Variety of Bioethics in Croatia: 
a Historical Sketch and a Critical Touch*


Abstract
The paper tries to elucidate the circumstances and major milestones in the developmental path of bioethics in Croatia, departing from the first mention of the term ‘bioethics’ in 1985 until the present day. Listed and critically addressed are the major book series devoted to bioethical and/or medical-ethical topics, journals, editors, authors, and institutions. The overview groups Croatian bioethicists in accordance with their professional and/or intellectual background (theologians, physicians, philosophers, sociologists, lawyers, etc.). One of the most intriguing results of the paper has been the revealed variety of perspectives and approaches to bioethics in Croatia, some of them being recognised even at European and global level. It is the authors’ opinion that this variety might primarily be ascribed to the enthusiasm of two pioneers of bioethics in Croatia – Ivan Šegota (1938–2011) and Ante Čović.

Key words
bioethics, medical ethics, Croatia, history of bioethics, European bioethics, integrative bioethics

Working with bioethics, in whatever way and for whatever purpose, offers an exceptional opportunity for individual maturing. The variety of bioethical topics and of approaches to them, must help reshaping one’s own ideas and views. But, while this might be true also for some other disciplines, bioethics has proved to be able to transform and radically improve entire institutions. The book that was recently published in Germany, Integrative Bioethik und Pluriperspektivismus / Integrative Bioethics and Pluri-perspectivism by Academia Verlag, represents a sort of an acme of such institutional and individual maturation and improvement process in South-East Europe. However, in order to understand its importance within a historical, political, intellec-

* The authors would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Ivan Šegota (1938–2011), one of the pioneers of bioethics in Croatia, who suddenly passed away on Saturday, December 31, 2011 in Rijeka.
tual, and academic context, we would propose to dive into the origins of the bioethical thought in Croatia.

On the appearance(s) of bioethics in general

Today, we know that it was the German theologian and teacher Fritz Jahr (1895–1953) who first used the term ‘bioethics’ (Bio-Ethik) and first conceived it as a new discipline in his paper from 1927.¹ The discovery of his work, occurred around 1997, imposed the necessity of re-writing all bioethics histories, but also bioethics definitions. While the work of Fritz Jahr was neglected for seven decades, a more general concern for the discrepancy between human technological/biomedical progress and human readiness to conscientiously make use of it, has continuously been present primarily among scientists who have felt the imminence of danger. Therefore, it is no wonder that a researcher of oncological biochemistry, the University of Wisconsin Professor Van Rensselaer Potter (1911–2001), gave form and direction to such concerns in his 1970 paper “Bioethics: The science of survival”² and, subsequently, in his book Bioethics: Bridge to the Future.³ Although the motives, etymology, and aims of Jahr’s and Potter’s concepts of bioethics were quite different, it remains a historical and epistemological curiosity how, in two such separate parts of the world and in two such different periods of time, without in any way being linked, these two somehow still similar ideas emerged. Unlike Jahr’s work, nevertheless, Potter’s was immediately saved from oblivion by André Hellegers (1926–1979), a Dutch-American obstetrician and foetal physiologist who founded Georgetown University’s Joseph and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics in Washington, D.C. Although he eventually gave up the idea of introducing ‘bioethics’ into the Institute’s name (now: Kennedy Institute of Ethics), he did associate the Institute’s orientation with Potter’s notion and thus forever institutionalized his teaching. Not everyone was so enthusiastic about the emergence of bioethics – many considered it just a revived interest in medical ethics (some called it even ‘new medical ethics’), anchored into typically American values and approaches such as pragmatism and principlism. Europe, therefore, long ignored and passively resisted the spread of the name of this “new” discipline (one exception was the Borja de Bioètica institute, founded in Barcelona back in 1976). The first national bioethical committee was founded in France only in 1983 (without using the name of ‘bioethics’, however – Comité consultatif national d’éthique pour les sciences de la vie et de la santé), and the Council of Europe Ad Hoc Committee of Genetic Experts was transformed into Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Bioethics only in 1985. In Germany, even today, centres for medical ethics highly prevail over centres for bioethics, and German literature still prefers the term ‘ethics in biosciences’ to ‘bioethics’.⁴

The arrival of bioethics to Croatia

The Catholic Church was among the first to embrace the Potterian “invention” of bioethics (even if we do not count the role of the Church in establishing the Kennedy Institute; The National Catholic Bioethics Center was founded in Philadelphia as early as 1972), seeing in bioethics a new way to promote old Church teachings. The Church simply could not have allowed the major issues of its doctrine to be discussed without its involvement,⁵ and also saw a
great opportunity to enter the debate, up to that moment reserved for medical ethicists (i.e., physicians). Thus it is not surprising that, in Croatia as well, the first to use the term ‘bioethics’ in literature was the Jesuit Valentin Pozaić in his papers from Spring 1985. In September 1986, Pozaić also founded the Centre for Bioethics at Philosophical-Theological Institute of the Society of Jesus in Zagreb. It is possible that an immediate model for Pozaić’s Centre in Zagreb was the Institute of Bioethics at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart – Faculty of Medicine and Surgery “Agostino Gemelli” in Rome, established in June 1985 (at the same Faculty, lectures in bioethics had started as early as 1984, at the time when Valentin Pozaić had still been in Rome). The basic idea of Pozaić’s initiative has been that “medical ethics no longer succeeds in covering all the problems related to health, disease, and death. As an answer, a new interdisciplinary profession appeared – bioethics”.

Pozaić’s Centre has prolifically been publishing books and papers. In the “Bioethics” Series, nine editions have appeared as yet (see Appendix 1), while within the Centre’s “Donum Vitae” Series, nine more books have been published as yet (see Appendix 2).

