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DR FRANJO TUĐMAN IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS*

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This paper analyses the way in which Dr Franjo Tuđman is depicted in the textbooks used in Croatian schools. The author concludes that while some basic biographical data are provided, with respect to his contribution as a statesman some authors are prone to politicization and even self-censorship, the intention of which is to diminish his contribution to the history of the Croatian people. Most issues concerning internal and external policies require further research.

Keywords: Franjo Tuđman, contemporary Croatian history, textbooks, history as school subject

Introduction

In both pedagogy and historiography, the significance of textbooks has been well explored. Textbooks are significant books in the existence of a nation. In our opinion (perhaps professionally biased) this applies especially to history textbooks. What is written in textbooks, that is to say what children learn in school, is far more important than all comprehensive or small studies and monographs we write. The reason for this is simple. For example, a history textbook must be studied by each pupil, and history as a field of human existence and of collective experience is a significant element in the shaping of national identity. A historical study or monograph is read by only a small number of interested experts or history enthusiasts. Of course, these studies and monographs generate scholarly literature; without their utilization and

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the knowledge they provide it is not possible to write adequate and useful textbooks. Hence, there is a strong correlation between textbooks, scholarly literature and sources.

This is why it is not easy to write a textbook. It has to be a synopsis of all that scholarly research has achieved. If that is not the case, if textbook authors do not make use of scholarly literature and achievements, a textbook is merely a set of empty impressions of no value and a mere compendium of ideology.[1] This is why each textbook must contain a reference list of scholarly literature used in its writing. This good practice, common among textbook writers in the 19th and partly the 20th century, has completely disappeared in our country.[2] Experience as well as the polemics induced by textbooks, indicate that this practice needs to be revived. As a good scholarly book cannot be written without using sources and scholarly literature, a good textbook must encompass the achievements of historical science.

Basic Biographical Data on Dr Franjo Tuđman in History Textbooks

This paper analyses the 8th grade primary school textbooks, 4th grade grammar school textbooks and vocational school textbooks that are used in our schools; I have explored what has been written on Dr Franjo Tuđman, the first Croatian president, and the way in which he has been depicted.[3] Some

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[1] The best example for this in our historical literature is the "Dodatak udžbenicima za najnoviju povijest" ("Supplement for Textbooks on the Most Recent History") of the authors Magdalena Najbar Agičić, Snježana Koren and Tvrtko Jakovina. It was published in the book *Jedna povijest, više historija* (Zagreb: Documenta – Centre for Dealing with the Past, 2007).

[2] Out of numerous textbooks analysed, as I have explored this topic previously, only Goran Miljan and Ivica Miškulin, PhD, the authors of the Textbook for Grammar School 4th Graders, published by Profil in 2009, made a reference list of sources used in the textbook. However, this textbook is no longer used in schools.

[3] I have analysed the following authors: for the grammar school programme: 1. Miroslav Akmadža, Mario Jareb, Zdenko Radelić, *Povijest 4.: Udžbenik za 4. razred gimnazije* (Zagreb: Alfa, 2016); 2. Hrvoje Petrić, Jakša Raguž, *Povijest 4: Udžbenik iz povijesti za 4. razred gimnazije* (Samobor: Meridijani, 2014); 3. Krešimir Erdelja, Igor Stojaković, *Koraci kroz* vrijeme *IV: Udžbenik povijesti u četvrtom razredu gimnazije* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2018); programme for vocational schools: 4. Ivan Dukić, Krešimir Erdelja, Igor Stojaković, *Hrvatska povijest: Udžbenik povijesti za trogodišnje strukovne škole* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2013); 5. Stjepan Bekavac, Mario Jareb, Tomislav Šarlija, *Hrvatska povijest: Udžbenik za 1. razred trogodišnje strukovne škole* (Zagreb: Alfa, 2015); 6. Miroslav Akmadža, Mario Jareb, Zdenko Radelić, Robert Skenderović, *Hrvatska i svijet 2: Udžbenik za 2. razred četverogodišnje strukovne škole* (Zagreb: Alfa, 2016); 7. Željko Holjevac, Hrvoje Petrić, *Kratka povijest za strukovne škole: Udžbenik iz povijesti za trogodišnje strukovne škole za osnovnu razinu učenja* (Samobor: Meridijani, 2014); 8. Željko Holjevac, Hrvoje Petrić, *Povijesni pregled za strukovne škole:*

