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## BOOK OF PROCEEDINGS

### I International Symposium on Culture of Remembrance

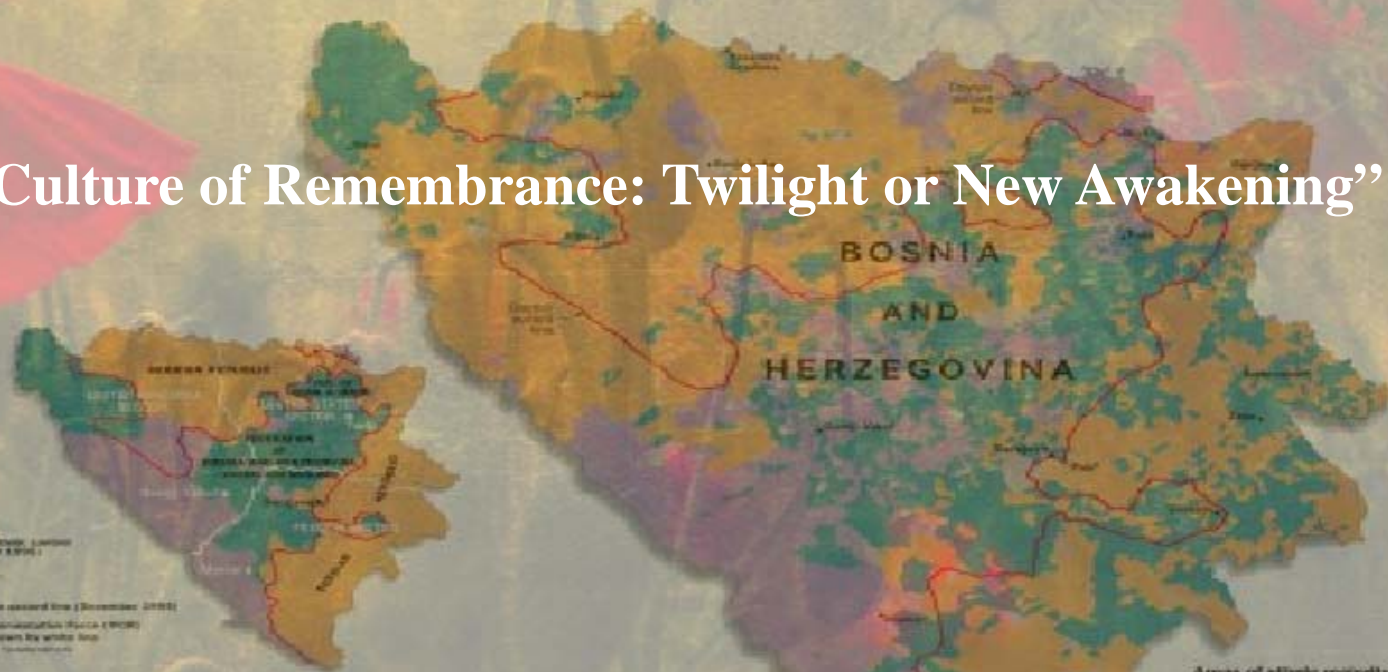
### Bosnia and Herzegovina



INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO



### “Culture of Remembrance: Twilight or New Awakening”



International University of Sarajevo  
12—13 April, 2014 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

# **CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE**

*Book of proceedings*

## **I INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM**

*“Bosnia and Herzegovina – Culture of remembrance:  
Twilight or new Awakening“*

### *Editors*

Sabahudin Hadžialić

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**I INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM  
CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE**

***“Bosnia and Herzegovina – Culture of remembrance:  
Twilight or new Awakening“***

**I MEĐUNARODNI SIMPOZIJ  
KULTURA SJEĆANJA**

***„Bosna i Hercegovina – Kultura sjećanja:  
Sumrak ili Novo buđenje“***

**И МЕЂУНАРОДНИ СИМПОЗИЈ  
КУЛТУРА СЈЕЋАЊА**

***„Босна и Херцеговина – Култура сјећања:  
Сумрак или Ново буђење“***

**Abstracts live video here:**

**<http://www.diogenpro.com/symposium-12-13-april-2014.html>**

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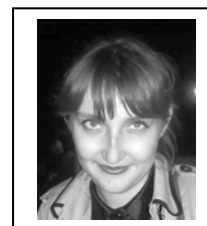




