dubrovnik during the war (Viliić 1991)

Fig 92. Stradun, Dubrovnik during the war (Žuki 1991)

Fig 93. View of the Franciscan Monastery from Stradun, Dubrovnik (Žuki 1991)

Fig 94. View of Stradun, Dubrovnik today (Clancy 2008)
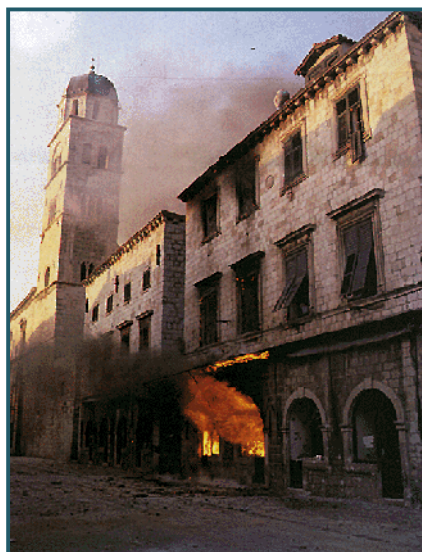
Fig 95. View of the Franciscan Monastery from Stradun, Dubrovnik during the war (Zubrinic 1995)
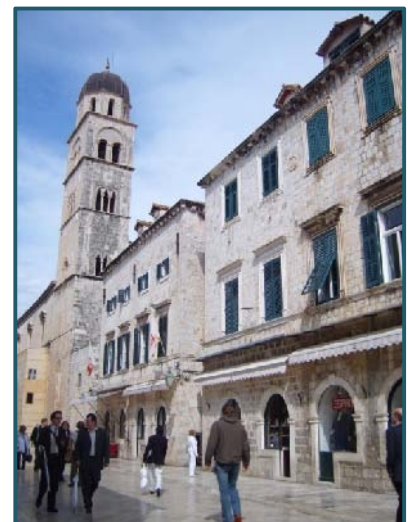
Fig 96. Same view as image 95 but taken in 2008 (Clancy 2008)

Fig 97. The Dominican Monastery,
Dubrovnik during the war (Kerner
1992)

Fig 98. The Dominican Monastery,
Dubrovnik today (Clancy 2008)
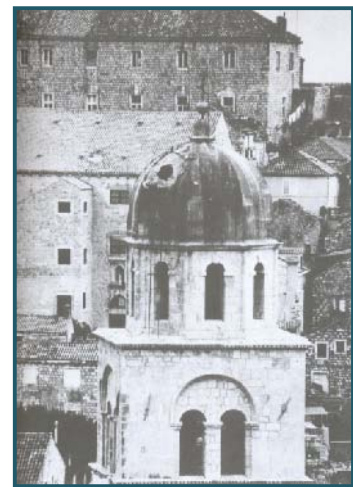
Fig 36. Franciscan
Monastery, photograph
taken during the war
(Mojaš 1991).

Fig 99. The bell tower of the Franciscan
Monastery, Dubrovnik today (Clancy 2008)
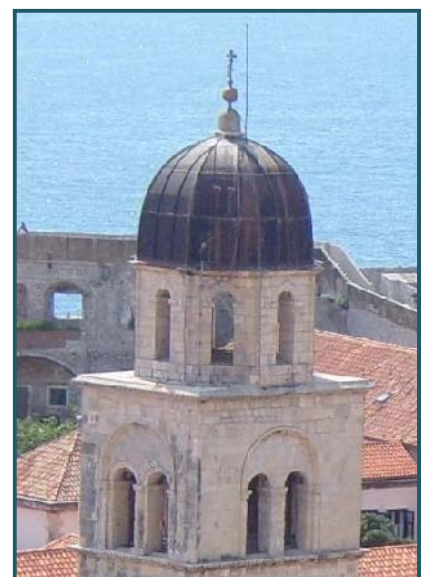
Fig 100. A close-up of the
Franciscan bell tower today
(Clancy 2008)
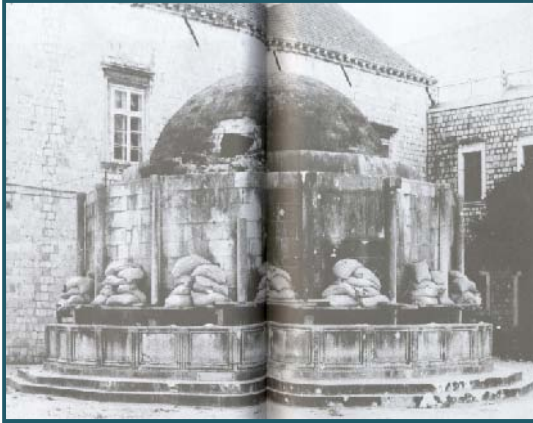
Fig 37. Onofrio's Fountain during the war
(Žuki 1991)