textbooks provide just a single photograph and one sentence on how the "inner and outer circumstances described led to the first multi-party elections in April 1990, won by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), led by future Croatian President Franjo Tuđman".[4] The majority of the textbooks provide certain information, some of them contain a short biography of Dr Tuđman mentioning that he and his Croatian Democratic Union won the first multi-party democratic elections and that he was the first president, some textbooks failing to differentiate between the functions of the president and the president of the Presidency up until July 1990.[5] It is also stated that he was a participant of the antifascist movement from 1941 to 1945, that after the end of World War II until 1960 he resided in Belgrade performing various duties at the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff, that he was a general of the JNA (Yugoslav People's Army), that in 1961 he had left military service, then came to Zagreb where in the same year he founded the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement of Croatia, becoming its director. In one of the textbooks, it is mentioned that he was a representative in the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Croatia, 1965-1969,[6] and it was pointed out that he stood up for the truth about the contribution of Croatia to the antifascist movement, opposing the stigmatisation of the Croatian people because of the role of the NDH (Independent State of Croatia) in World War II. It is also pointed out that he drew attention to "exaggerations concerning the victims of Jasenovac and other victims of war increasing interethnic hatred".[7] Only this textbook adduces the scholarly issues Dr Tuđman was dealing as the reason for his persecution. In our opinion his commitment to the historical truth about the victims of Jasenovac clearly contributed to his persecution and imprisonment. The following claim of the authors is fully acceptable: "He was expelled from

Udžbenik iz povijesti za četverogodišnje strukovne škole za srednju i dodatnu razinu učenja (Samobor: Meridijani, 2014); 9. Vesna Đurić, Ivan Peklić, *Hrvatska i svijet od sredine XVIII. do kraja XX. stoljeća. Udžbenik iz povijesti za drugi razred srednjih strukovnih škola* (Zagreb: Profil, 2006); 10. Vesna Đurić, Ivan Peklić, *Hrvatska povijest od doseljenja Hrvata do naših dana za prvi razred trogodišnjih srednjih strukovnih škola* (Zagreb: Profil, 2006). For primary school: 11. Stjepan Bekavac, Mario Jareb, *Povijest 8: Udžbenik za 8. razred osnovne škole* (Zagreb: Alfa, 2017); 12. Vesna Đurić, *Vremeplov 8: Udžbenik povijesti za osmi razred osnovne škole* (Zagreb: Profil, 2014); 13. Snježana Koren, *Povijest 8: Udžbenik za osmi razred osnovne škole* (Zagreb: Profil, 2014); 14. Krešimir Erdelja, Igor Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8: Udžbenik povijesti u osmom razredu osnovne škole* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2018).

4 I. Dukić, K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Hrvatska povijest*, p. 184.

5 K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8*, p. 207.

6 S. Bekavac, M. Jareb, *Povijest 8*, p. 151; M. Akmadža, M. Jareb, Z. Radelić, R. Skenderović, *Hrvatska i svijet 2*, p. 215; the same also in S. Bekavac, M. Jareb, T. Šarlija, *Hrvatska povijest*, p. 201.

7 Ibid.

the Communist Party and forced into retirement at the age of 45 due to such positions."[8] In one of the textbooks it is accentuated that: "In the early seventies he came into conflict with the regime which is why he was sentenced to prison twice."[9] The reasons were not explained. Also, promise to the pupils that "soon more information would be provided on his role in the process of Croatian independence, on the liberation of the occupied territories and the democratization of society,"[10] was not kept. One of the textbooks claims that he was imprisoned "because of his political views".[11]

In the opinion of the author of this paper, these are euphemisms. Textbooks must convey the truth that it was about political persecution, persecution for the sake of the historical truth, that is to say about historical science, because the issues he explored in historiography, particularly the issue of the victims of Jasenovac, were primarily issues of historical science. This was exactly how Tuđman approached the issue: as a scholar to a scholarly issue. Clearly, the Jasenovac myth had a catastrophic impact on the relationship between Croats and Serbs and undoubtedly gave rise to the poisoning of the interethnic relations of these two nations and contributed to the justification and the horrors of the Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina. Dr Franjo Tuđman was, along with other Croatian convicts (Dr Marko Veselica, Vlado Gotovac, Dr Šime Đodan, Dr Hrvoje Šošić, Bruno Bušić and others), a victim of persecution by the totalitarian communist regime.

