

## MISLI ZNALCA: doc. dr. sc. Branko Kasalo

## THOUGHTS OF AN EXPERT: ass. prof. Branko Kasalo, PhD



Profesor Branko Kasalo je rođen u Splitu 6. prosinca 1986. godine. Osnovnoškolsko obrazovanje je završio u Solinu, a srednjoškolsko 2005. godine u Nadbiskupijskoj klasičnoj Gimnaziji *Don Frane Bulić* u Splitu. Iste je godine upisao jednopredmetni preddiplomski studij povijesti u Zadru, a 2008. na istom Sveučilištu nastavlja i diplomski studij. Odmah po završetku diplomskog studija 2010. godine upisuje i poslijediplomski doktorski studij Jadran – poveznica među kontinentima. Do 2012. godine je radio kao zamjena po srednjim školama, a od siječnja 2012 je zaposlen kao znanstveni novak (asistent) na Odjelu za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, i to na znanstvenom projektu *Razvitak pomorstva i geografskih spoznaja na hrvatskom Jadranu* pod voditeljском palicom prof. dr. sc. Mithada Kozličića. Već od tad je sudjelovao u izvođenju kolegija Svjetska povijest 1918. i Svjetska povijest poslije 1945. koje izvodi samostalno i dan danas. Sinopsis doktorske disertacije pod naslovom *Međunarodni pogledi na krizu u Jugoslaviji 1980.-1987.* je obranio u studenom 2012. godine, a samu doktorsku disertaciju u lipnju 2017. godine. U

Professor Branko Kasalo was born in Split on December 6<sup>th</sup> 1986. He completed his primary school education in Solin, and his secondary school education in 2005 at the Don Frane Bulić Archdiocesan Classical Gymnasium in Split. In the same year, he enrolled in a single-subject undergraduate study of history in Zadar, and in 2008 he continued his graduate studies at the same University. Immediately after completing his graduate studies in 2010, he enrolled in the postgraduate doctoral study Adriatic - a link between continents. Until 2012, he worked as a substitute in high schools, and since January 2012 he has been employed as a research fellow (assistant) at the Department of History of the University of Zadar, on the scientific project *Development of Maritime Studies and Geographical Cognitions in the Croatian Adriatic* under the leadership of prof. dr. sc. Mithad Kozličić. Ever since then, he has performed courses World History from 1918 to 1945 and World History after 1945, which he teaches independently to this day. He defended his synopsis of the doctoral dissertation entitled *International Views on the Crisis in Yugoslavia 1980-1987* in November 2012, and his doctoral dissertation in June 2017.

ožujku 2014. godine je imenovan predstavnikom suradnika na projektima – znanstvenih novaka u Senatu Sveučilišta u Zadru. U svibnju 2015. godine je postao suradnik u znanstveno-istraživačkom projektu *Raspad Habsburške Monarhije i transformacije na istočnojadranskom prostoru (1917.-1923.)* pod voditeljskom palicom izv. prof. dr. sc. Ante Bralića. U prosincu 2019. godine je izabran u znanstveno-nastavno zvanje sveučilišnog docenta.

### **Što Vas je najviše privuklo da svoj znanstveni i istraživački rad usmjerite na 20. stoljeće?**

Povijest dvadesetog stoljeća vrlo je bliska suvremenom čovjeku. Velika većina ljudi koji danas žive, osim najmlađih generacija, ima osobna iskustva življenja dvadesetog stoljeća, svoja sjećanja na tu prošlost svoje uvide iz kojih oblikuje određene vrijednosne sudove i stavove. Naravno, sjećanja su rezultat proživljenih iskustava, naknadnih procesa reminiscencije i racionalizacije i neodvojiva su od subjektivnih ograničenja koje nosi osobna perspektiva. Uz osobna iskustava koja pojedinci imaju u življenju suvremene povijesti postoji i fenomen obiteljskog sjećanja. Tu se pojavljuje jedan složeniji fenomen gdje se određeni narativa i jedna forma kolektivne memorije prenosi generacijski. Taj mehanizam očuvanja znanja o prošlosti je vrlo vrijedan u oblikovanju obiteljskih veza i lokalnih zajednica. Ipak, svi navedeni oblici razmišljanja o suvremenoj prošlosti ostavljaju čitav niz nedostataka i problema s kojima sam se suočio i u osobnim iskustvima. U tom smislu kao jedini mehanizam koji omogućuje opsežnu analizu i valorizaciju prošlosti dvadesetog stoljeća nameće se znanstvena historiografija. Upravo zbog toga moj interes za bavljenje historiografijom bio je usmjeren prvenstveno na povijest dvadesetog stoljeća jer vjerujem

In March 2014, he was named a representative of associates on various projects of research fellows in the Senate of the University of Zadar. In May 2015, he became an associate in the scientific research project *The Disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy and Transformations in the Eastern Adriatic Area (1917-1923)* under the leadership of assoc. prof. dr. sc. Ante Bralić. In December 2019, he was elected to the scientific-teaching title of university assistant professor.

### **What attracted you the most to focus your scientific and research work on the 20<sup>th</sup> century?**

The history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is very close to a modern person. Vast majority of people who live today, apart from the youngest generations, have personal experiences of life in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, memories on that past and insights through which they shape certain values and attitudes. Of course, memories are the result of lived experiences, subsequent processes of reminiscence and rationalization, and are inseparable from the subjective limitations borne by the personal perspective. Alongside personal experiences that individuals have, in modern history there is also a phenomenon of family memory. There is a more complex phenomenon in this matter where a certain narrative and one form of collective memory is passed on from one generation to other. That mechanism of preserving knowledge about the past is very valuable in creating connections in family and local communities. Nonetheless, all these forms of reflections on the contemporary past leave a great deal of flaws and problems, which I also faced in my personal experiences. In that sense, the only mechanism that allows extensive analysis and valorisation of the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is scientific historiography. Precisely because of this, my interest in dealing with historiography was focused primarily on the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, because I believe that only through

da samo kroz znanstveno bavljenje historiografijom možemo sami sebi objasniti odakle kao društvo dolazimo i koji su nas procesi oblikovali kroz dvadeseto stoljeće. Unaprijed se ograđujem od ideje da je historiografija koja nastaje danas konačni odgovor na pitanja dvadesetog stoljeća, ali ona je doprinos u hodu koji sadašnje generacije imaju prema budućnosti.