**“Miner of Husino” statue, now and then  
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Oko Tuzle učestala buna,  
na ustanak digla se komuna.  
Borimose pred očima svijeta,  
gola prsa protiv bajoneta.  
Neka s nama počne nova era,  
crvena od krvi proletera.<sup>33</sup>

### **Abstract**

Reflection of rebellion in the “Miner of Husino” allows us to gain deeper insight into Tuzla's and Bosnian history of memories. Once, this statue represented a national symbol of Tuzla, monument which transferred messages to new generations. However, contrary to its mission, it fell into the oblivion and he served only as material evidence of past. Ninety-five years later, the statue again regained its meaning when disenfranchised workers peacefully protested and wanted to speak with an arrogant leader. He, not only didn't receive them, he gave the policy an authority for excessive use of force. So that's how, once again, social bunt appeared that called for change and establishment of different political forces which will have to open new perspectives to the citizens of this country. The revolutionaries of the past and present are as united, they were asking and they still ask for justice and a piece of bread. Once, “Miner of Husino” statue held a rifle in his right fist while leaning to the pick with the left; today, the same statue's raised fist is empty, while the pick is covered with large, printed, red letter P. Raised clenched fist is a symbol of national power around the world, but this fist is that of a miner, of a disenfranchised worker. Clenched fist is a sign of struggle, and perhaps the biggest advantage of this movement is the establishment of a plenum where everyone has a power to create, where everyone has the right to vote, where there is no leader, and everybody works together on destroying authoritative power that dominates and destroys.

The theme of the work is not, therefore, the protests themselves, as much as it is a dynamics of collective memory, which lies in the shadow of the statue of disenfranchised past reflected into the present, and the memory is a matter of present and future, at least as much as it is a thing of the past. The aim of this work is to connect the history, where these two rebellions reflect one in another, and reflect the constant reminder of the facts which are not overcome and which will happen again. This paper tries to find the answer to the question of whether these insurmountable facts, from the standpoint of the theory of memory, can be understood and overcome.

**Key words:** Miner of Husino, rebellion, culture of memory, disenfranchisement, reflection

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<sup>33</sup>Poem from the movie „Mutiny of Husino“

## THE STATUE OF THE HUSINO MINER AS A SYMBOL OF DEFIANCE, ACROSS THE CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE

**Oko Tuzle učestala buna,  
Naustanak digla se komuna.  
Borimo se pred očima svijeta  
gola prsa protiv bajoneta.  
Neka s nama počne nova era,  
crvena od krvi proletera.<sup>34</sup>**

The reflection on the Uprising of Husino Miners<sup>35</sup> allows for a deeper insight into the Tuzla, that is, Bosnian history of remembrance. The statue once representing the national symbol of Tuzla, a monument usually transmitting messages to generations and generations, despite its mission, has fallen into oblivion<sup>36</sup> and currently only serves as material evidence of the ancient past. None the less, is this really the case? Is our unconscious painted with the colors of the defiance of the past, and we do not even know? Is it really possible to forget a nine meters high statue? And, what is our visual communication with this colossal man?

Answers to these questions may be found in the study of symbols using the Yong psychoanalysis. Symbols have always been used for marking identities and confirming commitment to a social group. Being based on shared beliefs or common interests and activities, all organized groups have their own symbols of identity. An important characteristic of symbols is their visibility: they are intended to provide easily recognizable sign of group identity as a way of codifying and structuring social relations, with the aim of inducing emotional responses such as fear, respect, pride and defiance<sup>37</sup>, in all who see them. Political groups, uprisings and revolutions have always been

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<sup>34</sup> A song from the movie „Husinska buna“ (The Husino Uprising)

Frequent uprising around Tuzla,  
the uprising raised commune.  
We fight in front of the eyes of the world  
bare chest against the bayonet.  
Let a new era begin with us,  
red with the blood of proletarians.