The 8th grade textbook written by Snježana Koren addresses this by stating that Franjo Tuđman was the director of the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement, that he had to resign in 1967 and after that operated as a dissident, furthermore that he was "sentenced to prison terms twice due to his political views".[12] As the author has not explained the real character of the totalitarian communist system to the pupils, the statement on the imprisonment "due to his political views" indicates either ignorance or a lack of understanding of the essentials. Moreover, as said before, Dr Franjo Tuđman was imprisoned for his commitment to historical truth and historical science, which is also worthy of attention. However, none of the authors, except Stjepan Bekavac and Mario Jareb in their textbook, has referred to this. Tuđman was retired at the age of 45, in the prime of his life and at the height of his creative power.

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8 Ibid.

9 K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8*, p. 207.

10 Ibid., 207.

11 S. Koren, *Povijest 8*, p. 279.

12 S. Koren, *Povijest 8*, p. 279.

State Activities and the Overall Contribution to the Liberation of the Republic of Croatia

Authors give different assessments of the work of Franjo Tuđman as statesman and his contribution to the overall liberation of Croatia. It is usually emphasized, that along with people of kindred spirit, he founded the Croatian Democratic Union which in 1990, 1992 and 1995 won the elections. As already stated, he was elected President of the Presidency by the Croatian State Parliament and after the changes to the Constitution he was elected President of the Republic of Croatia twice (August 2, 1992, and June 15, 1997). In one of the textbooks, it is pointed out that in his military doctrine he advocated the idea that each nation should have its own army.[13] This fact had far-reaching repercussions; thus it is important to emphasize it. Authors have drawn diverse conclusions on the merits of Dr Franjo Tuđman in creating the independent Republic of Croatia. S. Bekavac and M. Jareb in the 8th grade textbook for primary schools emphasise: "Alongside the Croatian defenders, he is greatly to be credited with the creation of an independent and sovereign Republic of Croatia."[14] In the textbook of Školska knjiga the author describes the role of Tuđman as follows: "Among Tuđman's greatest achievements is the achievement of independence of the Republic of Croatia under his leadership and the establishment of sovereignty of the Croatian territory in its entirety."[15] It is certainly to be applauded that in the new textbook the author has left out the unnecessary statement, tells us more about his efforts "to be impartial"at all costs; however, this well assessed and correct estimate has been overshadowed by this statement: "His persistence in renaming the football club he supported *Croatia* instead of *Dinamo,* as preferred by fans, was a serious blow to his popularity in the country (especially among the young)."[16] Such information in a textbook is utterly irrelevant; our opinion is that the author has conveyed this information with the intention of presenting Tuđman as an authoritarian ruler who meddled in all matters, even in such things as to how a club should be named. There is no need to state the hundreds of reasons and arguments why this is unnecessary information. In the new textbook this information is justifiably not provided. Envision the impossible: that a Serbian textbook for primary and secondary schools told the truth about how Karađorđe thrust a beehive on his mother's head or that he had 3,000 Jews and Turks killed or baptized after taking Belgrade.

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13 S. Bekavac, M. Jareb, *Povijest 8*, p. 151.