**S obzirom da se bavite suvremenom poviješću, a istovremeno predajete i kolegij nastavničkih kompetencija diferenciranog kurikulumu, kako bi se, prema Vašem mišljenju trebale teme suvremene povijesti izvoditi u nastavi (u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi), osobito kada je riječ o temama koje se smatraju kontroverznima (poput holokausta, fašizma i komunizma općenito te na teritoriju današnje RH)?**

Vrlo je važno da se teška i tamna poglavlja povijesti dvadesetog stoljeća adekvatno adresiraju u nastavi povijesti. Naravno pri tome je potrebno poštivati pedagoške standarde ovisno o starosti učenika kojima se obraćamo. Budući da nisam stručnjak za pedagogiju to je tema o kojoj se samo dijelom mogu izjasniti. Mislim da je jako važno da se učenicima osvijesti razlika položaja kojega oni uživaju danas u odnosu na generacije njihovih pretke. Pri tome ne mislim prvenstveno na poboljšanje materijalno-tehničke uvjete života već na činjenicu da oni kao generacija uživaju slobode i prava koja su bila nedostizna u ranijim razdobljima. Takve okolnosti nisu nastale same po sebi one su rezultat određenih povijesnih procesa u kojima su djelovali ljudi o kojima se danas uči u školi. Ti ljudi su plaćali visoku cijenu za ideje za koje su zalagali, a nerijetko je i gubitak života bila cijena koju su spremno platili. U tom smislu potrebno je izgraditi osjećaj odgovornosti i važnosti koji svaki učenik kao

scientific analysis of historiography can we explain to ourselves where we come from as a society and what processes have shaped us through the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I distance myself in advance from the idea that historiography that is emerging today is the final answer on the questions about the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but it is a contribution on the course that present generations have towards the future.

**Considering the fact that you deal with contemporary history, and at the same time teach a course of teaching competencies of a differentiated curriculum, in your opinion, in which manner should topics of contemporary history be taught in class (in primary school and in high school), especially when it comes to topics that are taught to be controversial (i.e. the holocaust, fascism, and communism in general on the territory of Croatia)?**

It is of high importance that difficult and dark chapters from the 20<sup>th</sup> century are adequately addressed on history classes. Of course, it is necessary to respect pedagogical standards, depending on the age of students we are addressing. Since I am no expert in pedagogy, this is a topic on which I can only partially express myself. I think that it is very important that students become aware of the difference between the position they are enjoying now in relation to the position of the generations of their ancestors. With this I do not refer primarily on the improvement of material and technical living conditions, but on the fact that they as a generation enjoy freedoms and rights that were unattainable in earlier periods. Those circumstances did not happen by themselves, they were the result of certain historical processes in which they are acted by the people taught in school today. Those people paid a huge price for the ideas they promoted, and often the loss of their life was the price they were willing to

budući građanin RH ima u demokratskom društvu. Potrebno je isticati demokratske vrijednosti koje su prvi put ostvarene na prostoru suvremene Republike Hrvatske i stavljati ih u jasan kontrast s režimima koji su oblikovali kratko hrvatsko dvadeseto stoljeće i prouzročili kolosalne patnje i stradanja. Nacionalna povijest je jako bitan mehanizam u obrazovnom procesu jer se suvremena liberalna demokracija razvila primarno unutar nacionalnih država i tu se otvaraju prostori za valorizaciju pozitivnih i negativnih aspekata nacionalne prošlosti. Svi elementi strahota koje su se dogodile u dvadesetom stoljeću u međunarodnom i nacionalnom kontekstu trebaju biti prezentirane učenicima kako bi jasnije shvatili mehanizme koji ljudska društva vode prema katastrofama i kako bi uvidjeli posebnost i vrijednost situacije u kojoj se nalazimo danas kao društvo.

**Možete li nam navesti neke prednosti i nedostatke u znanstvenom istraživanju povijesti 20. stoljeća, te na osobit način povijesti 20. stoljeća na teritoriju bivše SFRJ?**

Svako istraživanje ima svojih zanimljivih i manje zanimljivih trenutaka, ali ono što definira parametre svakog historio-grafskog napora je dostupnost izvora. Za istraživanja u kojima sam ja do sada imao iskustva može se kao generalna prednost navesti obilje arhivskog materijala, ali u toj prednosti leži i moguća zamka jer je u nepreglednom moru građe moguće zalutati u besplodne analize i pretresanje dokumenata koji ne pridonose razumijevanju teme na koju je fokusirano istraživanje. Upravo se u svladavanju vještine prepoznavanja onoga što nam izvori govore o pitanju koje istražujemo krije, po mom skromnom mišljenju, i najvažnija odlika uspješnog povjesničara. Što se tiče povijesti dviju Jugoslavija postoji

pay. In that sense, it is necessary to build a feeling of responsibility and importance that every student, as a future citizen of Croatia, has in the democratic society. It is necessary to highlight the democratic values that were achieved for the first time on Croatian territory and put them in contrast with the regimes that shaped the short Croatian 20<sup>th</sup> century and caused colossal pain and suffering. National history is a very important mechanism in educational process, because modern liberal democracy has developed primarily inside national countries, and there the space for the valorisation of positive and negative aspects of national history is created. All the elements of horror that happened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in an international and national context, should be presented to students in order for them to better understand the mechanisms that lead societies into disasters and to see the uniqueness and value the situation in which we find ourselves as a society today.

