

MY CITY THROUGH TIME



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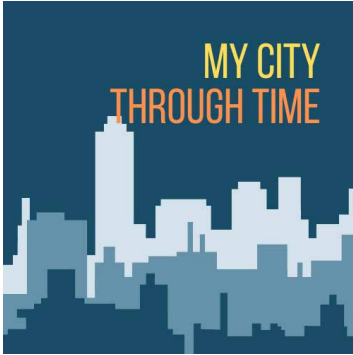
THE PROJECT

My City Through Time

The project “My City Through Time. Exploring our cities through historic and civic education (MCT)” wants to contribute to the recognition and improvement of youth work and its practices and to strengthen the link between youth work and civic and historic education.

The project aims to provide the partner and other organizations working with youth with new skills, competencies, working methods, and materials related to youth work and historic and civic education. At the same time, because of its thematic focus, the project aims to involve young people in a reflection on understanding diversities, the importance of intercultural dialogue, inclusion, and human rights.

The project develops from the idea that the cities we live in are not neutral, but are carriers of values and narratives, and communicate them through elements of its public space, such as monuments, names of streets and squares, and architec-



ture. By critically exploring their cities through the methods of historic and civic education, the project partners will tackle different relevant topics for today's youth, such as the rise of radicalization, nationalism, and populism, issues of equal representation, and the spreading of stereotypes and prejudices among young people. Because of this reason, through the project's activities and results, young people will become more able to critically approach complex topics related to historical and social changes in the 20th century and better understand the origin and the causes of contemporary challenges, including issues such as memory, identity, representation, inclusion, and democracy.

DOCUMENTA – Center for Dealing with the Past is an NGO founded in 2004 in Zagreb to engage in the social process and dialogue on dealing with the past across different social structures, including youth. The scope of Documenta's work covers the following areas: developing educational policies for youth involvement in social processes and dialogue about the past; developing non-formal and informal methods to involve youth in the practice of civic education and the study of history; cultivating the culture of memory among youth in Europe; promoting solidarity and nonviolence; contributing to the development of public policies on dialogue and dealing with the past; cooperating with European and regional organizations on promoting democratization and human rights; collecting, archiving, and publishing historical documents; collecting data and publishing studies about human rights issues; monitoring judicial processes at local and regional levels.

THE HISTORY OF Zagreb



In the 19th century, **ZAGREB**, already the capital of Croatia, was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Zagreb was heavily influenced by the Empire, not only in the social and political development of the city, but also in its architecture, aspect, and buildings. Through the 19th century, Zagreb, from a peripheral city of the Empire, became one of its cultural capitals. As a consequence of the “Patent of Toleration”, which guaranteed freedom of religion in the Empire, many different groups moved to Zagreb and other territories of the Empire. The city became more socially mixed and these groups, now minorities of the city, influenced Zagreb’s development, social and cultural processes.

Being part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Croatia found itself on the “losing side” of WWI. With the dissolution of the Empire in 1918, Croatia first became part of the short-lived “State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs”, formed by nowadays Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The State included the Serbian minorities in these three countries. The newly-founded State was immediately faced with a difficult situation, because it didn’t have an army, and was threatened by the Kingdom of Italy’s claims to the Adriatic coast. Because of their political insecurity, the State, on the 1st of December 1918, united with the Kingdom of Serbia, which had been on the winning side of WWI and was, at the time, powerful. The

new kingdom was called “Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes”, ruled by the Serbian family Karađorđević, and having its capital in Belgrade.

In 1929, the king Aleksandar Karađorđević I, because of internal turmoil and political clashes in the Kingdom, established a dictatorship. The dictatorship, known under the name of “6 January Dictatorship”, forbade the work of the Parliament, and the existence of political parties, while the King assumed total powers. At the time, the kingdom was also renamed “Kingdom of Yugoslavia”.

On the 6th of April 1941, WWII officially started in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The country was invaded by Nazi and Fascist forces. Its territory was occupied and divided among Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The largest part of the territory of the former Kingdom, however, became a Fascist puppet state, known under the name of “Independent State of Croatia” (NDH), under the rule of Ante Pavelić and the Ustaša regime. The Ustaša regime, immediately after the establishment of NDH, declared racial laws, which targeted Jews, and Roma. The Serbian minority, which at the time constituted one third of the population of NDH, soon became perceived as the main enemy and threat for the state. They were targeted with special laws against the Serbian minority which

determined their persecution, forced migration to the Serbian territories, and forced conversions to Roman Catholicism. The Ustaša regime, already in April 1941, established a system of concentration camps for Serbs, Jews, Roma, anti-fascists and other political opponents. The deadliest was the Jasenovac camp system, which operated from summer 1941 to April 1945.

Because of the system of terror implemented by the Ustaše and the occupators, a strong opposition movement against the regimes soon developed in Zagreb and in the rest of the country. The main resistance force, "Partisans", started to be formed in 1941, and included mostly the groups which were targeted by the racial laws, such as Serbs, Jews, and, especially, anti-fascists and other left-wing oriented individuals. For many of them, joining the Partisans became one of the few options on how to survive the conflict. The Partisans were organized in units, or brigades, and followed a structure of command. In Zagreb the situation was quite different, as there weren't organized resistance forces in the city. The citizens of Zagreb took part in illegal actions against the regime. They were supported by the Communist party and League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ), but never became organized forces such as the Partisans. These actions, which included underground and conspiracy activities in the city of Zagreb, became to be known as "Illegal movement". In 1945,

the “National Liberation Struggle” (NOB) succeeded, as the Partisans won the war against the Ustaša regime and the Nazi occupation. The city of Zagreb was liberated by Yugoslav Partisans on the 8th of May 1945.

Because the Partisans and the Communist party succeeded in the liberation of the country without external help, they soon gained political power and legitimization. They formed a formal government in May 1945, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, former Partisan and commander of the Partisan units. Josip Broz Tito will be a key figure in history from this point on.

From 1945 until his death in 1980, Josip Broz Tito was the President and main political leader of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, then renamed in 1963 Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The country included nowadays Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, and Slovenia. Politically, Yugoslavia had a one-party system, the Communist party, and one leader in the figure of Tito. Yugoslavia became known as the founder and promoter of the “third way”: a political and economic alternative both to capitalism, represented by the United States, both to communism, as intended in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. For this reason, Yugoslavia, found itself in the middle, being

at the same time open to commerce with Western world and still keeping communist policies and ideologies in the state. People in Yugoslavia were, because of this, more free to move, go abroad for studying and working, travel outside the country, and access to western culture, music, films.

With the death of Tito in 1980, Yugoslavia faced a series of challenges connected to economic and social changes, as well as political clashes and struggles. The question of the political organization and structure of the country became a central issue. The Federal Republics, and in particular Croatia and Slovenia, started to request more economic and financial control, autonomy in decision-making, and the introduction of a multi-party political system. On the 25th of June 1991, the former federal Republic of Slovenia and Croatia declared separation from Yugoslavia, and soon after independence. The central government in Belgrade insisted on the political and economic unity of Yugoslavia, and didn't accept the separation of the two countries. After a few months of clashes and violence, in the summer of 1991, Yugoslav national army and Serbian paramilitary troops and militia entered the territory of Croatia. The war lasted until Summer of 1995. Zagreb was not one of the centres of the conflict, as the main fights happened away from the city. However, Zagreb was bombed, which caused victims also in the capital. Zagreb became one of the

centres for the refugees, coming both from Croatia and from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Croatia became formally recognized as an independent state in January 1992. Croatia entered NATO in 2009, and the European Union in 2013.