9 The director was Elio Sgreccia, the first Professor of bioethics in Italy. Cf. Tonči Matalić, “Korijeni bioetike” [The Roots of Bioethics], Crkva u svijetu 31, no. 3 (1996): 323–331.
10 Centar za bioetiku – Filozofsko-teološki institut Družbe Isusove (http://www.bioetika.tidi.hr/bioetika.htm).
One of the most impressive theological intellectual contributions to bioethical thought in Croatia has been provided by Tonči Matulić. In a series of books, Matulić entered into the deepest layers of bioethics epistemology (see Appendix 3).

Although some other theologians have provided contributions to the development of bioethical thought in Croatia (e.g., Josip Grbac, Professor at Tonči Matulić’s Department of Moral Theology, teaching in Rijeka, who wrote on bioethical aspects of transplantation, genetic research, etc.), particularly emphasised should be the role of Luka Tomasević, who introduced theological perspective into integrative and clinical bioethics, thus providing a real Potterian “bridge” between theology, philosophy, and medicine.

Independently from theologians, lawyers have established a different line of development of bioethics in Croatia. Entering the field while primarily pursuing the interest in human rights, Nenad Hlača from the Faculty of Law in Rijeka, started to publish on bioethical topics as early as 1990. In the same year, The Hastings Center from New York organised in Dubrovnik the second East-West Bioethics Conference (the first one had been held in Pécs, Hungary, in 1989). Nikola Visokić, Professor at the Faculty of Law in Split, beside expressing the interest in bioethics and bio-law, published two seminal works for Croatian bioethics (the importance of which is still to be realised considering the recent course of European/Jahrian bioethics): the encyclopaedic compendium of human relations toward plants and animals, respectively. Also Joso Cizmić has been active at the Split Faculty of Law, publishing primarily on bioethics and law issues, as well as the Rijeka lawyers of younger generation such as Dalida Ritossa, Marissabell Škorić, etc.

In Zagreb, the bioethical-legal perspective has been broadened by Ksenija Turković, a criminal law expert and victimologist, especially by her studies on euthanasia, continued later by Turković’s student Sunčana Roksandić-Vidlička and others. Active in the Rijeka branch of the Croatian Bioethics Society has been the lawyer Zvonko Bošković, the author of the book Medicina i pravo [Medicine and Law]. Legal aspects of bioethics and medical ethics were explored and documented also by a few symposia that recently took place in Croatia.


Before the “official” appearance of bioethics, the major public breakthrough of more subtle medical-ethical subjects in Croatia was initiated by medical doctors. In former Yugoslavia, after the foundation of the first (hospital) ethics committees in the 1970s, the pioneers of medical ethics and human rights were Pavle Gregorić (1892–1989) and Slobodan Lang in the 1980s, when a centre for medical ethics was established at “Andrija Stampar” School of Public Health as well as an annual workshop at the Inter-University Centre in
Dubrovnik.\textsuperscript{34} Approximately at the same time, the then Head of Department of Forensic Medicine in Rijeka, Branko Volarić (1927–1982) started to prepare a course in medical ethics together with the then Head of Department of

11 Born in 1966, Tonči Matulić took holy orders in 1992. He earned a Master of Arts degree at the Alfoniana Academy in Rome in 1995, and a Ph.D. degree in 1998. He studied bioethics at Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute of Ethics in Washington and the Institute of Bioethics at the Agostino Gemelli Faculty of Medicine and Surgery in Rome. He has been teaching bioethics at the University of Zagreb.

12 Born in 1951, Luka Tomašević studied theology and graduated from Studium Theologicum Jerosolimitanum in 1977 in Jeruzalem. He earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in moral theology at the Alfoniana Academy in Rome. In 1974, he joined the Franciscan order. From 2007 until 2009, he was dean of the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Split.


14 Nenad Hlača was born in 1958. He studied law in Rijeka, won a master’s degree from University of Belgrade and doctoral degree from University of Zagreb. He studied human rights in Florence and Turk. He has been teaching at the Faculty of Law at University of Rijeka and directing “Human Rights and Medicine” post-graduate courses at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik.


16 Hlača considers this to be the first mentioning of ‘bioethics’ in Croatian academic circles, but, as we have seen, this is not the case.


18 Born in 1938, Nikola Visković spent a part of his youth in Santiago de Chile (1948–1956). He graduated from the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in 1961, studied European Law in Strasbourg, and earned his doctoral degree in Belgrade in 1967. Until his retirement, he was teaching “Law and State Theory” at the University of Split. He was one of the founders of the “Green Action” ecologist political party, and from 2001 until 2009, he was active in Croatian Helsinki Watch organisation. In 2003, he donated a rich collection of bioethical press clippings to the Faculty of Law in Split.


23 Born in 1963, Ksenija Turković graduated from the Faculty of Law in Zagreb and earned her master’s and doctoral degrees at the Yale Law School. She is Vice-rector of the University of Zagreb.

24 Cf. “Euthanasia in Croatia”, in: Euthanasia in International and Comparative Perspective, ed. by Marc Groenhuijsen and Floris van Laanen (Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publisher, 2006), 58–70; Ksenija Turković, Sun-
Social Sciences at the same Faculty of Medicine in Rijeka, Ivan Šegota. That idea, however, was to be realised in Rijeka only a decade later.35

Ivan Šegota (1938–2011) was a journalist with a typical journalist “hunch” for the new.36 A highly-ranked politician of the Yugoslav communist era, he was teaching Marxism and the socialist doctrine at the Faculty of Medicine in Rijeka since 1976. At the time of political changes – the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s – he started to search for a new beacon (also) within his everyday work. Except introducing medical sociology, he had set out for Washington and there, at the Georgetown University Kennedy Institute of Ethics, discovered bioethics. With his bags full of xeroxed books, he returned to Rijeka and introduced courses of medical ethics at the Faculty of Medicine (“The Hippocratic Oath today”, elective course since 1991/1992; “Medical ethics”, mandatory course since 1992/1993). The term ‘bioethics’ was used for the first time in a course title in 1993/1994 (“Introduction to bioethics”, elective course at the first year of medicine study programme).37 Medical faculties in Zagreb and Split launched courses in medical ethics in 1995, and the Faculty of Medicine in Osijek took over the teaching structure from Zagreb.38

Ivan Šegota co-founded Croatian Bioethical Society (and was its first president, 2000–2004,39 and later its honorary president), as well as the International Society for Clinical Bioethics (in 2003) and Croatian Society for Clinical Bioethics (in 2005). At the Department of Social Sciences (headed by him for 32 years), he also started an intensive publishing activity (see Appendix 4).