**Can you name some advantages and disadvantages in scientific research of the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially of the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the territory of the former SFRY?**

Every research has its' interesting and less interesting moments, but what defines the parameters of any effort in historiography is the availability of sources. For the research in which I had experiences so far, the general advantage is the abundance of archival material, but in that advantage lays a possible trap, because in the endless sea of material it is possible to stray into fruitless analyzes and searches of documents that do not contribute to the understanding of the topic on which research is focused. It is in mastering the skill of recognizing that what the sources are telling us about the research where, in my humble opinion, hides the most important feature of a successful historian. As for the history of the two Yugoslavias there are a

čitav niza stvari koji bi se mogle označiti kao poticajne za istraživanje. Veliki broj tema nikada nije adekvatno istražen zbog političkih uvjeta koji su vladali u vrijeme postojanja dviju Jugoslavija. Kao primjer možemo uzeti Prvi svjetski rat i raspad Austro-Ugarske monarhije koji je u hrvatskoj historiografiji jako malo zastupljen i tek se posljednjih godina rade pomaci po tom pitanju. Sličnih rupa u historiografskim spoznajama ima u čitavom nizu pitanja koja su bila osobito problematična u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji kada je postojao institucionalni nadzor nad suvremenom historiografijom, a napose u pogledu interpretacije NOB-a i povijesti SKJ. Naravno u sklopu tih pitanja pojavljuje se čitav niz puno širih tema koje su imale ideološka ograničenja od nacionalnog pitanja, uloge vjerskih zajednica, nacionalnih manjina u Jugoslaviji, žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća, itd. Danas je otvoren prostor za raspravu i istraživanje svih tema, a istodobno se suočavaju i različiti pogledi na povijest dviju Jugoslavija iz različitih nacionalnih perspektiva što je svakako dobra stvar.

**Čitajući Vašu disertaciju, u bilješkama smo primijetili da ste kao izvor koristili dokumente CIA-e. Možete li nam reći kako se dolazi do dokumenata tajnih službi, i koliko vremena treba proći da bi se takvi dokumenti obznanili i mogli koristiti?**

Pristup arhivskom gradivu reguliran je zakonskim odredbama pojedine države. U tom smislu postoje neke arhivske norme koje su manje ili više slične diljem demokratskog svijeta. Postoje odredbe o otvaranju arhivskog gradiva nakon protoka određenog broja godina, zatim u kontekstu pitanja osobnih podataka koje se nalazi u sadržaju dokumenata itd. U

number of things that could be labelled as incentives for research. A huge number of topics have never been adequately researched because of the political conditions that were going on throughout the two Yugoslavias. As an example we can name World War I and the decay of Austria-Hungary monarchy, which is very poorly represented in Croatian historiography, and there have been certain progress only in the last few years. There are similar holes in historiographical cognitions in a whole series of questions that were particularly problematic in the socialist Yugoslavia, when there was an institutional oversight of the contemporary historiography, especially regarding the interpretation of the National Liberation Movement and the history of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Of course, within these questions, there is a whole range of much broader topics that had ideological restrictions, from the national question, the role of religious communities, national minorities in Yugoslavia, victims of World War II and the post-war period etc. Today, there is an open space for discussion and research of all topics, and at the same time different views on the history of the two Yugoslavias from different national perspectives are confronted, which is certainly a good thing.

**Reading your dissertation, we noticed in the notes that you were using CIA documents as your source. Can you explain how to get secret service documents, and how long does it take for such documents to be made public and usable?**

Access to archival material is regulated with legal regulations of a certain country. In that sense, there are certain archival norms that are more or less similar across the democratic world. There are certain regulations of opening archival materials after a certain number of years, then in the context of the issue of personal data contained in the content of the documents etc. In recent years



Hrvatskoj su se posljednjih godina vodile vrlo žustre javne polemike oko Zakona o arhivskom gradivu i arhivima. Primjeri dobre prakse u tom pogledu su zemlje duge demokratske tradicije koje dugo primjenjuju razne oblike zakonske regulative o slobodnom pristupu informacijama. Unutar tih zakonskih normi istraživači i zainteresirana javnost mogu zatražiti pristup dokumentima i prije nego dođe do ispunjenja vremenskih okvira za otvaranje gradiva. Ukoliko se procijeni da otvaranje arhivskog gradiva ne predstavlja prijetnju za nacionalnu sigurnost to gradivo se stavlja na uvid javnosti. Osim zakonske liberalizacije pristupa gradivu dodatna prednost posljednjih godina postaje i tehnologija. Naime, politika mnogih arhiva na Zapadu je da se javnosti olakša pristup materijalima te se sadržaj materijala digitalizira i objavljuje na internetskim platformama. Slični procesi liberalizacije politike arhivskih institucija posljednjih su godina vidljivi i u Hrvatskoj što je svakako pohvalno. Moje istraživanje arhivskog gradiva za potrebe pisanja disertacije jednim djelom se temeljilo na fizičkim istraživanjima u arhivima, a jednim dijelom sam se okoristio dostupnim online bazama arhivskih podataka koje su mi olakšale i uvelike ubrzale rad.