14 S. Bekavac, M. Jareb, *Povijest 8*, p. 151.

15 K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8*, p. 210; Ibid., *Koraci kroz vrijeme IV*, p. 273.

16 Ibid., *Tragom prošlosti 8* (edition from 2008), p. 230.

Snježana Koren, author of the 8th grade textbook for primary school published by Profil, has presented the role of Dr Tuđman in recent Croatian history to pupils by providing certain biographical data (that he was a participant of the National Liberation Movement, that after the War – he was general of the Yugoslav People's Army and a historian, then the director of the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement from which he had to resign, and subsequently "operated as a dissident" (offence not stated). His overall contribution to the process of the creation of the Croatian state has been assessed as follows: "After the democratic changes in 1990, he became the first Croatian president. The independent Croatian state was established and victory in war was achieved during his time".[17] Do the facts provided allow us to determine Franjo Tuđman's contribution to the creation of the independent state and victory in war? However, this is knowledge pupils in primary and secondary school should certainly acquire. They do not. For "independent Croatian state and victory in war" were accomplished in my time and her time too, and, as the author says, in Tuđman's time, and yet, she would have to admit, there is nevertheless a difference in our respective contributions. We should by no means create a cult of anyone's personality (three are more than enough for this nation). But there is in Croatian historiography sufficient literature and published source materials to provide pupils with more concrete data on Franjo Tuđman's contribution to the overall struggle of the war, in the liberation and creation of the independent Croatian state. As a matter of fact, the author's statement indicates her political view. the object of which is to diminish to a minimum the contribution of Dr Franjo Tuđman to the crucial period of recent Croatian history. This also becomes apparent in the following. The victories in war increased Tuđman's popularity, however, "at the same time his authoritarian governance of the state caused dissatisfaction among a large number of citizens."[18] We would like to know upon which scholarly literature, her own or of other authors, she has based this conclusion and passed it on to pupils who need to gain knowledge on Tuđman as the first Croatian president. In our opinion, the characterisation of Tuđman as authoritarian is the personal political viewpoint of the author of the textbook. Tuđman was certainly one of the most criticized politicians in Croatia before, during and also after the war. There is no allegation that has not been made of him, especially by those that blame him for his "authoritarian governance of the state", whereas those who had personally persecuted him and outlawed and drastically penalised the mere idea of Croatia as an independent state, suffered not the slightest harm "during his time".

[17] S. Koren, *Povijest 8*, p. 279.

[18] S. Koren, *Povijest 8*, p. 279.

If the majority of the authors of Croatian textbooks refer to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the "founder of modern Turkey", in our view, it would certainly be no sin against the truth if an author were to write in a Croatian history textbook that Franjo Tuđman was the founder of the sovereign, democratic Croatian state.

Attention must be drawn to one fact. In her textbook Snježana Koren has used the parts which relate to the Homeland War out of the reformulated, above mentioned, "Supplement for Textbooks on Recent History" which had been rejected by the Ministry. Most of the textbooks have at least two, some even a number of reviewers. This one has one only: the co-author of the "Supplement", Dr Tvrtko Jakovina. The imprint specifies: "reviewers" (plural), while there is only the name of Dr Jakovina. We are inclined to believe that it is a typing error, however, it is not to be found in another textbook.[19] This book exemplifies the manipulation and evasion of regulations laid down by the Ministry; one of them is the usage of key words, and one of the key terms is the Greater-Serbian policy. The author mentioned it only at the beginning as one of the "key words", within the text there is no mention of it and, as might be expected, no explanation of the term.

Another example as proof that this author either does not distinguish between essential and non-essential or consciously blurs the truth, or both. In search of a somewhat plausible cause which would equalize the guilt for the war in 1991-1995, in order to justify the rebellion of Serbs against the Croatian state and the aggression against Croatia with the object of creating Greater Serbia (neither term is used in the textbook), in one of her former textbooks, the author laughably equates and correlates the centuries-old Greater-Serbian projects with certain cases of intolerance to some Serbs who were sacked in the 90s. She literally says: "**Chetnik demands from Serbia claiming the western borders along the line Virovitica-Karlobag-Karlovac as well as the cases of the dismissal of Serbs from work** contributed to the increase of inter-ethnic mistrust."[20] (emphasis by the author of this article). This attempt to regard a process creating far-reaching and entrenched projects as being identical to temporary event, is an indication of the author's lack of knowledge of Greater-Serbian projects which had been developing for nearly two centuries, but also her intention to assign guilt for the war to both sides at any cost. The author takes pride in referring to her lack of knowledge as a "multi-perspectival method".

[19] Ž. Holjevac, H. Petrić, *Kratka povijest za strukovne škole,* reviewer Dr Hrvoje Gračanin.

[20] S. Koren, *Povijest 8,* p. 219.