<sup>35</sup> The famous Uprising of the Husino Miners began on December 21st, 1920. Over 7000 miners led by the Communist Party and Mitar Trifunović Učo, went on strike due to low wages. Seven days later, the authorities ended the strike literally in blood. Thirty-two miners and peasants were killed, dozens were injured and hundreds were indicted. A miner, Juro Kerošević, accused of killing a gendarme during the conflict, was sentenced to death by hanging. Due to the gruesome way in which the strike was ended, rebellions across the country broke out eventually resulting in the commutation of sentence for Kerošević to 20 years in prison. In memory of Husino Uprising as well as the miners who were killed in the war, on July 27th, 1956, the largest monument in the city was raised in the park behind the current Bosnian Cultural Center. (Božo Mažar, The General BiH Miners' Strike and Husino Uprising, 1920).

<sup>36</sup> Oblivion in the mythological notion is located under the ground, its image is that of an abyss, Hegel called it "the deep pit of man's self", and Thomas Mann "the well of the past". And our phrase "fall into oblivion" indicates the belief that oblivion is located under the soil where the subterranean live their life. In our language oblivion is topically marked: it represents the negation of the verb to reside, which is connected to residing in an area. (Sinan Gužević, The Republic).

<sup>37</sup> Defiance is the attitude towards authority which is required or compelled to allow the subject to be powerful, independent, his own or free. The psychological assumption of defiance is a sense of self-esteem which is verified by comparing it with others and by seeking fair treatment from others. This can be noticed in situations where the subject defies the request of the person who has, in the past, rejected his similar request. In this case, defiance serves the purpose of social leveling and to serve justice. Defiance has probably played a major role in the progress in all areas of life and in the development of civilization. The history of the discovery of the most varied aspects of life is in fact the history of impairment and underestimation, and the consequent strive to prove the validity of a new idea or invention. When rebellion and defiance become the dominant sense of social relations, particularly in relation to authority, it becomes a determinant of a life style. (Zoran Milivjević, Emotions).



associated with specific symbols<sup>38</sup>. In memory of the Uprising of Husino Miners, a monument identifying the rebellion of disgruntled workers was built a century later.

In "The Art of Memory", by the well-known English historian Frances Amelia Yates, significant are the facts according to which the authoress awakened a renaissance thought researcher's sensibility towards some, until then, completely disregarded and unprocessed aspects of the Renaissance such as the role and significance of the Hermetic tradition, alchemy, magic, symbols... She states that memory is transformed through the Hermetic and Cabalistic influences of the Renaissance Neoplatonism. Furthermore, she points out that, according to G. Bruno, the primary task of the art of memory is to display the cosmic order and allow for its storage by using pictures and symbols, thus also memorizing the place of all things in that order.



**Kolo od sreće uokoli  
vrteći se ne pristaje:  
tko bi gori, eto je doli,  
a tko doli gori ustaje.<sup>39</sup>**

The belief that there are patterns or tendencies that organize nature and human experience has existed throughout the history of humanity in all cultures of the world. The Pagan conception of magic as a predetermined network of destiny<sup>40</sup> and all other mythological systems, the pantheon of

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<sup>38</sup> A symbol builds each symbolic form, and thus the culture and the arts as part of the culture. By creating culture, a man builds a special praxis, which is varied and contradictory on the inside. Within this praxis the symbol works in a special way, always with the aim of tightening the link between the elements of the praxis, especially if they are mutually contradictory. In this process, the symbol has a certain communicative and cohesive role, but it would be wrong to bring it to down only to that, considering that the symbol is actively involved in the entire cultural process. Bearing all this in mind, it is clear that the nature of the symbol, its origin and development can successfully be realized only by simultaneously clarifying the concept of symbolic culture that permeates the symbol and gives it an appropriate meaning. (Radoslav Djokic, Sign and symbol)