A few periodicals have also been launched in Rijeka. In April 1993, the *Etika i medicina* [Ethics and Medicine] bulletin appeared, but, due to financial shortage, lived only for three issues (until December 1994). In 1996, the series *Bioetičke teme* [Bioethical Topics] was started with the first issue dedicated to the first Croatian Ph.D. thesis on deontology, written in 1848 by Josip Dešković from Omiš.40 It seems that the “series” has not been continued. Sixty-four issues of the *Bioetički svesci* [Bioethical Volumes] series have been published since 1999, bringing mostly popularisation texts, students’ seminar papers, and translations of foreign bioethicists’ articles (see Appendix 5). Most probably taking over the model of the *Medizinethische Materialien* Series of the Centre for Medical Ethics (Zentrum für Medizinische Ethik) at the Ruhr University in Bochum, Germany (with some 190 issues since the foundation of the Centre in 1986), the *Bioetički svesci*, although deprived of a rigorous quality monitoring, had their pioneering role in providing the elementary literature in the field of bioethics at the time when other sources were scarce or missing.

The series *Klinička bioetika* [Clinical Bioethics] encompassed seven publications, either master theses of the Department members, or proceedings of symposia held at the Department (see Appendix 6).

Beside some short texts published within the *Bioetički svesci* series, two important books were translated into Croatian and published also by the Department: L. Pessini’s41 and V. R. Potter’s.42

A milestone in the development of bioethics in Croatia certainly was the publishing of No. 23–24 of the *Društvena istraživanja* [Social Enquiries] journal (May–August 1996), with its central part devoted to “New Medical Ethics”, edited by Ivan Šegota. Contributions were offered by Peter Singer, Tom L.
Beauchamp, Warren Thomas Reich, Robert M. Veatch, Hans-Martin Sass, Darryl Macer, and other broadly known scholars. 

A collaborator of Šegota, Nada Gosić, 43 defended the first Ph.D. thesis on bioethics in Croatia, in December 1999 at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb (“Bioethics Education: Contents,


26 9th Rijeka Round Table “Bioethics and medicine law” (Rijeka, May 15–16, 2008); 18th World Congress on Medical Law (Zagreb, August 8–12, 2010).

27 Born in 1961, Elvio Baccarini graduated from the University of Trieste, got his master’s degree at the University of Zagreb and then his doctoral degree again in Trieste. He was President of the Croatian Society for Analytical Philosophy and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Arts in Rijeka.


29 Born in 1964, Snježana Prijić-Samaržija graduated from the University of Belgrade, earned her master’s degree at the University of Ljubljana and her doctoral degree at the University of Zagreb. She is Vice-rector of the University of Rijeka.


31 Croatian analytical philosophers’ milieu provided also some important translations: Peter Singer, Oslobodjenje životinja [Animal Liberation], translated by Neven Petrović (Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 1998); Peter Singer, Praktična etika [Practical Ethics], translated by Tomislav Bracanovic (Zagreb: Kružak, 2003).

32 Ana Borovečki, Jadranka Mustajbegović and Božidar Vrhovac, “Dodatak G: Stanje razvoja medicinske etike u Republici Hrvatskoj i neki važni etički problemi” [Appendix G: The State of Development of Medical Ethics in the Republic of Croatia and Some Important Ethical Problems], in: Teme iz medicinske etike u Hrvatskoj [Topics in Medical Ethics in Croatia] (Zagreb: Medicinska naklada, 2010), VI–XVI; also as a part of: Ana Borovečki
Methods, and Models”; under the mentorship of Ante Ćović). The development of work of Nada Gosić has resulted in shaping the “Rijeka Model of Bioethical Education”, characteristic for its methodological diversity and the adjustments of teaching contents to various study programmes. Gosić’s thesis (later published as a book) might be considered a symbolic “bridge” between the two then major schools of bioethics in Croatia – the one at Faculty of Medicine in Rijeka, led by I. Šegota, and the other at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, headed by A. Ćović. Moreover, that collaboration initiated a higher degree of involvement in the study of bioethics by the Zagreb group around Ćović. Another person who has brought closer Šegota’s heritage and the Ćović’s school, the sociologist Iva Rinčić, first earned her master’s degree on bioethics and responsibility in genetics, and later, mentored by Ante Ćović, defended a Ph.D. thesis on institutionalisation of bioethics in EU. Like Rinčić, Šegota’s and Gosić’s assistant was also Marija Šimoković, who later left the Department for Zagreb.

Although being himself schooled in social sciences, Ivan Šegota was conceiving bioethics primarily in the way it is still conceived in the United States – as a “new medical ethics”. Opposing the Ćović group of Zagreb (which has been advocating the “philosophisation” and “Europeanisation” of bioethics), Šegota started to attract young medical doctors: Iva Sorta-Bilajac Tušerina (M.Sc. thesis on disthanasia; D.Sc. thesis on clinical ethical consultations), Morana Brkljačić Žagrović (M.Sc. and D.Sc. thesis on palliative care), Gordana Pelčić (M.Sc. in organ transplantation ethics; preparing D.Sc. thesis on children informed consent), Ervin Jančić (interested in neuroethics), and others.