In her new textbook she has expressed the same idea in a more subtle manner. "Milošević's regime more and more denied the borders of the republics by requesting the creation of a Serbian state that would encompass the majority of the Serbs. Serbian radical groups demanded the western Serbian border along the line Virovitica-Karlovac-Karlobag by which they evoked former Chetnik programs. The Serbian media contributed to the growth of mutual distrust as they were inducing fear amongst Croatian Serbs by evoking memories of the events in World War II. The statements of certain Croatian politicians in which they expressed animosity towards Serbs contributed to this as did the cases of the dismissals of Serbs from work and expulsions from their apartments."[21] In this textbook Snježana Koren again, as in the *Supplement,* repeats the same charge that *Operation Storm* was a criminal action. This is expressed by means of two pictures: the first depicting "the welcome of Croatian soldiers in Zagreb after *Operation Storm*" as a celebration; the other "the Serbian population leaving Croatia after *Operation Storm*". She makes a connection between the pictures by asking pupils the question: "What do these two pictures tell you about the different experiences of people in war?"[22] Such a relativization of the truth, the aggression and the very essence of the war is inadmissible. As a matter of course she did not forget to mention the events after *Operation Storm*: "However, in the following months several hundred Serbian civilians were killed, abandoned Serbian properties plundered and burned" (pp. 291-292) and Serbian refugees were prevented from returning. Nevertheless, she forgot to mention that in the occupied territory, which was under international protection, several thousand non-Serbian civilians were killed. In this text as well in a number of texts in former textbooks the author suggests that *Operation Storm* was a cleansing operating targeting Serbs in the Krajina. However, the departure of Serbs from Croatia cannot be regarded only from the perspective of *Operation Storm* and the year 1995, as it is written in Serbian textbooks and as it is perceived by the Serbian public; it must be considered chronologically and in the context of all events from the beginning of the aggression in 1990 up until the liberation of Croatia in *Operations Flash* and *Storm*. There is a considerable amount of scholarly literature based on sources of Serbian provenance addressing the unsustainability of such attitudes by which the pupils in Croatian schools are misled.

Krešimir Erdelja and Igor Stojaković in their 8th grade primary school textbook published by Školska knjiga proceeded in a manner similar to Snježana Koren. In this textbook it is pointed out that the media in Belgrade were showing recordings of Ustasha crimes "frightening people with new persecu-

21 S. Koren, *Povijest 8*, p. 281.

22 Ibid., p. 291.

tions" and proceeds: "Immoderate statements of certain Croatian politicians contributed to the success of this propaganda and an anti-Croatian mood prevailed in Croatian territories inhabited by the Serb population, which is precisely what Belgrade had wished for."[23] A similar interpretation can be found in the textbook of the same authors *Koraci kroz vrijeme 4: Udžbenik povijesti u četvrtom razredu gimnazije* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2018). It specifies: "The public appearances of certain Croatian politicians had certainly no favourable effects on the course of events. There were a certain number of politicians in the Croatian Democratic Union, but also from other parties that were ready to respond in equal measure to the Serbian nationalism and to national hatreds. And as Milošević's pawns scared the Serbs by making up the idea that Croatia was the successor of the Ustasha NDH, which had nothing good to offer the Serbs, certain Croatian politicians amplified this propaganda by unfounded anti-Serbian and pro-Ustasha statements.[24] It is true that there were some individuals who at certain meetings were talking about "storming the Drina" and "Zemun" not even raising the issue of the weapons needed. However, these were individual and insignificant cases. The best proof for this was the ratio between the weapons of Croatia, the communist JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) and the Government of the Republic of Serbia; and weapons are, after all, significant in warfare. In one part of the text the authors indicate that they were aware of this: "However, for a mass rebellion it was probably crucial that the rebels were aware of the fact that they had the JNA on their side and expected an easy and quick victory against the poorly armed Croatian forces."[25] In these descriptions of "immoderate statements", although the authors did not directly make mention of Dr Franjo Tuđman it is clearly he that is being referred to. However, their having connected and equated political projects and long-lasting processes going on for centuries with a few spoken words quoted out of context shows how much effort the authors have put into finding at least something with which to even out the guilt for the war. Also, their interpretation of the negotiations, particularly the attempt to equate the behaviour in these negotiations among the presidents of the former Yugoslav republics, on the one hand Slobodan Milošević and on the other hand Dr Franjo Tuđman and Milan Kučan, using the strange term "so-called false negotiations" served the same purpose. By using this neologism of "so-called false negotiations", the authors impart the information to children that Milošević did not want to renounce his centralism and Tuđman and Kučan their confederalism, and yet they negotiated "falsely". By doing

[23] K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8*, pp. 213-214; cf. also I. Dukić, K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Hrvatska povijest*, p. 185.

[24] K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Koraci kroz vrijeme 4*, p. 277.