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city RALLY



Youth activism in Zagreb



The representation of women
in Zagreb's public space



The Antiwar Campaign in Croatia
(ARK)



Contribution of the Serbian
minority to the urbanization
and modernization of the
city of Zagreb

Authors of the texts: George Manoudakis,
Alice Straniero, Tena Banjeglav

Proofreading: Luka Papa Stubbs



Youth activism in Zagreb

KEY WORDS:

student movements, solidarity,
students' rights

DURATION: approximately 90 min on foot

ACCESSIBILITY: by bike



STATION 1

Akcija Stadion



STATION 3

**Galileo and the
Marxist Students
Club**



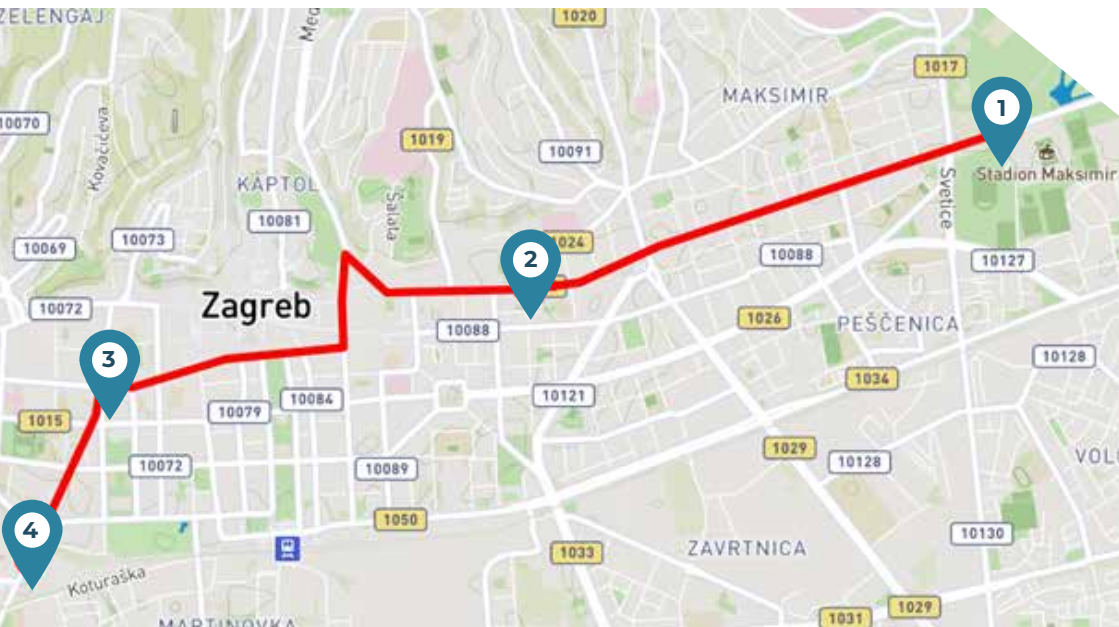
STATION 2

**Josip Preskar
(1920-1943)**



STATION 4

**“The June events”
of 1968**



Youth activism in Zagreb



STATION 1
Akcija Stadion
(Operation
Stadium)



STATION 3
Galileo and
the Marxist
Students Club



STATION 2
Josip Preskar
(1920-1943)



STATION 4
“The June
events” of 1968



90'



5
km

Description

Zagreb hosts the biggest university in Croatia. In the city, different youth and student movements and organizations were active since the 20th century and had a role in shaping youth culture, solidarity, activism, and engagement. Zagreb has often been the center of student initiatives, acts of solidarity, protests, and political discussions.

Zagreb youth movements have been mostly connected with leftist ideologies and activism. An example in this sense, is the League of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ). SKOJ was an organization established on the 10th of October, 1919, in a conference in Zagreb, to which took part 50 delegations of communist youth organizations across the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In 1921, SKOJ was banned by the government, as it was declared dangerous, but the organization continued its actions illegally. During the WWII, the members of SKOJ played an active role in sabotaging, opposing, and resisting the Ustaša fascist regime in Zagreb. They also supported the partisan movement, through networking, around the city. In 1948, the organization became part of a larger network of socialist youth and students named „People's Youth of Yugoslavia” (NOJ).

Despite significant contribution of the youth movements in Croatian history, today there are only a few plaques remembering their participation in the city's political and social life.



STATION 1

**Akcija Stadion
(Operation Stadium)**

(Maksimirska cesta 128)



Vukotić, D. (Director). (1977). *Akcija Stadion*.

On the 10th of April 1941, when the Ustaša authorities seized power and established the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), all schools and universities were closed. However, students were forced to gather every day in the Stadium in order to train in military exercises and civil protection scenarios.

On the 26th of May, the students were gathered in the centre of the Stadium ready to begin their exercises. Zdenko Blažeković, the responsible for the students gathering in the Stadium and member of the Ustaše, gave a furious speech against Serbian and Jewish youth. With a direct order, he commanded all Serbian and Jewish students to go to the opposite side of the stadium, to be separated from Croatian students. However, nobody moved. When Blažeković repeated the command, Serbian and Jewish students started to move to the other side of the Stadium. Soon after, however, SKOJ members and other Croatian students followed them and left the Stadium as sign of solidarity.

While nothing happened to the students at the time, as they stormed outside of the stadium, the following day, 165 young people¹ were reported to the authorities and deported to the Danica concentration camp. In 1977, the film “Akcija Stadion” was released documenting this event, but nowadays its circulation is very limited. On the location of the event, there is no official remembering of this action of solidarity.

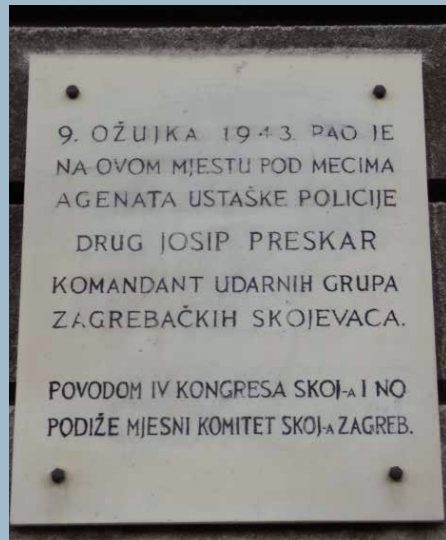
1 Goldstein, I. (2011). Zagreb 1941-1945. *Novi liber*. 112-114



STATION 2

Josip Preskar (1920-1943)

(Vlaška ulica 68)



<https://www.antifasisticki-vjesnik.org/hr/kalendar/3/9/165/>, pristupljeno: 30.03.2023.

After the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), in Zagreb soon started a resistance against the Ustaša regime, called the „illegal movement“. One of their protagonists was Josip Preskar. A few years before the start of the war, he was working as a shoemaker in the Croatian capital. He became a member of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ), and part of its local committee.

Josip Preskar, known under the battle name of “Boltek”, was responsible for finding ways and connections how to transfer people from the city of Zagreb to the partisan units, that were located outside the city.