Influenced more by the Catholic Church than by Ivan Šegota, the Zagreb Faculty of Medicine introduced a medical ethics course in 1995/1996. This more conservative approach was led by the neurologist Niko Zurak, the editor of the university textbook Medicinska etika [Medical Ethics]. It is curious how the “Zurak line” of medical ethics in Croatia has demonstrated a consistent resistance to the term of ‘bioethics’. Some other Croatian medical ethicists, on the other hand, do employ the term ‘bioethics’, but remain faithful to typically medical-ethical topics (cf. the series of “Spring Bioethics Symposia” organised by Croatian Physicians Association since 2001). The same confusion of medical-ethical topics and bioethical subjects has been seen in the most recent textbook Medicinska etika [Medical Ethics], edited by Stella Fatović-Ferenčić and Antun Tucak.

A Slobodan Lang’s and Niko Zurak’s follower might be considered Ana Borovečki from the Zagreb “AndrijaŠtampar” School of Public Health. Borovečki has not only taken over the teaching of medical ethics at the University of Zagreb, but also published three valuable manuals. Like Stella Fatović-Ferenčić, Ana Borovečki was a student of Biserka Belicza (1942–2005; medicine historian and ethicist): those three scholars brought the “Zurak line” and its influence to the University of Osijek Faculty of Medicine (where the above mentioned textbook Medical Ethics was mostly written). To Split, on the other hand, Goran Mijaljica, a Rijeka student, brought “Šegotian (medically oriented) bioethics”.

As a “detachment” of those activities, nursing ethics started to develop, first with the book by Ivan Šegota Etika sestrinstva [Nursing Ethics] (Zagreb: Pergamen, 1997), and later by the Ph.D. thesis of Sonja Kalauz (once again, the mentor was Ante Ćović), transformed into the book Sestrinska profesija u svjetlu bioetičkog pluriperspektivizma [Nursing Profession in the Light of Bioethical Pluri-perspectivism] (Zagreb: Pergamen, 2011).
Particular vividness and polycentricity can be observed in the development of various, almost independent, initiatives within palliative care bioethics. In 1994, Anica Jušić (born 1926), professor of neurology at Zagreb University, organised the first symposium on palliative care in Croatia. She also found-and Jadranka Mustajbegović, eds., Priročnik medicinske etike [Manual of Medical Ethics] (Zagreb: Croatian Medical Journal/Medicinska naklada, 2010).

Yugoslav Centre for Medical Ethics and the Quality of Life (founded in 1982).

The curious bondage between ethics and forensic medicine seems to be related to a much broader tradition: in Ljubljana, the medical historian Zvonka Zupanić Slavec was offered to take over courses in medical ethics under the condition that she specialise in forensic medicine (which she has not done). In Split, medical ethics is taught by another specialist in forensic medicine, Professor Marija Definis Gojanović. The pioneer of bioethics in Albania, Bardhyl Çipi, is also a forensic medicine specialist, etc.


Later presidents were Nikola Skledar (2004–2008) and Ante Ćović (since 2008).

Ivan Šegota, Prva hrvatska deontološka diskertacija (Dešković, 1843.), Bioetičke teme 1 (Rijeka: Katedra društveni znanosti Medicinskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci, 1996).


Van Rensselaer Potter, Bioetika: most prema budućnosti [Bioethics: Bridge to the Future], translated from English by Ines Radinović (Rijeka: Katedra za društvene znanosti Medicinskog fakulteta u Rijeci/Hrvatsko bioetičko društvo/Međunarodno udruženje za kliničku bioetiku, 2007).

Born in 1957, Nada Gosić graduated from the University of Sarajevo (political sciences), earned a master’s degree from University of Belgrade (sociopolitical sciences), and a Ph.D. degree from the University of Zagreb (philosophy).


Cf., for instance: Niko Zurak, “Medicinska etika u suvremenom medicinskih edukaciji”
ed Croatian Society for Hospice/Palliative Care and launched the *Bulletin for Palliative Care* (published by Croatian Physicians’ Association). At the Faculty of Medicine in Rijeka, Morana Brkljačić Žagrović defended the first D.Sc. thesis on palliative care in 2009, while, again in Zagreb, in 2010, the Centre for Palliative Medicine, Medical Ethics, and Communication Skills was founded at the Faculty of Medicine by Marijana Braš (now President of Croatian Society for Palliative Medicine) and Veljko Đorđević, institutionalising the previous efforts.

According to some sources, a Centre of Bioethics was formed in the 1990s also at the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts: it seems, however, that only a Committee for Medical Ethics (or Biomedical Ethics) existed at the Department of Medical Sciences, but we have no trace of its activity. Some members of the Academy were indeed involved in promoting medical ethics, like Anton Śvajger (1935–2003), or Božidar Vrhovac (1936–2009), who was President (1993–1995) of the Committee for Human Rights and Medical Ethics of the Croatian Physicians’ Association and later (1995–2009) President of the Committee for Medical Ethics and Deontology of the Croatian Physicians’ Association and the Croatian Physicians’ Chamber. Croatian National Bioethics Committee for Medicine was founded in 2001 (in 1999, a bioethics committee had been founded to monitor research and development of GMOs).