**Jeste li se susreli s nekim sadržajem koji bi po sebi bio kontroverzan, a da ga još niste oblikovali u neki znanstveno pisani rad? Ako nam ne možete detaljnije reći o tome sadržaju, možete li nam otkriti hoće li takav rad ubrzo ugledati svjetlo dana ili barem recenzente?**

U svom radu nisam naišao na neka revolucionarna ili kontroverzna otkrića. Takvih je u stvari jako malo. Moj krajnji cilj i nije doći do nekog takvog otkrića. Naravno bilo

in Croatia, there have been very heated public polemics about the Law of the archival material and archives. Examples of good practice in this regard are countries with long democratic tradition that apply various forms of legislation on free access to information for a long time. Inside those legal norms, researchers and the interested public can request access to documents even before the timeframes for the opening of material have been met. If it is estimated that the opening of the archival material does not pose a threat to national security, those materials become available to public. In addition to legal liberalization of accessing the materials, technology became an additional advantage in recent years. Namely, the policy of many archives in the West is to facilitate access to materials, so the content of the materials is digitized and published on online platforms. Similar processes of liberalization of the policy of archival institutions have been visible in Croatia in the latter years, which is definitely commendable. My research of the archival material for the purpose of writing the dissertation was partly based on physical research in the archives and partly on the usage of available online archival databases that facilitated and greatly accelerated my work.

**Have you come across any content that would in itself be controversial, and that you have not yet shaped into a scientifically written work? If you cannot tell us details about the content, can you tell us if such work will soon see the light of day or at least reviewers?**

In my paper I have not come across any revolutionary or controversial discoveries. In fact, there are a very little number of those discoveries. My final goal is not to come to that kind of discovery. Of course, it would be interesting to come across certain documents that bring important and unknown evidence, but that is just the first

bi zanimljivo naići na neke dokumente koji donose važne i nepoznate dokaze, ali to je samo prvi korak u poslu historiografa. Interpretacija i kontekstualizacija arhivskih izvora u već postojeće historiografsko znanje vidim kao temeljni zadatak kojim se bavim. Materijali koje ja istražujem moraju preko mene komunicirati s tekstovima i istraživanjima drugih kolega i kolegica i tek u tom dijalogu historiografija dobiva svoj puni smisao. Ideja o pisanju „konačne“ knjiga koja će sve ostale lišiti odgovora i pitanja mi se u start čini kao promašena ambicija. Što se tiče mojih planova ima ih dosta, radim na izdanju uredničke monografije, pišem neke članke koji su tematski bliski s onim što sam do sada radio, a planiram i izdavanje knjige koja bi se temeljila dijelom na istraživanjima koja sam napravio u sklopu pisanja svoje doktorske disertacije. U svakom slučaju očekuje me puno posla u narednom vremenu.

**Na kakve ste sve poteškoće nailazili u Vašem znanstvenome istraživanju? Je li Vam bio onemogućen pristup nekim izvorima, odnosno dokumentima do kojih ste pokušali doći prilikom istraživanja općenito, ali i osobito u Vašoj doktorskoj disertaciji?**

U svojim istraživanjima nikad nisam naišao na izravna ograničenja koja bi proizlazila iz mojih znanstvenih interesa. Međutim, kao i u svakom istraživanju, pri pisanju svoje disertacije nailazio sam na određene poteškoće. Vremenski okvir teme kojom sam se bavio preklapao se s razdobljem od trideset godina koje je potrebno za otvaranje arhivskog gradiva. Tako sam na početku istraživanja teme za disertaciju imao pristup samo prvim godinama razdoblja koje me zanimalo te je samo prikupljanje materijala malo duže potrajalo. Nailazio sam i na neke tehničko administrativne poteškoće. Primjerice

step in the work of a historiographer. I see the interpretation and contextualization of archival sources into a pre-existing historiographical knowledge as the main task that I deal with. Materials that I research have to communicate, through me, with the texts and research of other colleagues, and only in this dialogue does historiography get its full meaning. The idea of writing a “final” book that would deprive everyone else of any new questions and answers is, for me, a missed ambition. As for my plans, I have plenty of them. I am working on the publication of the editorial monograph, I am writing some articles that are thematically close to what I have done so far, and I am planning to publish a book that would be partly based on the research I did as a part of writing my doctoral dissertation. In any case, I have a lot of work to do in the future.

**On what difficulties have you come across in your scientific research? Have you been denied access to certain sources and documents that you tried to find during your research in general, and especially in your doctoral dissertation?**

In my research, I have never come across any direct limitations that would arise from mine scientific interests. However, as in any research, while writing my dissertation I have come across certain difficulties. The time frame of the topic I was dealing with was overlapping with the period of thirty years that was necessary to pass in order for the archives to become open. So, at the beginning of my research of the topic for my dissertation, I had access to only the first years of the period I was interested about so the collection of the materials lasted a bit longer. I also came across certain technical and administrative difficulties. For example, during one of the visits to The National Archives in London the material I needed was in the online catalogue, but by no means could I have ordered it. The deadline for its

pri jednom od posjeta *The National Archives* u Londonu građa koja je meni bila potrebna nalazila se u online katalogu, ali nikako je nisam mogao naručiti. Rok za njeno otvaranje je bio ispunjen i nisam očekivao nikakve poteškoće. Na koncu sam u razgovoru s arhivistima saznao da su materijali koje ja tražim u zakonskom smislu dostupni, ali nisu još prošli arhivsku obradu te zbog ne daju na uvid javnosti. S druge strane tijekom mojih istraživanja u Beogradu temeljni problem nije bio pristup gradivu već činjenica što materijali nisu bili arhivski obrađeni i bilo se jako teško snaći u obilnom gradivu. Naravno kao problem u arhivskim istraživanjima zna se pojaviti i očiti nedostatak dokumenata, koji su iz ovih ili onih razloga zagubljeni ili otuđeni.