The secret police of the Ustaša regime was however on his traces, because Josip name was mentioned, under torture, by another member of SKOJ to the Ustaše. The Ustaša agents located him walking in Vlaška street with two other illegals, and shot him on the spot. The agents transported him quickly to the hospital, as they wanted to keep him alive in order to get information about SKOJ and its members. He passed away a few hours later, never betraying his associates. In December 1951, Josip Preskar was declared a Yugoslav national hero, and a plaque was placed in the location where he died.

His bust was placed in Petretić Square, close to Vlaška street, and a kindergarten was named after him, in the neighborhood of Peščenica. However, in the 1990s the bust was removed and the kindergarten was renamed, in the wave of revisionism and removal of Yugoslav monuments and memories, taking place in the newly formed state of Croatia. Today, only the plaque remembering Josip Preskar and his assassination still remains in Vlaška street, in the place of his killing.

**STATION 3****Galileo and the
Marxist student club**

(Trg Republike Hrvatske 14)



The economic crisis at the beginning of the 1920s forced many students, who were studying abroad, to return to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as scholarship opportunities were then limited. These students, especially the ones

who attended the Universities of Prague and Vienna, brought with them notions of student political participation, influenced by the communist ideology, at the time widespread in students and intellectual circles. Returnees students, together with League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) established a youth organization in the university of Zagreb in 1922, with the name “Galileo’s Club – Eppur si muove”, which one year later was named the “Marxist Student Club”.

The goal of the student Club was to engage youth in politics, be a representing body inside the university, and advocate in favour of the students’ rights.

In the 1920s, King Aleksandar I, in Belgrade, mandated the prosecutions of SKOJ members and arrests of students, who were perceived as radical elements inside the society. Despite this system of terror and prosecution, many students in Zagreb, members of the Marxist Club, decided to assist and help communist refugees, who fled Bulgaria, after the coup d’etat of Aleksandar Tsankov. In fact, when the regime of Tsankov came to power, the dictator repressed the Communist party, declaring martial law and outlawing them.

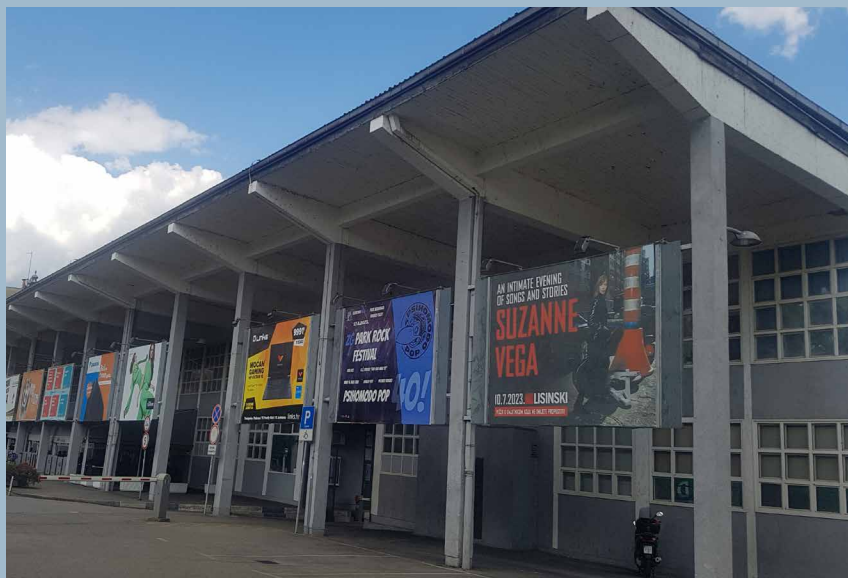
The Club stood in solidarity with the refugees, not only by raising money for accommodation and provisions, but also assisting them with the required procedures of enrolling in the university of Zagreb to continue their studies.



STATION 4

“The June events” of 1968

(Savska cesta 25)



The first half of 1968 was marked by a wave of protests, marches, and strikes across Eastern and Western Europe, and the United States of America. Young people and students protested for political and social changes in their countries. In former Yugoslavia, the protests were somehow minor if compared to other countries in Europe: students organized a week-long protest, taking place at the same time in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo.

In Zagreb, students and activist movements were demanding less state control on the universities, and the possibility to self-manage, as well as democratization of society, removal of the privileges of the bureaucratic class, and the addressing from the government of economic issues, first of all, unemployment.

On the evening of the 2nd of June 1968, students in Belgrade had a heated argument with the police, as they were not allowed to enter the music festival “Caravan of Friendship”. The following day, fights continued in the streets of Belgrade, and students occupied the Faculty of Philosophy. On the 4th of June, news of the event arrived in Zagreb, and the students in the Croatian capital started a demonstration outside of the Student Center, in solidarity to the Belgrade protests. On the 6th of June, around 3.000 students joined the protests, chanting “We are in Solidarity” and “Zagreb-Belgrade... Belgrade-Zagreb”². Students tried to persuade passing workers to join their cause, saying “we students are fighting for you as well”³.

On June 9th, the president of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, addressed the students with a speech, and declared that their demands were legitimate, and that he was supporting their cause. Tito’s speech resulted in a weakening, and finally ending, of the protests.

2 Fichter, 2016: 115

3 Fichter, 2016: 100

Questions:

- _____ Do you think that youth initiatives are an important factor in social changes?
- _____ Do you know of any monuments or plaques in your city dedicated to students/youth protests and initiatives?
- _____ How would you commemorate youth movements in the public space in Zagreb/your town?

Glossary:

- **KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES:** the Kingdom of the Serbs was established in 1918, under the Serbian dynasty Karađorđević. In 1929, the Kingdom was renamed in Kingdom of Yugoslavia, under the ruler Aleksandar Karađorđević I. King Aleksandar, because of the unrest which characterized the 1920s, on the 6th of January 1929 proclaimed a dictatorship. The king abolished political freedom, and forbid the work of the Parliament and all political parties. The Kingdom ended in April 1941, with the beginning of the WWII.
- **THE ILLEGAL MOVEMENT:** since the Second World War started, the resistance movement in Zagreb was very strong. As the city was the capital of Ustaša puppet state, it was the centre of its regime, and the place from where all their repressive measure started. Nazi and Fascist army and secret services were present in Zagreb as well. The illegal movement was partly supported by members of Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as well as by SKOJ, but majority of the illegals were not anyhow connected with these organizations. They were just citizens, from various ethnic and social groups, who joined the movement with the same motivation: to oppose the Ustaša regime and help the people in need. The movement is called “illegal”, because, at the time, it was done underground and in

conspiracy, and it functioned under strong repression, and constant fear of detention and prosecution of the Ustaša police.

- **BATTLE NAMES:** Battle names, or code names, are pseudonyms used by individuals in order to identify themselves without using their real names, as this would be dangerous. Battle names are used most frequently at the times of war or political unrest.
- **BUREAUCRATIC CLASS:** in Yugoslavia, the bureaucratic class was the most privileged, because of their work in state institutions and their positions, often connected to the Party. In Yugoslav society then, they positioned themselves higher than the working class, which was at the time the majority of the population. Because of their privileged position, students saw them as representatives of the government and the most conservative parts of society.