The first major bioethics symposia in Croatia were held in the late 1990s: “Bioethics – Ethical Challenges of Science and Society” (Department of Sociology at the University of Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, October 1997), “7th Days of Frane Petrić” ( Croatian Philosophical Society, CRES, August/September 1998), “Bioethics in Theory and Practice” ( Croatian Physicians’ Association et al., Zagreb, December 1998), “Informed Consent in European Reality” (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, February 1999), and “Bioethical Aspects of Genetic Engineering” (Croatian Peasant Party, Zagreb, April 1999). By the turn of the millennium, annual conferences (mostly with international participation) were established in Rijeka (“Rijeka Days of Bioethics”, since 2000) and Lošinj (Lošinj Days of Bioethics, since 2002, announced by the conference “Bioethics and Science in the New Epoch”, 2001).

The founder of the Lošinj Days of Bioethics, which have gradually taken over the lead in bioethics symposia in Croatia, has been *Ante Čović*. Arguing for “philosophisation” and “Europeanisation” of bioethics, Čović has insisted upon moving off the “new medical ethics” and promoted “integrative bioethics” as a discipline departing from an open dialogue among various scientific and non-scientific perspectives (“pluri-perspectivism”) and resulting in an integrated platform of “orientation knowledge”. Integrative bioethics, as an original intellectual contribution to bioethics contents and methodology, has opened new collaborative options to Čović’s group – with Walter Schweidler and Thomas Sören Hoffmann from Bochum. The joint project resulted in a series of summer schools and conferences: the initial one at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik (October 2004: “Bioethics in South- and South-East Europe – opportunities for an integrative ethical reflexion in front of inter-cultural differences in Europe”) and the six “South-East European Bioethics Forums” (Mali Lošinj, Croatia, 2005: “Integrative bioethics in spite of inter- and intracultural differences”; Mali Lošinj, 2006: “Integrative bioethics and education”; Mali Lošinj, 2007: “Integrative bioethics and the responsibility for non-human beings”; Opatija, Croatia, 2008: “Integrative bioethics and...
pluri-perspectivism”; Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2009: “Bioethics between religion and secularism”; Belgrade, Serbia, 2010: “Bioethics – medicine – politics”). Up to this moment, four proceedings have been published, all by Academia Verlag, Sankt Augustin (see Appendix 7).

[Medical Ethics in Contemporary Medical Education], Med./hr 29, no. 2 (2010): 9–11.

48 Born in 1940, Niko Zurak was Head of Department of Neurology, Editor-in-chief of the Neurologia Croatica journal, and Dean of Faculty of Medicine in Zagreb (1994–1998). Since 2005, he has been member of the Pontifical Academy Pro Vita in Rome.


56 http://info.hazu.hr/razred_za_medicanske_znanosti.


61 The topics of the round tables were: “Bioethics and religious refusal of blood transfusion” (May 2000); “Bioethics in highschool teaching” (May 2001); “The role and tasks of ethical committees in Croatia” (May 2002); “Bioethics and HIV-positive children: the case of Little Ella” (May 2003); “Bioethics, ecumenism, and interreligious dialogue on the issue of death and dying” (May 2004); “Bioethics and palliative medicine” (May 2005); “Bioethical aspects of the communication with deaf patients” (May 2006); “Bioethics and genetics: between possibility and responsibility” (May 2007); “Bioethics and...
Within the “Bioetika” [Bioethics] series, published since 1997 by the Zagreb Pergamena publishing house, Ćović edited more than twenty books (see Appendix 8).

Ćović attracted scholars from almost all countries of South-East Europe to join the project of establishing a joint master programme in integrative bioethics (Slovenia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Albania). In 2006, he founded the Referral Centre for Bioethics in South-East Europe, located in Zagreb. In 2011, Ćović succeeded in obtaining a grant from the University of Zagreb, aimed at establishing a centre of excellence and a doctoral programme in integrative bioethics. It might be that someday, the major contribution by Ante Ćović will be seen in his systematic mentoring and building-up of young scholars (Ivana Zagorac, Marija Selak, and others), who have been spreading bioethical ideas onto various academic institutions and public forums.

Hrvoje Jurić, the first collaborator and student of Ante Ćović, provided a highly important theoretical basis for integrative bioethics in revisiting V. R. Potter’s ideas and finding in them precursor value. Jurić has also contributed to the popularisation of bioethics by organising public colloquia (cf. the Zagreb Centre for Culture “Trešnjevka” – CeKaTe autumn round of talks entitled “Bioethics – the questions of life and death”), which can also be claimed for Goran Grgec, another bioethicist from the Ćović group.

Sociologists have also contributed to the development of bioethical thought in Croatia. The first to address bioethics and bioethical issues more systematically has been Ivan Cifrić, the author of several books of which Bioetika i ekologija [Bioethics and Ecology]68 and Bioetička ekumena [Bioethical Ecumen]69 may be considered the most important ones, and the Editor-in-chief of the journal Socijalna ekologija [Social Ecology], one of the first journals in Croatia systematically covering bioethical topics. As bioethicists of similar orientation might be considered also Igor Čatić, professor of mechanical engineering interested in plastics, rubber, and cyborgisation/enhancement, combining bioethics and ethics of technology; Marijan Jošt and Valerije Vrček, the authors of numerous papers and books, known for their public advocacy of the anti-GMO attitude. Tomislav Krznar’s interests may well be interpolated between Nikola Visković’s animal and plant ethics and Ivan Cifrić’s ecological ethics based upon the methodology of integrative bioethics.

The prominent figures of modern Croatian philosophy, like Darko Polšek, Nikola Skledar, Pavo Barišić, Mislav Kukoč, and others have contributed to the crucial developmental moments of Croatian bioethics as well.