[25] I. Dukić, K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Hrvatska povijest*, 185.

so, the authors imply there was incorrect behaviour on both sides, as if the principal positions of all sides were of the same value. It must be said that the authors speak correctly of the aggression against Croatia and of Greater-Serbian pretensions; hence, the aspiration to evenly balance the guilt for the war by bringing up the "so-called false negotiations" is in fact astonishing.[26] In the textbook for grammar schools, written by the same authors, it is mentioned that in 1994 there was a split within the Croatian Democratic Union. This is a significant fact and should be mentioned. However, a textbook that is supposed to provide objective information based on scholarly results, should not explain the split as follows: "Stipe Mesić, along with President Tuđman one of the most powerful politicians in Croatia, withdrew along with a group of like-minded members, from the Croatian Democratic Union, as they claimed, on account of Tuđman's policy of conquest in Bosnia and Hercegovina".[27] Against Mesić's claims about the split with President Tuđman, there are far more and more convincing living witnesses of the events, as well as scholarly papers. The pointless quotes from "Povijesni izvori" brought up by the author in order to provide various opinions on Tuđman are also improper. The only well-considered opinion cited by the textbook authors is that of Dr Mario Jareb: "Each move of Franjo Tuđman is viewed through a magnifying glass and in most cases put in a negative context. The same persons who object to even the smallest mistakes of Franjo Tuđman, condone Tito's major crimes."[28] The authors clearly gave themselves this task in advance to convey the impression of an "objective" and "multi-perspectival" approach.

In addition to the 8th grade textbook, Školska knjiga has also published the special "working material" entitled the "Homeland War". Along with the fact that "western Slavonia" is written with a capital letter in "Western" (page 9) as if this geographical term really existed, it must be said that in the text there is no mention of the name Franjo Tuđman. Only at the end in the chronology is it said that he signed the order for the closure of the military barracks (page 14).

As we can see, President Tuđman's contribution to the state as well as his work in the period 1990-1999 was described in the textbooks in various ways by the authors. Textbook contents must by their very nature be maximally concise. In the textbook of Hrvoje Petrić and Jakša Raguž *Povijest 4: Udžbenik za povijest za 4. razred gimnazije*, which is actually a very good and readable textbook, the authors point out that "after the elections Franjo Tuđman, president of the Croatian Democratic Union, became the President of Croa-

[26] K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Koraci kroz vrijeme 4*, p. 275.

[27] K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Koraci kroz vrijeme 4*, p. 282.

[28] K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Koraci kroz vrijeme 4*, p. 288.

tia."[29] This is one of the places where Franjo Tuđman is mentioned without the evaluation of his statesmanlike activities. However, some authors were able to provide some additional information. The authors Miroslav Akmadža, M. Jareb, Z. Radelić provide information on the rockets fired at the Presidential Palace on October 7, 1991 by the JNA with the object of killing Dr Tuđman and along with him S. Mesić and A. Marković.[30] S. Bekavac and Dr Jareb state that President Tuđman (along with Milan Kučan) advocated a confederal reorganization of Yugoslavia in which each republic would be a sovereign state. Slobodan Milošević, the president of Serbia, advocated the election principle *one man – one vote* which would have introduced Unitarianism and ensured Serbian hegemony on the basis of supposedly democratic principles.[31] These authors cite the significant fact that in July 1995, subsequent to the Srebrenica catastrophe, Dr Tuđman along with Alija Izetbegović signed the Split declaration – an agreement on Croatian-Bosniak common defense against the Serbian aggressor.[32]

However, in the descriptions of various political events, ideas, decisions and actions the authors make use of the terms "Croatian government", "leadership of the Republic of Croatia" and so on; yet we know that it was Dr Franjo Tuđman that was responsible for these ideas and decisions as well as the leading figure in the political events in most of the cases. Tuđman's principles were also visible in the Washington Agreement from March 18, 1994, reached through the mediation of the USA, which brought the Croat-Bosniak War to an end, determined the renewal of military cooperation and the establishment of the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats. And yet the textbooks do not mention him in this context. As a textbook is not a book addressing the political activities of one man, this method is of course justifiable (although, for example, the decision to establish the Corps of National Guard was made by Tuđman, not by the "Croatian government"). No one makes a direct connection between the forming of the Croatian Army and Tuđman, yet it was his experience and decision that was crucial. After all, in my opinion at least, the forming of the Croatian Army is one of the most significant events in modern Croatian history and it deserves a separate chapter in Croatian school textbooks.