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CODE NAME | English meaning - Cambridge Dictionary

Film

Vukotić, D. (Director). (1977). *Akcija Stadion*. [Film]. Zagreb Film.

The representation of women in Zagreb's public space

KEY WORDS:

representation, visibility, gender roles

DURATION: approximately 90 min

ACCESSIBILITY: by foot or by bike



STATION 1

Kumica Barica



STATION 4

Sister Baković



STATION 2

**Marija Jurić Zagorka
(1873- 1957)**



STATION 5

**Statue of
Croatian History**



STATION 3

**Marija Jurić Zagorka
(1873- 1957)**



The representation of women in Zagreb's public space



90'



2 km



STATION 1
Kumica Barica



STATION 2
Marija Jurić Zagorka (1873- 1957), apartment



STATION 3
Marija Jurić Zagorka (1873- 1957), statue



STATION 4
Sister Baković



STATION 5
Statue of Croatian History

Description

While walking around the city of Zagreb, you can come across a significant number of statues, monuments, street and squares names, dedicated to men. On the contrary, female representation in the public space of the city is less frequent. An analysis from 2018 showed that Zagreb has less than 1% street names dedicated to women¹. This is also the case when considering monuments: of around 350 monuments in the city of Zagreb, only 48 represent a woman's figure². Even when women are present in the public space, they are mostly depicted as fictive and ideal, and as a representation of traditional ideologies and values, such as homeland, maternity, and so on.

Traditionally, Croatian society was heavily influenced by Catholic values, which depicted ideal women as virtuous and obedient and shaped gender roles that defined women as mothers and housewives. The secularization of society, happening at the beginning of the 20th century, had an influence, even if minor, also in the public spaces of the city.

During WWII, women took an active part in the resistance movement and the partisan struggle in Yugoslavia, being

1 https://voxfeminae.net/vijesti/najveci-hrvatski-gradovi-imaju-manje-od-2-posto-ulica-nazvanih-po-zenama/?fbclid=IwAR04H-QLYK2ID19uEIh3e4CDFrtSnAz6Pa9tlmRRKCOTa5E6KOBu-LP_VGg

2 Kajinic, S. (2006). *Spomenici - rodno mapiranje prostora na primjeru Zagreba. Rodno Obilježavanje Prostora i Vremena u Hrvatskoj*

fighters, nurses, printing leaflets, and bringing messages. Their active participation in the liberation movement determined that women were seen in a favourable way in socialist Yugoslavia. Since 1945, women had the right to vote, and soon the Yugoslav government applied a series of policies to support women's rights to education, health, and childcare. Female presence in the society became more prominent as many women started to work alongside men. Because of these, at least formal, equality policies, women were able to be more involved in the public sphere and Croatian society, which determined a major visibility in the public space as well. However, in practice, in many cases women were still considered "second class citizens", having lower social and political presence, and taking less-paid jobs. Despite having a major public recognition and presence, women maintained the traditional roles of the housekeeper and caregiver, having double duties and responsibilities.

With Croatian independence in the 1990s, more traditional gender roles and religious values became again dominant in society. The will to distance from the Yugoslav period, also determined the removal of monuments and renaming of streets and squares dedicated to women, who were connected to Yugoslav times.



STATION 1

**Kumica Barica
(The market seller Barica)**

(Dolac 1)



In the open market Dolac, in the centre of Zagreb, there is a bronze statue of an older lady dressed in traditional clothes and with a scarf on her hair. She is carrying on her head a heavy woven straw basket, filled with food to sell at the mar-

ket. The statue is referred to as “Kumica Barica”, meaning “market seller lady Barica”. Despite its details and the use of the first name “Barica”, the statue does not depict an historical person, but it is instead a tribute to all women sellers, who work in Dolac. The statue, erected in 2006, is the work of the Croatian sculptor Stjepan Gračan, who also created the statue of Marija Jurić Zagorka in Tkalčićeva street.

The term “kumice” was used to define women coming from villages in the suburbs and around Zagreb, who, every morning, travelled to the city to sell their products, like fruits and vegetables at the market. The “kumice” became a symbol of the city and of its markets, in particular of Dolac. The statue then represents the “idea” of “Kumica”, rather than a specific historical person.



STATION 2

Marija Jurić Zagorka (1873- 1957)

(apartment - Dolac 8 / statue – Tkalčićeva ulica 21)



<https://voxfeminae.net/strasne-zene/marija-juric-zagorka-ikona-hrvatske-popularne-knjizevnosti/>, pristupljeno 30.03.2023.

Marija Jurić Zagorka is one of the most influential figures of the 19th and 20th centuries in Croatian literature. At the beginning of her career, before becoming renowned, she mostly used male pseudonyms to publish her novels and articles in newspapers. In the years before WWI, she published novels that are still today fundamental for Croatian literature, among them are: *Grička vještica* (The witch from Grič); *Kontesa Nera*

(Countess Nera); *Tajna krvavog mosta* (Secret of the bloody bridge). In the same years, she also wrote plays which were performed in HNK, the Croatian national theater.

Zagorka was very involved in Croatian public life, and took part in different associations and organizations, which advocated for women's rights. In 1897, she founded the first women's trade union organization in Croatia, called "Working Women's Circle". In 1936, together with several colleagues, she established The Croatian Women Writers' Association.

From 1925, she started her editorial work, establishing the first magazine in Croatia targeted specifically to a female public, called "Ženski List" (Womans' paper). In 1938, Zagorka created the magazine "Hrvatica" (Croatian woman), which focused more on topics connected to feminism, socialism, and patriotism.

Already the day after the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, in 1941, Ustaša regime entered Zagorka's apartment and forbid the circulation of "Hrvatica" and seized her money and furniture, because of her closeness to feminist and leftist ideologies. During the WWII, she lived in poverty and in very hard circumstances. After the end of the war, she became a member of Women's Antifascist Front (AFŽ).

The topic of women's discrimination in the Croatian society was addressed by Zagorka in her autobiography, titled "Što

je moja krivnja?" (What is my fault?), published in 1947. She passed away in 1957 in her apartment in Dolac 8, where she lived for many years.

In 1990, a bronze statue of Zagorka by Stjepan Gračan was inaugurated in Tkalčićeva street, becoming one of the few monuments in the city dedicated to female historical figures and the only one representing a female author. However, the monument was heavily criticized by feminist organizations for "beautifying" Zagorka's appearance. In fact, in the monument, Zagorka is represented as taller as she actually was and wearing a dress and an umbrella, which was the fashion for women living in that age, while she usually wore pants and used a male cane. Nowadays, her apartment hosts a small memorial museum, which was founded in 2009 by the Center for Women's Studies, honouring her work and contribution.



STATION 3

Zdenka and Rajka Baković

(Prolaz sestara Baković)



The Baković sisters were born in Oruro, Bolivia, where their family, originally from the island of Brač in Croatia, moved for work. The two sisters moved to Zagreb as students to attend high school. During high school, Rajka got involved in the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ), becoming a member of the organization. In 1939, the sisters opened a small kiosk, selling newspapers. In 1941, with the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), the kiosk of the sisters became one of the locations that the illegal move-

ment used for exchanging secret information, packages, and notes about their actions.