**Možete li nam ukratko nešto reći o gospodarskoj krizi osamdesetih, kako se ista odrazila na bivšu SFRJ, a kako na Zapadu?**

Gospodarska kriza koja je svoj puni opseg u Jugoslaviji ostvarila tijekom osamdesetih godina nastala je kao rezultat strukturnih problema koji su opterećivali jugoslavensko gospodarstvo. Značajni iskoraci koje je jugoslavensko gospodarstvo i društvo ostvarivalo pedesetih i šezdesetih godina u sedamdesetima su posustali. Model gospodarskog razvoja koji je Jugoslavija razvijala u svojoj interpretaciji puta u socijalizam u pedesetima i šezdesetima ispunjavao je nekoliko temeljnih zahtjeva. Bili su to poslijeratna obnova zemlje, infrastrukturna izgradnja, industrijalizacija i urbanizacija. Većina tih napora mogla bi se okarakterizirati kao energična provedba modernizacije koja je u širem smislu obuhvaćala puno veći set politika koje su oblikovale sve segmente jugoslavenskog društava. Ipak pokazalo se da je gospodarski model

opening was met and I did not expect any difficulties. On the end, in conversation with the archivists I realized that the materials I was looking for were legally available but have not been processed in the archives and that is why it was not available to public. On the other hand, during my research in Belgrade the problem was not access to the materials but the fact that materials were not processed in the archives and it was very hard to handle all of that abundant material. Of course, the problem in archival research can be the obvious lack of documents, which have been, for one reason or another, lost or taken away.

**Can you briefly say something about the economic crisis of the 1980s and how it reflected on the former SFRY and how on the West?**

The economic crisis that reached its full extent in Yugoslavia during the 1980s arose as a result of structural problems burdening the Yugoslav economy. Significant strides made by the Yugoslav economy and society in the 1950s and in the 1960s started to give up in the 1970s. The model of the economic development which Yugoslavia developed in its interpretation of socialism during the 1950s and the 1960s fulfilled several basic requirements. Those were the post-war renewal of land, infrastructural construction, industrialization and urbanization. Most of these efforts could be characterized as vigorous implementation of modernization that, in a broader sense, encompassed a much larger set of policies that have shaped all segments of Yugoslav society. Yet, it turned out that the economic model of workers' self-management, which was shaped in a whole series of reforms, had its own significant constraints that were related to the political structure of the country, but also with internal self-management mechanisms. Yugoslav self-management that tried to promote elements of market



radničkog samoupravljanja, koji je oblikovan u cijelom nizu reformskih procesa, imao svoja značajna ograničenja koja su bila povezana sa političkom strukturom zemlje, ali i internim mehanizmima samoupravljanja. Jugoslavensko samoupravljanje koje je pokušalo promovirati elemente tržišne ekonomije i stanovitu razinu ekonomskog otvaranja prema inozemstvu patilo je od mnogobrojnih boljki. Kao neki od problema koji se mogu spomenuti svakako je pitanje produktivnosti rada, konkurentnosti, tržišno neracionalnih investicija, problem vanjskog duga koji je bio potenciran trgovinskim deficitom, itd. Svi navedeni problemi su kulminirali početkom osamdesetih kada su se oblikovale i političke okolnosti za njihovu javnu prezentaciju. Nepovoljno su na je na Jugoslaviju djelovali i vanjski faktori kao što je bio porast cijena nafte što je dodatno povećalo potrebu za devizama. Od tada pa do kraja postojanja SFRJ pitanje gospodarstva biti će jedna od dominantnih tema, ali zbog političke strukture zemlje i gospodarskog modela koji je proklamiran nikakvi značajniji pomaci nisu napravljeni. Jugoslavije se praktički našla u bankrotu jer su joj inozemni kreditori otpisivali i reprogramirali dugove. Međunarodni faktori su imali očekivanja kako bi se političkim odlukama na razini SIV-a mogle pokrenuti reforme koje bi omogućile gospodarski oporavak, ali vrijeme je demantiralo takva očekivanja.

### **Koliku je ulogu gospodarska kriza osamdesetih imala (ako je imala), u raspadu bivše SFRJ?**

Često se o raspadu Jugoslavije govori s pozicije neminovnosti tog procesa i kako su krize kroz koje je prolazila ta država imale jasno ishodište u njenom nestanku. Na temelju svojih istraživanja ja se ne

economy and a certain level of economic opening abroad suffered from numerous ailments. Some of the problems that can be mentioned are certainly the question of labour productivity, competitiveness, irrational market investments, the problem of external debt which was exacerbated by the trade deficit, etc. All these problems culminated in the early 1980s when political circumstances for their public presentation have been developed. External factors, such as rising oil prices also had a negative effect on Yugoslavia, which further increased the need for foreign exchange. From that moment until the fall of Yugoslavia, the question of economy will be one of the most dominant ones, but because of the political structure of the country and the economy model that was proclaimed, no significant shift happened. Yugoslavia was practically bankrupted because the foreign creditors wrote off and rescheduled its debts. International factors expected that the Federal Executive Council could trigger reforms that would enable economic recovery but time denied such expectations.

### **What role (if any) did the economic crisis from the 1980s have on the breakdown of Yugoslavia?**

The breakdown of Yugoslavia is often discussed from the standpoint of inevitability of that process and how crises through which that state was going through had a clear origin in its disappearance. On the basis of my research, I cannot agree with those interpretations. Of course that there were individuals who opposed that country and who wanted to see it fall apart and even made actions in this sense, especially the emigration, but the influence of those people was negligible. Not until the international circumstances of the ending of the Cold War and the division of the world in two blocks created

moгу složitи s takvim interpretacijama. Naravno da su postojali pojedinci koji su bili protiv te države i željeli su njezin raspad te su čak i pokušavali djelovati u tom smislu, to se prvenstveno može kazati za emigraciju, ali utjecaj tih snaga je bio zanemariv. Tek kada su se međunarodne okolnosti okončanja Hladnog rata i blokovske podjele svijeta stvorile uvjete za raspad Jugoslavije počeli su se događati procesi koji su vodili u tom smjeru. Gospodarski problemi nisu bili presudan faktor koji su doveli do raspada Jugoslavija, ali svakako su utjecali na stvaranje društvenih uvjeta koji su pogodovali radikalizaciji političkih poruka i platformi. Gospodarstvo je postalo samo jedno od bojnih polja na kojima su se odvijale borbe između republičkih partijskih organizacija. Teški materijalni uvjeti života koji su postojali u Jugoslaviji osamdesetih samo su jedan od faktora koji su utjecali na dinamiku društveno-političkog života.