We shall close this chapter with the firm belief: If the majority of the Croatian textbooks state that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the "founder of modern Turkey" or that Josip Broz was the "leader of the FNRJ (Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia)" in our view, it would be no sin for an author to write

[29] H. Petrić, J. Raguž, *Povijest 4.*

[30] M. Akmadža, M. Jareb, Z. Radelić, *Povijest 4*, p. 211.

[31] S. Bekavac, M. Jareb, *Povijest 8*, p. 191.

[32] Ibid., p. 204.

in a Croatian history textbook that Franjo Tuđman was the founder of the sovereign, democratic Croatian state.

The Pictures of Dr Franjo Tuđman in Textbooks

Pictures are a significant part of textbooks because they allow pupils to master the syllabus more easily and retain it. Chosen pictures indicate which aspect of the topic illustrated in the textbook is considered important by the author. All the textbooks analysed show photographs of Dr Franjo Tuđman. In the pictures he is depicted either by himself (taking the presidential oath, the arrival in liberated Knin in August 1995) along with a short biography or in the company of other people. The group pictures depict various significant events which the author wanted to illustrate. The most commonly used images in group photographs used by almost all of the authors are the Promulgation of the Christmas Constitution of the Republic of Croatia on December 22, 1990, pictures of the president of the former state at some of the numerous negotiations as well as the signing of the Dayton Accords. The most used picture among group photographs is the picture with Dr Tuđman and Stjepan Mesić depicted in the foreground. This picture is supplemented with various texts. In the 4th grade textbook for grammar schools written by K. Erdelja and I. Stojaković "Koraci kroz vrijeme 4" in the introductory of the supplementary text it is stated: "Franjo Tuđman and Stjepan Mesić had from the beginning been party colleagues." In the further course their political split and accomplishments are described. In this textbook there is no picture of Tuđman by himself although Milan Kučan, Stjepan Mesić, Radovan Karadžić, Ivica Račan and Ivo Sanader had this privilege; persons who, according to the opinion of the author of this paper, were less to be credited with the success of the Croatian liberation war than Dr Franjo Tuđman.[33] The textbook for vocational schools by the same authors says that Franjo Tuđman and his Croatian Democratic Union won at the first multiparty elections in April 1990 and that he became president of Croatia. To this a picture has been added. There is same tendency previously mentioned to fasten on any kind of arguments in order to equalize the responsibility for the war.[34] The rest of the pictures depict Ban Jelačić Square after the parliamentary session on May 30, 1990,[35] at the Croatian Parliament on May 30, 1990.[36] The only textbooks

[33] K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Koraci kroz vrijeme 4*.

[34] I. Dukić, K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Hrvatska povijest*, p. 184; see footnote 24 of this article.

[35] V. Đurić, *Vremeplov 8*, p. 228.

[36] M. Akmadža et al., *Povijest 4*, p. 206.

showing Franjo Tuđman in Knin after the liberation are the 4th grade grammar school textbook of Hrvoje Petrić and Jakša Raguž[37] and the textbook of Željko Holjevac and Hrvoje Petrić "Povijesni pregled za strukovne škole"[38] Not one of the textbooks provides pictures of Franjo Tuđman's speech at the United Nations and only one provides a photograph of him with Pope John Paul II.[39] Both events, the UN speech and the meeting with the Holy Father, are significant for Croatian history, hence, according to the author of this paper, these events should have been presented in Croatian school textbooks.

The main characteristic of the pictures depicting Tuđman is simplicity and documentary character. These pictures are far from the idealisation of the personality as seen in the textbooks during the communist dictatorship. Dr Tuđman was often accused by his political opponents of creating a personality cult. Textbooks are the first and best resource for the creation of personality cults. The fascist as well as the communist totalitarian regimes were very aware of this fact and used it to the fullest extent. All these textbooks put a stop to any idealised pictures of leaders, starting from the front page, nor was there anything of the almost religious allegiance to the leader. Not even a shadow of such an attitude can be found in them, the best indication of how "right" those are who ascribe authoritarianism and the creation of a personality cult to Franjo Tuđman.