On the night of the 20th of December 1941, Ustaša police stormed the Baković apartment and took both sisters and their brother Mladen to the Ustaša secret police prison, in Zagreb. The sisters were brutally tortured, as the Ustaša wanted to gain information about the names of other members and plans of the illegal movement, however the sisters didn't share any information. On Christmas Eve, Rajka, who was severely beaten, was transported to the hospital Sveti Duh, where she died a few days later because of the injuries. Zdenka, on the 25th of December, jumped from the third floor window of the prison, and died because of the fall. Rajka and Zdenka were buried together in Mirogoj cemetery. They were proclaimed National Heroes of Yugoslavia in 1953.

In 1961, Yugoslav authorities named a walking path in the city centre after the sisters, and placed their busts in the same street. In the 1990s, the newly independent Republic of Croatia, wishing to distance itself from its Yugoslav past, promoted policies of removal of monuments and street and squares names related to the socialist period. The busts, despite not being removed, were severely damaged and the path was renamed ³. In 2008, because of pressure and actions by civic society, the path was renamed again after the sisters.

3 Zagreb again has the Passage of the Baković Sisters - suburbanaut - Blog.hr (dnevnik.hr)



STATION 4

**Povijest Hrvata
(History of the Croats)**

(Trg Republike Hrvatske 14)



“Povijest Hrvata” (History of the Croats) is one of the most well-known statues in Croatia. The statue was created by Ivan Meštrović, famous Croatian sculptor, in 1932. In 1970, on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the foundation of the

University of Zagreb, a bronze casting of the statue was placed at the front entrance of the main building of the University.

The sculpture depicts a sitting figure of a woman dressed in a stylized folk dress, inspired by the region of Dalmatian inland. The statue is holding on its lap a stone plate with the engraving “History of Croats”, written in Glagolitic, an old Croatian script. It is assumed that the statue is the portrait of the artist’s mother.

The sculpture is interpreted as holding in its lap the Croatian identity and heritage, following the symbolism of a mother holding her child. The statue is then an example of another symbolic representation of women, in this case being that of the “Mother of all Croats”, securing the well being of her children in the passage of time.

Questions:

- _____ Why do you think female figures are mostly represented as ideals, and not for their historical relevance in the case of the city of Zagreb?
- _____ How would you better represent women's contributions in the public space?
- _____ If you think about your city, can you remember one example of women representation? If yes, which one? If not, why do you think this is the case?

Glossary:

- **THE ILLEGAL MOVEMENT:** since the Second World War started, the resistance movement in Zagreb was very strong. As the city was the capital of Ustaša puppet state, it was the centre of its regime, and the place from where all their repressive measure started. Nazi and Fascist army and secret services were present in Zagreb as well. The illegal movement was partly supported by members of Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as well as by SKOJ, but majority of the illegals were not anyhow connected with these organizations. They were just citizens, from various ethnic and social groups, who joined the movement with the same motivation: to oppose the Ustaša regime and help the people in need. The movement is called “illegal”, because, at the time, it was done underground and in conspiracy, and it functioned under strong repression, and constant fear of detention and prosecution of the Ustaša police.
- **ORDER OF THE NATIONAL HERO OF YUGOSLAVIA:** the Order of the National Hero was an honorary title given to individuals, military units, towns, or political and other organizations, because of the courage they showed “in war and peace”. The majority of the medals of the Order was given for actions taken during WWII.

— **GLAGOLITIC:** the Glagolitic script was used, together with Latin and Cyrillic, in parts of the territory of Croatia starting from the 9th century. The script was used mostly in relation to Church, as it was a complex script which was not mastered by common people at the time.

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Zagreb again has the Passage of the Baković Sisters - suburbanaut - Blog.hr (dnevnik.hr)

<https://voxfeminae.net/strasne-zene/prica-o-sestrama-bakovic/>

Najveći hrvatski gradovi imaju manje od 2 posto ulica nazvanih po ženama – VoxFeminae

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/alphabet-writing/Cyrillic-and-Glagolitic-alphabets#ref512711>

The Antiwar Campaign in Croatia (ARK)

KEY WORDS: war in the 1990s, peace movement, non-violence, volunteer network, activism

DURATION: approximately 90 min

ACCESSIBILITY: accessible by foot



STATION 1

Doors of Peace



STATION 3 - 4

The offices in
Gajeva 55



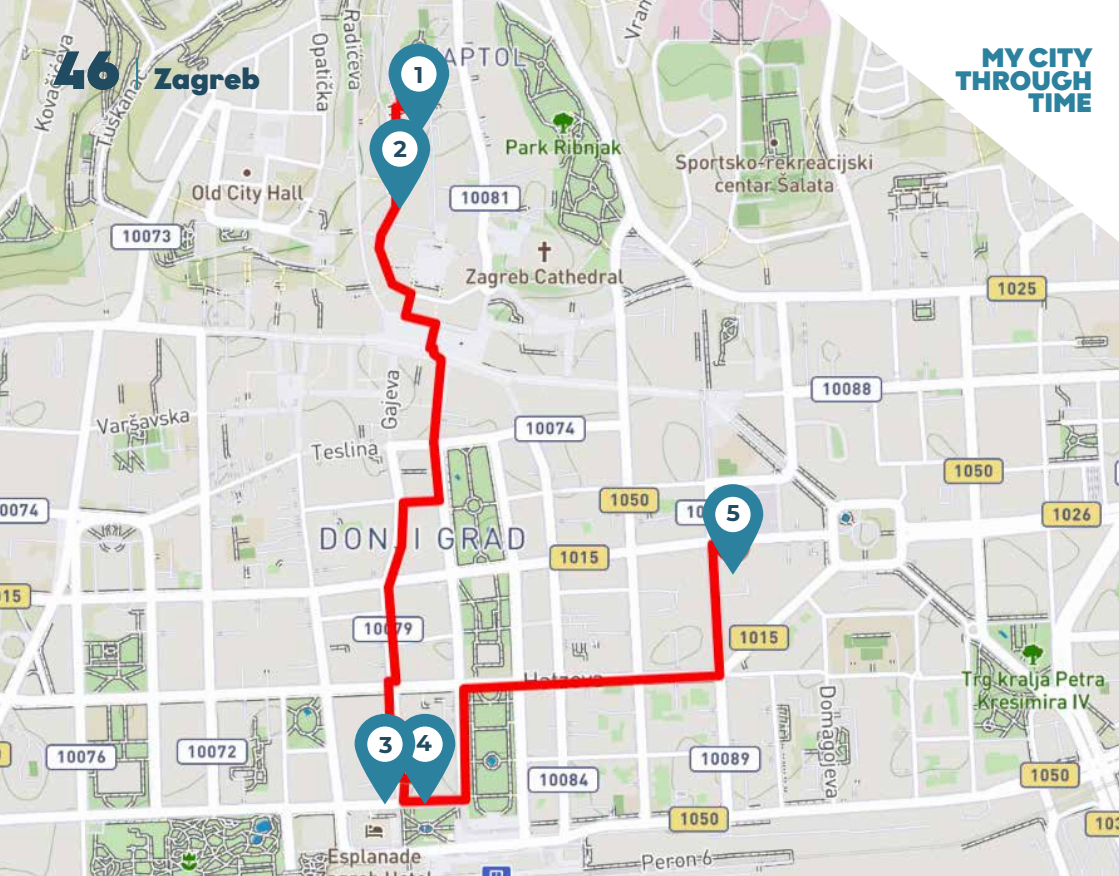
STATION 2

The offices in
Tkalčićeva 38



STATION 5

Center for Women
Victims of War



The Antiwar Campaign in Croatia (ARK)



STATION 1
Doors of Peace



STATION 3 - 4
The offices in
Gajeva 45



STATION 2
The offices in
Tkalčićeva 38



STATION 5
Center for
Women Victims
of War

90'



2
km

Description

The first clashes and violence in the territory of Croatia began in the spring of 1991. As the hostilities escalated, individuals and groups started to raise their voices against the war and protest against the rising violence. The protagonists of these protests were usually members of established civic society organizations, already active during the 1980s, and advocating for human rights, democracy and multiparty system, feminism, and environmental issues. These citizens started the Antiwar Campaign in Croatia (ARK).