Fig 38. Onofrio's Fountain in 2008 (Clancy 2008)
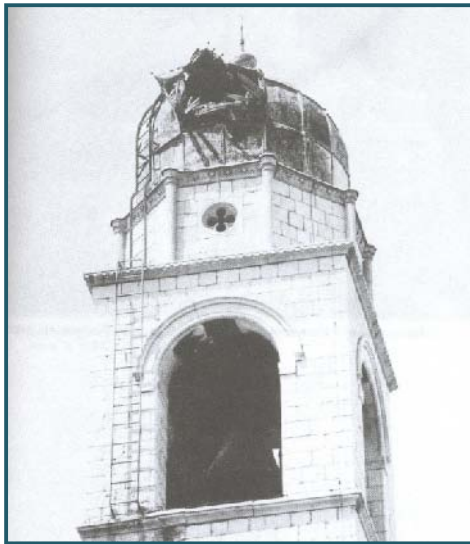
Fig 40. Dubrovnik's clock tower during
the war (Šoleti 1992)

Fig 41. Dubrovnik's clock tower in
2008 (Clancy 2008)

Fig 101. War damage to the Pile Gate,
Dubrovnik (Šoleti 1992)

Fig 102. The Pile Gate today. The gate is
currently undergoing further
reconstruction (Source unknown)

Fig 103. The Dubrovnik port suburb of Gruz after an attack during the war (Biljak 1991)

Fig 104. The Dubrovnik port suburb of Gruz after an attack during the war (Biljak 1991)

Fig 105. This church, as seen today, can also be seen in the background of photographs 20 and 21 (Clancy 2008)

Fig 26.Old photograph of the Holy Virgin Church, Benkovac (gProjekt 2005-2007b).

Fig 106. The new Holy Virgin Church, Benkovac (Clancy 2008)

Fig 56. The Orthodox Church, Benkovac (Benkovac.rs
date unknown)

Fig 74. (Source unknown)

Fig 28. The Orthodox Church,
Benkovac (Clancy 2008)

Fig 107. The Archaeological Museum, Benkovac
(Clancy 2008)

Fig 108. The Archaeological Museum, Benkovac 2007 (gProjekt 2005-2007a)

Fig 109. The Imperial Fort today (Clancy 2008)

Fig 110. The Imperial Fort on Mount Srd, Dubrovnik during the war with the cross overlooking the town (Radelj 1991)
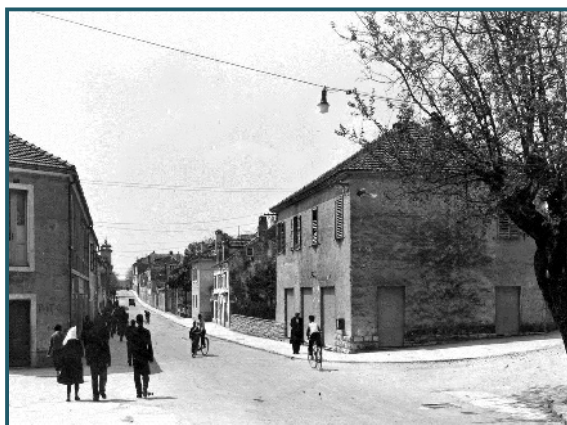
Fig 111. Looking up the main street in Benkovac before the war (Dinis & Dubart 2002)

Fig 112. The same view after the war in 2008 (Clancy 2008)

Fig 113. Zadar's Roman Forum before the war (Source unknown)

Fig 55. Column in the Roman Forum, Zadar (Clancy 2008)

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