### **Koliko se pogled zapada na JNA razlikovao od zbilje (ako se razlikovao)?**

Ovo pitanje samo po sebi nameće protupitanje što je zbilja? JNA je u Jugoslaviji predstavljala važan društveni i politički faktor. Uloga koju je JNA imala u društvu neusporediv je s demokratskim društvima tada, a i danas. Naravno JNA je imala svoje ustavne funkcije, a jedna od njih je bila i očuvanje poretka. Pogled na JNA razlikovao se unutar Jugoslavije uveliko, ovisno o nacionalnoj i socioekonomskoj perspektivi. Za raspravu o Jugoslaviji osamdesetih važno je pitanje kako se JNA samoidentificirala, a odgovore na ta pitanja možemo dobrim dijelom pronaći u memoarskoj građi. Naravno to je osobito bitno u kontekstu ratova koji su uslijedili devedesetih godina. S druge strane Zapad je JNA promatrao kao važnu instituciju

conditions for the breakdown of Yugoslavia, did those processes start to happen. The economic problems were not the main factor that led to the breakdown of Yugoslavia, but they definitely influenced the creation of the conditions in the society which favoured radicalization of political messages and platforms. Economy became just one of the battlefields on which struggles between republican party organizations took place. Difficult living conditions that existed in Yugoslavia in the 1980s were just one of the factors that influenced the dynamics of socio-political life.

### **How different from reality (if any) was the view of the West towards the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)?**

This question in itself raises the counter-question, what is reality? JNA was in Yugoslavia a strong social and political factor. The role that the JNA had in society is incomparable to any democratic society, then and now. Of course the JNA had its constitutional functions, and one of them was the preservation of order. The view on the JNA differed greatly across Yugoslavia, depending on the national and socio-economic perspective. To discuss Yugoslavia during the 1980s, the important question is how did the JNA identify itself and the answers on those questions can be partly found in the memoirs. Of course, this is especially relevant in relation to wars that were going on during the 1990s. On the other hand, the West viewed JNA as an important institution within Yugoslavia that remained one of the last unique institutions in the country. There was a widespread opinion that the JNA was an important factor in the Yugoslav unity that by its existence represented a centripetal force. The question of the reaction of JNA on the destabilization of the political system in Yugoslavia was raised in various analyses.

unutar Jugoslavije koja je ostala jedna od posljednjih jedinstvenih institucija u zemlji. Postojalo je rašireno mišljenje kako je JNA snažan faktor jugoslavenskog jedinstva koji samim svojim postojanjem predstavlja centripetalnu silu. U raznim analizama postavljalo se pitanje reakcije JNA na destabilizaciju političkog sustava u zemlji i isticalo se kako bi JNA podržala konzervativne i centralističke snage koje bi u Jugoslaviji proveli reforme kojima bi se političko odlučivanje više koncentriralo u Beogradu. Takva razmišljanja nailazila su na određenu razinu odobravanja kod zapadnih analitičara jer su u tim procesima vidjeli mogućnost okončanja procesa međurepubličkih sukoba koji su kočili, po njima potrebne reforme.

**U Vašoj disertaciji kažete da se Slobodan Milošević spominje u dokumentu Foreign Office-a pod naslovom *Yugoslavia: Leading Personalities* iz 1984. godine, iako sami u nastavku kažete da u tome trenutku potonji nije bio u kategoriji najviših dužnosnika. Možete li nam ukratko ispričati koji su razlozi za njegov spomen u takvom dokumentu?**

Takvi dokumenti su se redovito producirali unutar diplomatskih i obavještajnih službi kako bi se pažljivo pratila politička situacija u zemlji. U tima dokumentima se navodi čitav niz političkih dužnosnika na raznim razinama i pokušava se identificirati političare mlađe generacije čiji se uspon tek očekuje. Ja sam tada prvi put naišao na spomen Miloševića gdje se on navodi kao dio kruga oko Ivana Stambolića kome je dugovao svoj politički uspon. Kasnije je Miloševićeva politička ambicija dovela do njegovog približavanja srpskom nacionalizmu i sukoba sa Stambolićem. Na koncu je Milošević uspio u svojim političkim ambicijama i postao je ne samo institucionalna figura u SK ili u

Those analyses highlighted the fact that the JNA supported conservative and centralist forces in Yugoslavia that would carry out reforms in Yugoslavia that would make political decision-making more concentrated in Belgrade. Such thinking was approved from the West, because they hoped that these processes would terminate the processes of inter-republican conflicts that have, according to them, hampered necessary reforms.

**In your dissertation you claim that Slobodan Milošević was mentioned in a 1984 Foreign Office document entitled *Yugoslavia: Leading personalities*, although you yourself say that Milošević was not in a category of the highest officials at the moment. Can you briefly explain the reasons why he was mentioned in such a document?**

Such documents were regularly produced between diplomatic and intelligence services in order to closely monitor the political situation in country. In those documents, a whole series of political officials on various levels are mentioned and also what is at aim are politicians from a younger generation whose rise is yet to come. It was there that I first met Slobodan Milošević's name, where he was cited as a part of the circle around Ivan Stambolić, to whom he owed his political rise. Later, Milošević's political ambition led him closer to Serbian nationalism and conflict with Stambolić. On the end Milošević was successful in his political ambitions because he became, not just an institutional figure in the SK or SR Serbia. He became the leader of the Serbs in the entire Yugoslavia, which was an unconstitutional role that represented a dangerous political precedent in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, majority of the Serbian communities outside the SR Serbia accepted with approval this kind of politics. It is in that Milošević's ambition and enthusiastic approval of Serbian communities across

SR Srbiji već se nametnuo kao vođa Srba u cijeloj Jugoslaviji što je bila vanustavna uloga i predstavljalo je opasan politički presedan u Jugoslaviji. S druge strane veliki dio srpskih zajednica izvan SR Srbije prihvatio je s odobravanjem takvu politiku. Upravo u toj Miloševićевой ambiciji i entuzijastičnom prihvaćanju od strane srpskih zajednica diljem Jugoslavije treba tražiti razloge eskalacije političke krize u Jugoslaviji prema ratnoj tragediji.