On the 4th of July 1991, Dražen Nikolić, Vesna Teršelič, Zoran Ostrić, and Vladimir Lay met in order to draft charter and plan of antiwar campaign first activities. The following day, in the offices of organizations Zelena Akcija Zagreb and Društvo za unapređenje kvalitete života, organizations dealing with environmental questions, ARK was launched. The main aim of the campaign was the establishment of a network of organizations and individuals, volunteers, and the formation of peace educational centers. The campaign also organized seminars, lectures, and workshops. The campaign initially pleaded against the escalation of the violence, and, when the armed conflict started, advocated for a non-violent and peaceful resolution of the war.

ARK, during its existence, operated in many different fields connected to peace-building and the further establishment of civic society, through numerous actions and activities.

Among their activities, since the beginning of the war, ARK supported conscientious objectors, who didn't want and/or could not take part in the armed struggle, by helping them in declaring objection to military service and demand civilian service. It was very helpful that since late 80's civic peace initiatives advocated introduction of civilian service and submitted proposal to new Croatian authorities, when public discussion on draft of new constitution has started. Therefore, in final text of Constitution adopted on December 22nd 1990 conscientious objection to Military service became guaranteed right (within the Article 47).

Already at the beginning of the war, ARK's members founded different organizations dealing with peace-building. Among them, the Centre for peace, nonviolence and human rights, founded in Osijek, in 1992, and the Volunteer project in Pakrac, in 1993. Both were established in Slavonia, an eastern region of Croatia, which was among the territories most heavily affected by the war. ARK supported the creation of national and international groups of volunteers, who offered immediate help to communities affected by the war, by rebuilding houses, organizing dialogues and gatherings to support the process of rebuilding of the community and reconciliation, and helping refugees.

ARK also contributed to creating networks and helped numerous people in need.

With help of international volunteers they created the on-line-based network “ZaMir”, based not just in Croatia but also in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and Slovenia, which allowed people from war torn places and across the world to communicate, creating a feeling of international solidarity, quite unique in the first days of internet connections in the 1990s.

Center for Women war Victims, has been established in 1992, largely by experienced Women, who as feminist activists launched the first SOS help-line in Croatia and Southeastern Europe for reporting domestic violence against women, in 1988.

After the end of the major war operations in Croatia in 1995, ARK continued its work. Until 1998, they supported the process of peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia, by organizing trust-building activities in the communities, and providing assistance for the survivors and victims.

During time of the most intense work ARK activists held weekly meetings in different towns. Each 6 months assembly bringing together most activists in two days reflection used to be organized. ARK held its final assembly meeting on the 8th of July 2006. Their work, however, continues through the work

of different civil society organizations, which were created as ARK's successors, among which is also Documenta.

Despite their significant contribution, the story and activities of ARK are today mostly forgotten or marginalized in Croatian society. As you will see in the city rally, there is no memory today in the locations which represented ARK's story.

**STATION 1****Doors of Peace (Vrata Mira)**

(Tkalčićeva ulica)



On the 23rd and 24th of August 1991, the newly formed network of the Antiwar campaign held strategic meeting in Kumrovec, a town north to Zagreb. In this meeting, named “Days of Peace”, ARK was defined for the first time as an organization that affirms and promotes “exclusively non-violent methods, takes part in the process of conflict resolution but does not favor isolated, solutions, respects all parties involved in a conflict and strives to communicate with them”⁴ with support to conscientious objectors, peace education for teachers, direct protection of human rights and publishing periodical fanzin, as main activities.

4 As described in minutes from meeting in Kumrovec published in ARKzin: <https://monoskop.org/Arkzin>

The following day, the 25th of August 1991, one of the first public events of ARK took place in Opatovina Park, in the city center, with aim of creating an open and safe space where people could freely declare that they were against the war and for the peaceful resolution of the conflict. ARK activists presented to passersby the goals and intentions of the newly formed campaign, organized discussion on the topic of peace initiatives and conflict resolution. In the evening, ARK members organized an open-air concert. ARK presented the document called “Charter of Antiwar Campaign”⁵: a petition to be signed by the citizens of Zagreb in an attempt to exert political pressure on the government and bring the public closer to the views and demands of the campaign. All these actions aimed to include citizens of Zagreb in getting active in opposing war actions and instances, and showing that another way was possible.

5 Charter of Antiwar Campaign was published in ARKzin (issued at September 25th 1991, now fully available at: https://monoskop.org/media/text/arkzin/arkzin_1_0.pdf accessed on June 26th 2023



STATION 2
The office in Tkalčićeva 38



Between 1993 and 1995, the main offices of ARK were in Tkalčićeva 38. Aiming to spread and communicate their ac-

tions to the citizens, ARK decided to create a fanzine called „ARKzin”.

On the 25th of September 1991, a pilot issue of ARKzin was printed in few copies. The first number of ARKzin focused on presenting the Antiwar movement and its goals and activities. The following issues were also published as a zine, and distributed by ARK members in the streets or via mail. From April 1992, ARKzine became a newspaper, with more organized structure and publications. In both cases, ARKzin combined political interpretation of the ongoing situation in the country, with a more artistic graphic and contents. The zine included a series of thematic supplements, among them are “Speak Out: newsletter of lesbian and gay action Zagreb”, and others devoted to human rights, media freedoms, critical theory, cyber-theory, as well as comics and science fiction.

Together with political articles, written in a collective form, ARKzin soon became a platform for illustrators and graphic designers to publish their artworks, inspired by the current political and social events.



STATION 3 - 4 The Offices in Gajeva



Gajeva 45

ARK had its offices in Gajeva 45 from the beginning of 1992 until May 1993, when it moved to Tkalčićeva 38. The offices in Gajeva were a place of connection, both literally and metaphorically. In these offices, in 1992, an international volunteer brought to the organization a router, which provided the first internet connection for ARK. It will become the basis of ZaMir Transnational Network (ZTN). ARK became part of international telecommunication network.

Gajeva 55

After being situated in Tkaličićeva 38, ARK moved once again in Gajeva street, this time at the number 55. The offices remained in this location from the 15th of May 1996. In the late nineties ARK moved to its final physical address in Vukovarska ulica.

In the years following the war, ARK has supported reconciliation processes, and established itself as a significant actor in Croatian civic society and activism.



STATION 4

Center for Women Victims of War
(Kralja Držislava 2)

One of the most important long-term results of ARK is the establishment of civic society organizations and associations, peace centers. Among them, the “Center for Women victims of War”, which was established on the 5th of December 1992. The main aim of the Center was “of supporting women, victims of war and other forms of patriarchal violence”.