One of the most important and influential books within the realm of Croatian bioethics has been Lijekovi ili priča o obmani [Drugs or a Story on Deceit] by Lidija Gajski, provoking furious debates on the ethics of medical research and scientific publishing. As a specialist in internal medicine, Gajski has provided a well argued insider’s insight into some “gray zones” of the enslavement of medicine by pharmacy industry. Beside Gajski, the geneticists Ljiljana Zergollern-Čupak and Jasminka PAVELIĆ, the gynecologist Aleksandra FRKOVIĆ, and the neuroscientist Srečko GAJOVIĆ have permanently been participating in integrative bioethics debates and provided important contributions to the development of that idea, while some other medical doctors and scientists have periodically been attracted to integrative bioethics (the pediatrician Marija RADONIĆ, the molecular biologist Krešimir PAVELIĆ, etc.).
New winds

In 2008, at the time when the Rijeka Department of Social Sciences had reached broader recognition by being trusted to organise the 9th World Congress of Bioethics (September 3–8, 2008, Rijeka/Opatija), Ivan Šegota retired from the Faculty and bestowed the Department on Amir Muzur. During the medical law” (May 2008); “UNESCO and bioethics” (2009); “Ethics and sport” (May 2010); and “Bioethics education” (2011). In May 2012, organised will be the conference on “The language of medicine”.

Within the annual framework of the Lošinj Days of Bioethics the central place belongs to the “Integrative Bioethics and New Epoch” international symposium. In addition to the aforementioned symposium, roundtables on current bioethical issues and student bioethical workshops are also regularly organized.

This meeting has also been remembered for the video-message by V. R. Potter. See about the importance of these conferences in: Ivana Zagorac and Hrvoje Jurić, “Bioetika u Hrvatskoj” [Bioethics in Croatia]. Filozofska istraživanja 28, no. 3 (2008): 601–611.

Born in 1949, Ante Čović graduated in philosophy and Latin from Zagreb University, where he also earned his Ph.D. degree in 1989. In 1989/1990, he spent a year at Augustburg University as an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation fellow. From 1991 until 1992, he served as Croatian Minister of science and technology. He was President of Croatian Philosophical Society (1999–2001) and Croatian Bioethical Society (since 2008), and has been Editor-in-chief of the two major Croatian philosophy journals, Filozofska istraživanja and Synthesis Philosophica.


Born in 1946, Ivan Cifrić graduated in sociology from University of Zagreb, where he also obtained his master (1973) and doctoral degrees (1980). Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (1984/1985), he was Head of Department of Sociology, President of Croatian Sociological Society, and the founder of the journals Revija za sociologiju [Revue of Sociology] and Socijalna ekologija [Social Ecology]. Since 2010, he has been member of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Born in 1969, Amir Muzur graduated from the Faculty of Medicine in Rijeka in 1993,
three years of Muzur’s heading, the Department (now: Department of Social Sciences and Medical Humanities) developed a tighter collaboration with Ćović’s group and oriented more toward the study of the life and work of Fritz Jahr and the European roots of bioethics. In May 2010, the first issue of the Jahr journal appeared (up to this moment, four issues have been published). The project “Fritz Jahr and European roots of bioethics: establishing an international scholars’ network (EuroBioNethics)”, supported by the Croatian Science Foundation (February–July 2011), enabled the gathering of the most important scholars of European bioethics from Europe, USA, and South America in Rijeka (March 2011) and conferencing about the new momentum in bioethics development. Proceedings of the conference were published in the Jahr journal and, together with some other contributions, will be re-printed in a book edited by Amir Muzur and Hans-Martin Sass and published by Lit Verlag (Münster, Germany) in April 2012. The project provoked also a series of invited lectures delivered by I. Rinčić and A. Muzur at universities and conferences in the region (Rijeka, Mali Lošinj, Banja Luka, Travnik, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Ohrid). They also were invited by the organiser of the 8th International Conference on Clinical Ethics and Consultations (Saõ Paolo, Brazil, May 2012) to organise a satellite symposium on “The influence of Fritz Jahr onto Ibero-American bioethics”. Muzur has been invited to join the organisation board of the 2013 Asian Association of Bioethics meeting in New Delhi and to collaborate within the COST project on “Disaster bioethics”, led by Dónal O’Mathúna and Bert Gordijn of the Dublin City University, a HERA project lead by Eimantas Peičius from Lithuania, etc. Another result of the EuroBioNethics project has also been the signing and publishing (in several journals and Internet sites in Croatia, India, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, etc.) the “Rijeka Declaration on the Future of Bioethics”, explaining the most important values advocated by the Jahr legacy. This declaration, however, has not been the only one inspired by Croatian bioethicists: in 1998, as a result of the Cres conference, “Apel za etičku i pravnu regulaciju primjene genetskog inženjerstva u proizvodnji i distribuciji hrane” [The Appeal for Ethical and Legal Regulation of Applying Genetic Engineering to Food Production and Distribution] was launched (and induced the government to found the Bioethical committee for the observation of GMO). In June 2004, the “Lošinj Declaration on Biotic Sovereignty” was signed, also trying to strengthen the control over the spread of GMOs.

At this time, the Rijeka Department submitted a project proposal called “European bioethics in action (EuroBioAct)” to the Croatian Science Fundation, aimed to continue the work started by the EuroBioNethics project.

A tentative scheme of development for Croatian bioethics

It seems that bioethics has been penetrating Croatia and developing in quite delimited phases:80

1. **before 1985**: bioethical topics are present, but the name and a rounded-up concept of bioethics is lacking;
2. **1985–1990**: bioethics takes over first institutional forms (Centre of Bioethics in Zagreb) but lacks on theoretical originality and is mentioned in publications very rarely (V. Pozaić);
3. **1990–2000**: bioethics gets established in public media and academic teaching (thanks to I. Šegota), but, in its contents, still mostly as “new medical ethics”;
4. **2000–2010**: the full blossom of annual bioethical conferences (*Rijeka Days of Bioethics; Lošinj Days of Bioethics; Spring Bioethics Symposia of Croatian Physicians’ Association*) and publications (Department of Social Sciences at Faculty of Medicine in Rijeka; the Pergamena Series, Zagreb; etc.), but also the shaping of the original concept of integrative bioethics (A. Čović; *South-East European Bioethics Forum*);

5. **since 2010**: based upon the study of the work of Fritz Jahr, taking over the pace-giving in the “Europeanisation” of (integrative) bioethics (the *Jahr* journal, since 2010; *EuroBioNethics* conference, Rijeka/Opatija, 2011; *Lit Verlag* edition and the São Paulo conference, 2012, etc.).