**Iako je, prema Vašoj disertaciji, Slobodan Milošević 1988. godine prepoznat u tajnim službama Zapada kao potencijalna ugroza stabilnosti u SFRJ koja bi mogla (i jest) rezultirati njenim raspadom, zašto već tada nije poduzeto ništa *tajno* da se spriječi daljnji uspon Miloševića i da se na taj način spriječi raspad SFRJ, ili je njen raspad bio u interesu Zapada?**

Kada govorimo o Jugoslaviji uvijek trebamo imati na umu da ona egzistira unutar bipolarnog svjetskog poretka gdje postoji dvojna dinamika između SSSR-a i SAD-a. Jugoslavija je imala specifičnu poziciju između dva bloka i postojao je stalni oprez kako ni jedna strana u Hladnom ratu ne bi privukla Jugoslaviju u svoju sferu. Vaše pitanje oblikovano je na iskustvima unipolarnog svijeta kada su SAD-a započele sa snažnim angažmanom promjene režima ratnim naporima ili kroz manje ili više javnu podršku revolucionarnim procesima diljem svijeta. Takve aktivnosti nisu bile izvedive u Jugoslaviji osamdesetih zbog šireg hladnoratovskog okvira. Zato je sva politička i ekonomska aktivnost koja je tijekom osamdesetih dolazila od Zapadnih partnera imala za cilj stabilizaciju Jugoslavije. Raspad Jugoslavije nije bio u interesu Zapada i sve diplomatske aktivnosti išle su u smjeru očuvanja Jugoslavije. Tek s eskalacijom nasilja dolazi do postupne transformacije tih stavova.

Yugoslavia, where the reasons for the escalation of political crisis in Yugoslavia towards war tragedies lay.

**Although, according to your dissertation, Slobodan Milošević was recognized in 1988 by the intelligent services from the West as a potential threat to stability in Yugoslavia that could (and did) result in its breakdown, why wasn't anything "secret" done then to prevent the further rise of Milošević and the breakdown of Yugoslavia, or was its breakdown in the interest of the West?**

When talking about Yugoslavia, we always have to keep in mind that it existed inside of a bipolar world order where there was a dual dynamics between the U.S.S.R and the USA. Yugoslavia had a specific position between the two blocks, and there was a constant caution that none of the sides in the Cold war attracts Yugoslavia to its sphere. Your question was shaped in the context of a unipolar world where the USA is strongly engaged in the changes of regime, through war effort or through minor or major support to revolutionary processes around the world. Those activities were couldn't have been done in Yugoslavia because of the wider frame of the Cold war. That is why, during the 1980s, the entire political and economic activity from the West was aimed at stabilising Yugoslavia. The breakdown of Yugoslavia was not at the interest of the West and all diplomatic activities were aimed to preserve it. Only with the escalation of violence did the gradual transformation of attitudes take place.

**Through media, the most exposed question within the scientific community is the question of the historical revisionism. One part of the community strongly condemns such debates; whereas the other part claims that if there is**

**Medijski, možda i najeksponiranije pitanje u znanstvenoj zajednici je pitanje povijesnog revizionizma. Jedan dio zajednice oštro osuđuje takve rasprave, dok drugi uzvraća time da, ako nema revizionizma, uopće nema svrhe se baviti poviješću kao znanost. Što Vi mislite o tome?**

Odgovor na ovo pitanje leži u značenju koje se pripisuje riječi revizionizam. Kod nas je ova rasprava jako živa i plodonosna posljednjih godina. Ponekad imam dojam da termin revizionizam u pojedinim krugovima ima sličnu funkciju kao termin reakcija u Jugoslaviji za diskreditaciju neistomišljenika bez potrebe da se razgovara o argumentima. Ja mogu kazati sa svoje profesionalne pozicije da za mene riječ revizija ima značenje ponovnog uvida u neko pitanje ili problem. Smatram da je bilo kakvo bavljenje poviješću u svojoj definiciji revizija. Revizionizam se ne može poistovjećivati s relativizacijom ili krivotvorenjem povijesti kada se s jasnom intencijom pokušava prikazati kriva slika o pojedinim osobama, događajima i procesima. Zbog toga se rasprava o reviziji historiografskih spoznaja treba voditi na znanstvenoj razini, a svi pokušaji manipulacije poviješću trebaju se jasno identificirati bez obzira od koga dolazili.

**Prilikom izvođenja nastave na Odjelu za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, što najviše težite prenijeti svojim studentima?**

Tijekom svog cjelokupnog obrazovanja imao sam priliku učiti od velikog broja izvrsnih nastavnika i profesora te sam od njih pokušao usvojiti neke osobine i navike koje su mi se činile važnima. Nadam se da sam u tome barem dijelom uspio. Suvremena povijest je neraskidivo povezana s vremenom u kojem mi živimo i izravno ga je oblikovala. Mislim da nije moguće sveobuhvatno poimanje sadašnjih društvenih, ekonomskih,

**no revisionism there is no point in dealing with history as a science. What is your opinion on that matter?**

The answer on this question is within the meaning of the word revisionism. In Croatia, this discussion has been very vivid and productive in the past couple of years. Sometimes I am under the impression that, in certain circles, the term revisionism is used in the same way as the term reaction was used in Yugoslavia. As a term to discredit those who think differently without presenting any arguments. I can say from my professional position, that the term revision has the meaning of a re-insight into some question or a problem. I believe that any dealing with history is in its definition a revision. Revisionism should not be mixed with forging of history when there is a clear intention of presenting a false image of certain people, events and processes. That is why a discussion of revision of historiographic facts should be conducted on a scientific level, and any attempt of manipulation of history should be identified and irrelevant from whom it came from.