The Center provided assistance to many women refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina and displaced from Croatia, es-

caping from military operations areas during wartime, in the 1990s. Nowadays, the Center supports women who are victims of domestic violence, operates in preventing human trafficking, and promotes the discussion of human rights from a feminist perspective.

Questions:

- _____ Why do you think ARK is not remembered by Croatian society today?
- _____ In which ways should ARK be commemorated?
- _____ Do you think dialogue and non-violent approaches to conflict are effective?
- _____ Do you know any other example of international solidarity from the past or today?

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Contribution of the Serbian minority to the urbanization and modernization of the city of Zagreb

KEY WORDS: serbian minority, urbanization, modernization, city development, cooperation.

DURATION: approximately 90 min

ACCESSIBILITY: accessible by foot



STATION 1

Kristofor Stanković (1793- 1867) and the National Theatre (1834-1895)



STATION 3

Bogdan Medaković (1854-1930) and the Serbian Bank in Zagreb (1895-1941)



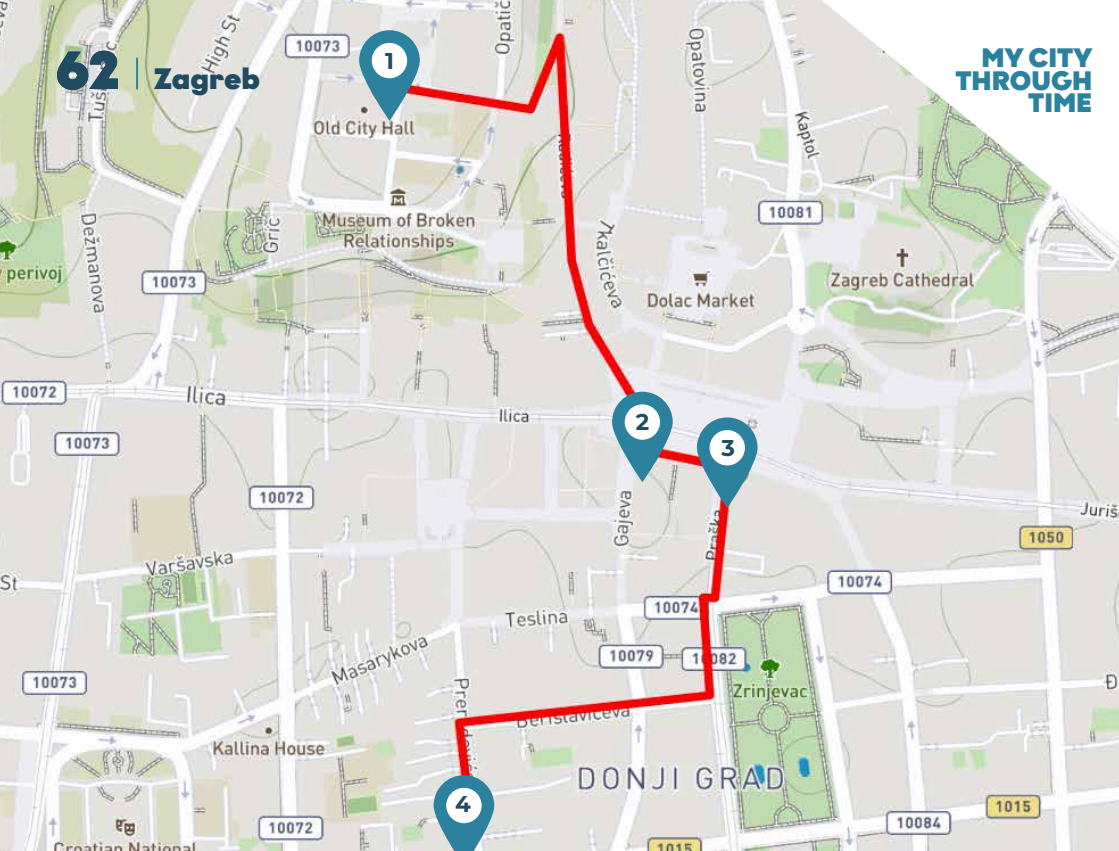
STATION 2

Svetozar Milinov (1869- 1941) and Hotel Milinov (1930-1940)



STATION 4

Paulina Matijević (1861-1926), Vladimir Matijević (1854-1929) and Privrednik (1897 – today)



Contribution of the Serbian minority to the urbanization and modernization of the city of Zagreb



90'



2 km



STATION 1

Kristofor Stanković (1793- 1867) and the National Theatre (1834-1895)



STATION 2

Svetozar Milinov (1869- 1941) and Hotel Milinov (1930-1940)



STATION 3

Bogdan Medaković (1854-1930) and the Serbian Bank in Zagreb (1895-1941)



STATION 4

Paulina Matijević (1861-1926), Vladimir Matijević (1854-1929) and Privrednik (1897 - today)

Description

The involvement of the Serbian minority in the urbanization, and modernization, of Zagreb was significant, through the city history, as numerous Serbs were involved in the city's cultural, economic, and political life. In 1781, Emperor Joseph II declared the "Patent of Toleration", and extended religious freedom to the non-Catholic subjects, which permitted to Serbian families to move to Zagreb. As merchants and traders, the Serbian community opened stores and hotels, formed trading unions, and contributed to the urban development of the city. Croats, Serbs and other ethnic groups in Zagreb, being all subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy and later Austro-Hungarian Empire, experienced long coexistence and cooperation.

Despite the direct involvement and contribution of the Serbian population toward the modernization and urbanization of the city of Zagreb, most of their efforts today remain invisible. Even if the Serbian community is an ethnic and religious minority recognized in the Croatian Constitution, the historical proximity and relationships between Serbian and Croatian population in Zagreb are still a contexted topic, mostly because of the conflict of the 1990s and recent tensions connected to rising nationalisms in the 20th and 21st centuries.

This city rally considers four examples of Serbian contributions to the city of Zagreb, during the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries.



STATION 1

Kristofor Stanković (1793- 1867) and the National Theatre (1834-1895)

(Ulica svetog Ćirila i Metoda 5)



<https://p-portal.net/hristofor-stankovic-covjek-koji-je-zagrebu-poklonio-kazaliste/>, pristupljeno: 30.03.2023.

Kristofor Stanković was a Serbian merchant and the president of the Zagreb Orthodox Church municipality. He contributed to the erection of many buildings around the city centre of Zagreb. Thanks to lucky occurrences, in 1832, Stanković won 30.000 golden ducats in a lottery in Vienna. With this sum, he financed the construction of the first National Theatre. The National Theatre was built in Saint Mark's Square, in Zagreb's Upper Town, and became the first theatre in Zagreb. The building was completed in 1834, under the supervision of the architect Anton Cragolini. The official opening was October

4th 1834, in honour of the name day of Austro-Hungarian emperor Francis Joseph.