**Back to the book**

Obviously, the book we have taken as the occasion to write this overview, *Inegrative Bioethik und Pluriperspektivismus / Integrative Bioethics and Pluri-Perspectivism. Proceedings of the 4th South-East European Bioethics Forum, Opatija 2008* (Sankt Augustin: Academia, 2010), edited by Ante Čović, might be considered a real milestone in the development of bioethical thought in Croatia, but also much broader.

When Ante Čović was greeting the participants of the 2004 Dubrovnik 1st South-East European Bioethical Forum, he could have hardly imagined the dynamic this project of the “Europeanisation of bioethics” will follow and which measurable results it will achieve within the next seven years. At that time, to “Europeanise” bioethics meant only to articulate a languor which had spread all over the non-Anglo-Saxon part of the world, primarily in Eu-
rope (and especially in Germany). The languor resulted from the opinion that bioethics will have difficulties tracing its way, being burdened by the sensation that bioethics was only a vehicle for typically American values and approaches such as pragmatism and principlism to be imported, as well as that the most important reason of “boredom” (as Jonsen would say) of such bioethics was the narrowing down of the original Potterian concept to the already existing medical ethics. By being “Europeanised”, bioethics would thus have been brought closer to European values and to Potter’s original idea, while medical aspects would have been broadened by their systematic philosophisation. In that spirit and with such programme – a very ambitious and not at all an easy one – the platform of “integrative bioethics” was shaped, as later Hrvoje Jurić will say, as the “area of open meeting and dialogue of various sciences and professions, visions and worldviews, gathered to articulate, discuss and solve ethical issues related to life in total and in each of its parts, to life in all of its forms, phenomena and degrees, as well as to the life conditions in general.”

In such considerations of “life issues”, scientific perspectives, like in no other discipline and practice, become equally recognized as the non-scientific ones (artist, religious, gender, political, cultural, and other), and that methodological “pluri-perspectivism” becomes fuel for the integration of “orientational knowledge” helping to consider and solve problems at both theoretical and practical level.

In the third section (“Bioethics and society”), place have found Walter Schweidler from the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, who is currently leading the project of developing a joint master programme in integrative bioethics (“Limits of State Neutrality in Bioethical Conflicts”), Klaus Thomalla from Bochum (“On the Notion of Human Dignity from the Point of Integrative Bioethics”), Ivan Cifrić and Krunoslav Nikodem from Zagreb (“Attitude towards Life as a Bioethical Challenge”), Hanna-Barbara Gerl-Falkovitz from Dresden (“Corporeality and Corporeal Alienation: a Critical View of Gender Theory and Counter-plan”), Hrvoje Jurić from Zagreb (“Feminism in the Light of Bioethical Pluri-perspectivism”), Karel Turza from Belgrade (“Bioethics and Law”), Amir Muzur from rijeka (“Cultural Anthropology: Medical-Historical and Bioethical Aspects”), and Slobodan Loga from Sarajevo (“Ethical Principles in Modern Psychiatry”).

In the fourth section, entitled “Religious perspectives in bioethics”, the contributors are Luka Tomašević from Split (“From Medical Ethics to Bioethics: the Development in Catholic Theology, as well as in American and European Cultures”), Velimir Valjan from Sarajevo (“Bioethical Problematics as a Link between Christianity and Islam”), Dževad Hodžić from Sarajevo (“Structures, General Contexts, and Connecting Points between Christian and Muslim Discourse in Bioethics”), and Makoto Ono from Osaka (“Can the Buddhist Self-sacrifices from the Jātaka Stories Be a Motivational Basis for Organ Transfer?”).

In the last, fifth section, the topic is “The beginning and the end of human life”, and the authors are Stephan Kampowski from the Vatican (“The Contingency of the Beginning and the Autonomy of the Person – a Look at Jürgen Habermas’ Argument against Liberal Eugenics”), Igor Čatić, Hrvoje Tiljak, Maja Rujnić-Sokele, and Goranka Petriček from Zagreb (“Process of Human Reproduction: the Natural Model of Injection Moulding of Living and Non-living Substances”), Jasminka Pavelić from Zagreb (“In Utero Gene Therapy: Who Decides for a Foetus?”), Peter R. Ritter from Bochum (“The Follow-up of the Dying or Help at Dying as an Order to the Physician”), and Bardhyl Çipi from Tirana (“Suicide and Physician-Assisted Suicide: Ethical, Philosophical, and Medico-Legal Study”).

The publishing of this work has shown the systematism and a curious manifoldness of pluri-perspective approach. However, its correctness will be confirmed approximately at the same time the diffusion of the news on the life and work of Fritz Jahr, who already in 1927, had named and designed a bioethics of all living beings, that is, a “philosophised” and generalised bioethics about which it has been written. Even the pluri-perspective, as the basic tool of international Bioethical Symposium in Bosnia and Hercegovina (Sarajevo, March 31 – April 1, 2006)], ed. by Velimir Valjan (Sarajevo: Bioetičko društvo u BiH, 2007), 83 (77–99).