**When teaching a class on the Department of History on the University of Zadar, what is the hardest thing to convey to your students?**

During my entire education I had the opportunity of being taught by a huge number of great teachers and professors, and from them I tried to adopt some traits and habits which to me seemed important. I hope that I succeeded at least partly in that manner. Contemporary history is connected unbreakably with the time in which we live in and shaped it directly. I believe that it is not possible to completely comprehend present social, economic, political and other processes without knowing and understanding the history of the 20th century. One of the basic intentions of my work with students is to make them view the history of the 20th



političkih i drugih procesa bez znanja i razumijevanja povijesti dvadesetog stoljeća. Jedna od temeljnih intencija mog rada sa studentima je da oni povijest dvadesetog stoljeća promatraju kao nešto što je integralni dio današnjega svijeta, a ne kao nešto daleko i nepoznato. Zbog toga u nastavi uvijek pokušavam povezati teme koje se obrađuju s današnjom situacijom. Također studente pokušavam usmjeriti na preispitivanje ustaljenih postavki i postavljanje pitanja kako bi odbacili postojanje zadanih misaonih okvira izvan kojih nije poželjno izlaziti. Zbog toga težim na nastavi stvoriti ugodno ozračje u kojem je moguće testirati svoja razmišljanja i postavljati pitanja bez straha da bi se moglo naići na odbijanje.

**Primjećujete li Vi kroz nastavu na sveučilištu pojedince koji imaju potencijal za znanstveno usmjerenje, i ako je tako, na koji način?**

Uvijek postoje studenti koji svojim znanjem, entuzijazmom i angažmanom privuku moju pažnju. Cilj mi je takve studente potaknuti na daljnji rad i usavršavanje jer razvojem svojih vještina sebe samooblikuju kao bolje pojedince i stječu vještine koje im u budućnosti uvijek mogu biti od koristi. U tom smislu posebno cijenim proaktivnost kod studenata koji ne trebaju vanjski poticaj već su sami pokretači raznih aktivnosti. Posebno ističem i vas studente okupljene oko časopisa Rostra i udruge ISHA Zadar koji pokazujete izuzetan angažman kojega ja osobno svesrdno podupirem. Ovom prilikom zahvalio bih se na ovom, ničim zasluženom, pozivu na razgovor i na interesu za moj znanstveni i nastavni rad.

**Koliko su danas, prema Vašem mišljenju, povjesničari cijenjeni i potrebni u društvu?**

Ovo pitanje je poprilično nezahvalno jer se odgovorom na njega može otkriti

century as an integral part of the modern world, and not as something distant and unknown. That is why in class, I always try to connect certain topics with current situation. I also try to guide students in a path of reconsidering the established thesis, and ask questions in order to reject the existence of a certain frame beyond which it is not desirable to go. That is why I try to create a pleasant atmosphere on class, in which it is possible to test your thoughts and ask questions without the fear of a possible rejection.

**Do you notice any individuals on the University who have potential of a scientific orientation, and if so, in what way?**

There are always students who have knowledge, enthusiasm and engagement that attract my attention. My goal is to encourage those students to work even harder and to improve themselves, because by improving their own skills they shape themselves as better individuals and acquire skills which could be useful for them in the future. In that sense, I especially respect the proactivity of the students who don't need an outer impulse, because they are themselves initiators of various activities. You students around the magazine Rostra and ISHA association stand out particularly, because you show an exceptional engagement which I support completely. At this occasion, I would like to thank you for this, undeserved, invitation for an interview and on your interest for my scientific and teaching work.

**In your opinion, how much are historians appreciated and needed in today's society?**

This question is quite ungrateful because the answer to it can reveal my comprehension of myself. With clear distance of myself as a professional, I would like to point out that every society and every new generation

moje poimanje važnosti samoga sebe. Uz jasnu ogradu od sebe kao pojedinca istaknuo bih kako svako društvo i svaka nova generacija treba povjesničare koji će profesionalno i etično težiti prema istini. Taj ideal istine nikada nije moguće apsolutno postići, ali jasno usmjeren napor u tom cilju u svakoj generaciji rezultirati će poboljšanjem historiografije. Odnosno jasnijim pogledom na prošlost u iz konteksta trenutka u kojem egzistiram. Mislim da mi kao društvo živimo vrijeme kada je pozornica za raspravu napokon otvorena, sve teme su dostupne, a znanstvena rasprava će u budućnosti biti sve kvalitetnija. U tom smislu sam optimist i smatram da će historiografija imati mjesto u hrvatskom društvu koje će zaslužiti svojim ostvarenjima. Jer nitko historiografiji ne može dati pozornost i uvažavanje koje sama ne zasluži.

needs historians professionally and ethically strive towards truth. That ideal of truth cannot be achieved absolutely, but the clear effort towards that goal will result in the improvement of historiography in every generation. Or with a more clear view on the history from the context of time in which we live. I think that we as a society live in a time when a stage for debates is finally opened, when any topic is available, and when scientific discussion will in the future be of better quality. In that sense, I am an optimist and believe that historiography will have a place in Croatian society, which will be earned by its accomplishments. Because nobody can give attention and importance to historiography if it doesn't itself earn it.