Stanković was a very influential figure in the city of Zagreb, having a close circle of intellectuals and politicians, among whom also ban Josip Jelačić. Kristofor Stanković was considered by his contemporaries and the local press as “a worthy patriot”⁶. The Theatre supported the performances and speeches of members of the Illyrian movement, formed by intellectuals whose ideology circled around the idea of the further development of Croatian and Pan-Slavic identities, cultures, and languages, and their recognition in the Empire. In the Theatre, the members of the Illyrian movement promoted plays and speeches in Slavic languages and provided a place of expression, political discussions and development of their ideas. In 1835, Ljudevit Gaj’s patriotic song “Još Hrvatska ni propala” (Croatia Has Not Yet Fallen), considered the anthem of the Illyrian movement, was performed for the first time.

In 1895, when the new building of Croatian National Theatre (HNK) was opened, Stanković’s Theatre became the location of the municipality’s assembly. Nowadays, the building still is under the jurisdiction of the municipality, which has dedicated a special chamber to the overall contribution of Stanković for the city of Zagreb⁷.

6 Hristofor Stanković – the man who donated theatre to Zagreb - P-portal (Accessed 20/2/2023)

7 Hristofor Stanković – the man who donated theatre to Zagreb - P-portal (Accessed 20/2/2023)

**STATION 2****Svetozar Milinov (1869- 1941) and
Hotel Milinov (1930-1940)**

(Gajeva ulica 1)



<https://p-portal.net/hotel-dubrovnik-zaboravljeni-milinov/>, pristupljeno: 30.03.2023.

Svetozar Milinov was a cloth merchant who became a respected figure in the end of the 19th century in Zagreb. In 1929, Milinov bought the house of Pavao Hatz, former mayor of Zagreb, located in the corner between Ban Jelačić Square and Gajeva Street. After the purchase, Milinov demolished the house and, in its place, constructed a new building, which he turned into a hotel, named after him.

The hotel soon became one of the most luxurious and exclusive of the time. On the ground floor, were located two restaurants and a Milinov textile store. Despite the modern art-deco architecture, soon criticisms arose, saying that the building was ruining the square aesthetic. People started calling the hotel “škatulja” (the box), as a joke . In 1940, Milinov decided to sell the hotel to the shipping company “Dubrovačka plovidba”, which changed its name to “Hotel Dubrovnik”, which remains today the name of the hotel.

In 1941, Ante Pavelić, leader of the Ustaše movement, with the support of Fascist and Nazi forces, established a puppet state, named Independent State of Croatia (NDH). Following racial laws from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, Ustaše targeted ethnic and religious minorities, such as Serbs, Jews, and Roma, which became victims of deportations, killings, and systematic violence. Already in 1941, Svetozar Milinov, his wife, and four sons, were taken to the Gospić camp system, where they were executed.



STATION 3

**Bogdan Medaković (1854-1930) and
the Serbian Bank in Zagreb (1895-1941)**
(Jurišićeva ulica 4)



<https://p-portal.net/velicanstvena-povijest-skrivena-u-srcu-zagreba-palaca-medakovic/>,
prisupljeno:30.03.2023.

Bogdan Medaković was one of the most prominent lawyers and, later, bankers of his time. He was born in Novi Sad and studied Law in Vienna. After his studies, he moved to Zagreb

where he opened an independent law office in 1879. Quickly, he became involved in the political life of the city, being elected as a deputy of the Serb Independent Party in the Croatian Parliament. Medaković was then elected president of the Croatian Parliament in 1906 and remained in that position until 1918.

Medaković was one of the founders of the Serbian Bank in Zagreb, established in 1895. The bank played a major political and economic role in the city, and assisted cultural and educational activities of the Serbian community in Zagreb. The bank financed the construction of new buildings and provided capital for the founding of organizations that promoted the education and employability of young individuals, among them “Privrednik”.

In 1941, with the establishment of NDH, all properties belonging to the Serbian community were seized by the Ustaša regime, including the bank.



STATION 4

Paulina Matijević (1861-1926), Vladimir Matijević (1854-1929) and Privrednik (1897 – today)

(Preradovićeve ulica 18/1)



<https://privrednik.hr/nasi-dobrotvori/paulina-matijevic/>, pristupljeno: 30.03.2023.



<https://snv.hr/znameniti-srbi/vladimir-matijevic-dobrotvor/>, pristupljeno: 30.03.2023.

Paulina Matijević was a very active philanthropist who contributed to the development of the city of Zagreb with her humanitarian work. One of her initiatives was the establishment of the organization “Srpkinja” (Serbian woman), which operated until the first World War in assisting more than 250 young Serbian women in their education, providing them accommodation and support in enrolling a boarding school.

Vladimir Matijević, her husband, was an important banker and philanthropist. He founded the organization “Privrednik” in 1897. In order to establish Privrednik, Matijević received financial support from the Serbian bank and the Association of Serbian Agricultural Cooperatives. The aim of Privrednik was to provide free accommodation and education for Serbian youth coming from disadvantaged families. The organization had three basic principles: work (rad), frugality (štednja), and rectitude (čestitost). According to Matijević, these were the basic conditions for a person to become a good citizen, active in society. By 1914, more than 13,000 young people benefited from the institution, one of them being the merchant Svetozar Milinov. At their death, the Matijević left all their property to Privrednik, for the organization to continue helping young individuals in need.

During the First World War, all the activities of Privrednik were prohibited, as all the other Serbian organization inside the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the time, in fact, the Kingdom of Serbia was considered a threat and an enemy to the security of the Empire, because of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, by the Bosnian-Serb student Gavrilo Princip. Privrednik resumed its former work after the IWW. In 1941, however, when the Ustaše regime gained control and established NDH, the activities of Privrednik were again prohibited. Nowadays, Privrednik operates in Zagreb with its headquarters in Preradovićeveva 18.

Questions:

- _____ Why do you think that the locations connected to Serbian contributions in the city of Zagreb are in the city centre?

- _____ Is it important to have memorialized contributions of minorities in the city? Why?

- _____ Can you think about how minorities contribute today to the shaping of your town?

Glossary:

- **BAN:** the Croatian Bans were considered to be the direct representatives of the king and supreme military commanders. The term started to be used in the territory of Croatia during the Middle Ages, and then became common during the Hapsburg and then Austro-Hungarian Empire (1527-1918).
- **THE USTAŠA MOVEMENT:** the Ustaša movement was born in the first decades of the 20th century, founded by its leader Ante Pavelić. The movement advocated for the ethnic purity of Croatian nation and soon became connected with Fascist forces, developing in Europe at the time. In 1941, at the start of WWII, Ustaša were supported by the Nazi and Fascist forces in founding a puppet state and in taking control of Croatia. From 1941 to 1945, the regime persecuted Serbs, Jews, Roma, and political opponents, which were arrested, tortured, and deported to concentration camps all over Croatia.
- **THE GOSPIĆ CONCENTRATION CAMP SYSTEM:** the Gospić camp system was founded by the Ustaša at the end of April 1941. The system included a prison, in the town of Gospić, the Jadovno camp, and the Slana and Metajna camps on the island of Pag. The camps were in function until the end of August 1941. The inmates were mostly Serbs, Jews, Roma, and political opponents and anti-fascists.

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Paulina Matijević, benefactor ahead of her time – P-portal

Privrednikov dom - Srpska privredno društvo "Privrednik"

Svetozar Milinov, founder and first owner of hotel Dubrovnik –
P-portal

Vladimir Matijević – Benefactor - Serbian National Council - SNV

Zaboravljeni Milinov - P-portal

Photos: George Manoudakis



MY CITY THROUGH TIME



Co-funded by the
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