86 On the life and work of Fritz Jahr, see: Amir Muzur and Iva Rinić, “Fritz Jahr (1895–
the formation of orientational knowledge, revealed its “predecessor” in Jahr’s teaching on the necessity of considering various points of view (Gesinnungsseinstellungen) while touching any serious topic (in education).87 Obviously, the integrative bioethics and pluri-perspectivism, too, “filled up” the missing parts of their own historical vertical, and the entire bioethics has acquired a European genealogy and a logical, so hardly expected, corrective Renaissance.

Conclusion

As for the general course of development of bioethics in Croatia, briefly presented in this paper, one might say that, within a small geographic area, an astonishing variety and productivity has been noted. What has been the reason of such variety is less clear. It might be that, typically for the East-European “transition” countries (living in a “post-communist chaos”88), many intellectuals were seeking a new niche within social sciences and humanities after the breakdown of socialist system and its ideological framework.89 Another reason might have been the fact that bioethics, unlike other disciplines, has proved open to and welcome individuals of so various professional and intellectual backgrounds. However, those reasons do not explain why bioethics has developed in other countries of the region (Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Albania) far more slowly and limited to one or two groups. Therefore, it is more probable that the old truth that “a person makes a project” has been proved once again: the fascinating level of activity within Croatian bioethics might be ascribed primarily to the enthusiasm of two personalities – Ivan Šegota and Ante Ćović – whose energy, dominating over Croatian bioethics in two subsequent periods, stirred up innovative intellectual processes and attracted to bioethics not only academic and non-academic individuals from Croatia, but from all over South-East Europe.

APPENDIX 1:

“Bioetika” [Bioethics] series, published by the Philosophical-Theological Institute of the Society of Jesus in Zagreb

APPENDIX 2:
“Donum Vitae” series, published by the Philosophical-Theological Institute of the Society of Jesus in Zagreb

7. Lasić S (2009). Pravo na rođenje u učenju Crkve [The right to be born in the teaching of the Church].

APPENDIX 3:
Bioethical books by Tonči Matulić, published by Glas Koncila in Zagreb


**APPENDIX 4:**

**Bioethical books by Ivan Šegota**


4. Šegota I et al. (2003). *Kako komunicirati s gluhima* [How to communicate with the deaf]. Rijeka: Medicinski fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci.


**APPENDIX 5:**

*“Bioetički svesci” [Bioethical Volumes] series, published by the Department of Social Sciences at the Faculty of Medicine, University of Rijeka*


We list only Šegota’s books and brochures on ethics/bioethics, and not his and others’ works on medical sociology, patients’ rights, etc.
42. Katalog (1–41), [Catalogue (1–41)]. Bioetički svesci 42.


APPENDIX 6:

“Klinička bioetika” [Clinical Bioethics] series, published by the Department of Social Sciences at the Faculty of Medicine, University of Rijeka

1. Šegota I, ed. (2005). *Bioetika i palijativna medicina* [Bioethics and palliative medicine (proceedings of the 6th Bioethics Round Table)].


4. Gjuran-Coha A, ed. (2006). *Bioetički aspekti komuniciranja s gluhim pacijentima* [Bioethical aspects of communicating with deaf patients (proceedings of the 7th Bioethics Round Table)].

5. Brkljačić M (2007). *Potreba Grada Rijeke za hospicijem i palijativnom skrbi* [The needs of the City of Rijeka for a hospice and palliative care (M.Sc. thesis)].

6. Rinčić-Lerga I, ed. (2007). *Bioetika i genetika: između mogućnosti i odgovornosti* [Bioethics and genetics: between possibility and responsibility (proceedings of the 8th Bioethics Round Table)].

7. Sorta-Bilajac I, ed. (2009). *Bioetika i medicinsko pravo* [Bioethics and medical law (proceedings of the 9th Bioethics Round Table)].
APPENDIX 7:
Proceedings of the conferences on integrative bioethics, published by Academia Verlag, Sankt Augustin


APPENDIX 8:
“Bioetika” [Bioethics] series, published by Pergamena publishing house in Zagreb

17. Vrček V (2010). GMO između prisile i otpora [GMOs between coercion and resistance].
I. Rinčić, A. Muzur, Variety of Bioethics in Croatia: a Historical Sketch and a Critical …


Iva Rinčić, Amir Muzur

Raznolikost bioetike u Hrvatskoj: povijesna skica s primjesom kritičnosti

Sažetak

Ključne riječi
bioetika, medicinska etika, Hrvatska, povijest bioetike, europska bioetika, integrativna bioetika

Iva Rinčić, Amir Muzur

Vielfältigkeit der Bioethik in Kroatien: historischer Abriss mit kritischem Einschlag

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter
Bioethik, Medizinethik, Kroatien, Geschichte der Bioethik, europäische Bioethik, integrative Bioethik
Iva Rinčić, Amir Muzur

La diversité de la bioéthique en Croatie :
une esquisse historique avec une touche critique

Résumé
L’article essaie d’élucider les circonstances et les étapes principales de l’évolution de la bioéthique en Croatie, à commencer par la première mention de la notion de « bioéthique » en 1985, jusqu’à ce jour. Sont listés et abordés parfois de façon critique les principales séries d’ouvrages, revues, éditeurs, auteurs et établissements dédiés aux sujets bioéthiques et/ou médicaux. Cet aperçu regroupe les bioéthiciens croates selon leur domaine professionnel et/ou intellectuel initial (théologiens, médecins, philosophes, sociologues, juristes, etc.). L’un des résultats les plus intrigants est la diversité révélée de perspectives et d’approches de la bioéthique en Croatie, dont certaines ont été reconnues même au niveau européen ou mondial. L’avis des auteurs est que cette diversité peut être attribuée principalement à l’enthousiasme de deux pionniers de la bioéthique en Croatie, Ivan Šegota (1938-2011) et Ante Ćović.

Mots-clés
bioéthique, éthique médicale, Croatie, histoire de la bioéthique, bioéthique européenne, bioéthique intégrative