Criticisms of Franjo Tuđman

Although the authors do not mention the name of President Tuđman, they all refer to a series of negative occurrences during the time of his leadership: 1. the privatisation process which continued during the war (more than 1000 legal entities were illegally privatized and destroyed by the new owners; the employees were dismissed, and the companies transformed into profitable real estate which was sold off at the earliest opportunity for financial profit. This led to great unemployment and caused a crisis). In no way would we claim a priori that no responsibility can be laid at the door of Dr Franjo Tuđman. However, without exception, the estimate of all participants of the events, his supporters and detractors agree that Tuđman neither understood nor meddled in economic issues. His main preoccupation was the liberation of the Croatian population and the creation of an independent Croatian state. No research has been done into these issues, and attention should be drawn to

[37] H. Petrić, J. Raguž, *Povijest 4*, p. 209.

[38] Ž. Holjevac, H. Petrić, *Povijesni pregled za strukovne škole*, p. 145.

[39] K. Erdelja, I. Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8*, p. 221.

this in textbooks. 2. Some of the media and certain associations made charges concerning the lack of democracy and insufficient respect for human rights, which in consequence resulted in a partial isolation by the international community. Naturally, it would be possible to take issue with these stances about the "lack of human rights" could be polemicized owing to the fact that those who objected to the "denial of human rights", were those who unreservedly and often in a very primitive and vulgar manner criticized him. (e.g., *Feral*). In 2000 the Croatian Democratic Union lost the elections; according to the opinion of most of the authors, this was due to all the aforementioned negative characteristics of the system established by Dr Franjo Tuđman. Some of these reasons could be agreed upon; however, to many of them such as the supposedly authoritarian leadership, as mentioned previously, we cannot consent; the majority of the issues such as the privatisation and Franjo Tuđman's responsibility for it requires deeper and more objective research. A much more complex issue is the "isolation" into which Dr Tuđman had put Croatia. Not long after the victory accomplished by the operation "Storm", in 1996, Dr Tuđman pointed out, with some justification, that the international community wanted to place Croatia in some new form of Yugoslavia. For this purpose, even a new geographical term was coined that had never existed before in history: the "Western Balkans" and later the "Yugosphere". Tuđman fiercely resisted any kind of return to any sort of association that would resemble the former Yugoslavia. He not only sensed the danger but knew that it really existed, therefore he started the initiative which led to the following regulation being inserted into article 141 of the Constitution: "Any procedure for the association of the Republic of Croatia into alliances with other states, if such association leads, or may lead, to a renewal of a South Slavic state union or to any form of consolidated Balkan state is hereby prohibited." This is where one should seek the cause of Croatia's "isolation" and Tuđman's unpopularity in the so-called international community. The author of this paper sees in this a far-reaching statesmanlike act protecting the achievements of the Homeland War against Greater-Serbian aggression and the aggression of the communist JNA.

School textbooks used in Croatian schools provide (unsystematically) some significant biographical data about Franjo Tuđman. Only one textbook thereby includes also his scholarly oeuvre and refers to his research on the contribution of Croatia to the anti-fascist movement as well as to the issue of the Jasenovac victims and its impact on international relations. Tuđman's political work is presented by data which as a whole form an image of his statesmanlike activities and his contribution to the overall liberation of Croatia. The authors of the textbooks have, however, different approaches. Some of them do not refer to his contribution to state-formation at all; one of the textbooks accentuates that the liberation of the state was accomplished "dur-

ing his time" (S. Koren), another that "along with the Croatian veterans (…) he can be given great credit for the creation of the independent and sovereign Republic of Croatia" (S. Bekavac, M. Jareb). The textbooks of H. Petrić and J. Raguž as well as H. Petrić himself refer to Franjo Tuđman as the "most to be credited with the creation of the independent and sovereign Republic of Croatia". When the author of this analysis finds in our textbooks the unanimous assessment that, for example, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was "the founder of modern Turkey" and thereby realizes that within the gradation of Tuđman's statecraft there are more nuances, he can only draw the conclusion that some authors of our textbooks are prone to politicization (being apt to diminish Tuđman's merits) and self-censorship in assessing the statesmanlike activities of and contribution of Franjo Tuđman to the overall liberation of the country (mainly with a propensity to play down Tuđman's merits). All textbooks refer to a string of negative occurrences related to the time he was at the head of the state, with the emphasis on privatization and his propensity for authoritarianism. All this requires thorough and objective research for it to be used as a relevant assessment in the writing of textbooks.

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