<sup>39</sup> Ivan Gundulić: Osman

The wheel of fortune goes round and round

It doesn't stop turning

He who was on top is now on the bottom

He who was on the bottom rises to the top

<sup>40</sup> The Pagans define magic as the ability of psychic energy management of nature/the universe, with the aim of inducing a change at a mental and /or material level, all in accordance with one's own free will. So, magic is a completely natural process, and the magical process serves as a kind of "transformer" that turns the intention of subjective reality into an objective one that may be perceived by the senses of the material world. The tendency towards magic and spirituality is deeply rooted in the collective consciousness. Using magic the Pagans explore their dormant and hidden powers, they push the limits of their own abilities, and come to the realization that they are One with everything on the spiritual and material level. (Lothar; Paganism in Theory and Practice).

gods, individual deities or symbols, assume the term of the (in)visible influence behind everyday life. Carl Gustav Jung has taken this principle and developed a psychological theory of deep organizing patterns or archetypes, clarifying the choice of symbolism throughout the world.

The black statue, the Tuzla icon representing the rebellious strength and indestructibility of the human defiance, was named The Husino Miner. He remains an open story of the (un)consciously artistic challenge latently presenting different conceptual notions. However, these notional concepts, through symbolic study, can be interpreted as follows: the right hand with a clenched fist holding a rifle raised high in the air, symbolizes strength and courage. A hand fearing no death<sup>41</sup>. Also, the position of the hands represents a threat and the search for equality; one hand faces the sky and the other the ground, that is, the sky is God himself, and the earth is a natural law. The law of Hermes Trismegistus "As above, must be down." The black color, the color of coal and miners when they come out of the mine, a symbol of power and authority. Death is marked in black and, in this case, it marks the death of the ruling oligarchy. Or the death of oblivion? In Egypt black is the color of eternal life, precisely because it is considered that new life comes from the darkness. A new life that will begin once it comes out of the darkness and starts a revolution? The helmet<sup>42</sup> on the head is part of the mining uniform that protects the head. But, can a helmet represent a type of warning that the strong concentration of The Husino Miner will induce such states in the environment? A state of defiance and a state of an active mechanism of action of the common man, miners, as opposed to a passive, just another common man. The statue is on the move. Not standing still. It walks. It moves. Goes forward, not afraid, and passing down a message to generations: We may be in a deep pit<sup>43</sup>, but we constantly explore our pit, we know it relatively well and we dig even deeper. But, what about you? Are you just going to stand still and wait in line for a haircut?<sup>44</sup> According to cultural memory theorists, the past is alive and present in the present, and memory itself is, in many ways, built into the value and institutional framework of social life. Messages that are being unconsciously transferred (for example, through visual perception) are differently implanted into the conscious in relation to the way in which something is memorized, so that the past continues to exist independently of the will of those who continue to live. The way something is memorized is what gives memory power, and not the content. The psychological theorist Arnold Mindel points out that we are trying to see life in terms of conditions, solid symbols, solid identity, the state of the mind ... while in reality we actually live in a world of processes, getting a steady stream of signals and information. In the process approach, symbols are seen not only as something with a fixed meaning, but also as part of the current fluid process that requires constant vigilance. This is why, for a life without revolutions, what is important is the content of what is remembered and the way in which this content is embedded into the practices and institutions of society.

**Sad vrhsabljekrunavisi,  
sad vrhkrunesabljapada,  
sad nacarstvo rob se uzvisi,  
a tko car bi, rob je sada.**<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> A hand is a symbol of strength, authority, provided help and protection. It is also the tool of justice: a hand that holds the authority determines the sentence to the convicted. (Alen Gerbran, The Dictionary of Symbols)

<sup>42</sup> The helmet symbolism is linked to that of the head it covers. The helmet protects the thoughts, but also hides them: it is a symbol of power and elevation.

<sup>43</sup> A deep pit, according to Jung, symbolizes the unconscious

<sup>44</sup> All we know are only illusions in an uncertainty that changes constantly. The search for a real picture of the world is a complete waste of time. We should turn towards understanding ourselves. (Aristotel)

<sup>45</sup> Ivan Gundulić: Osman

Now the crown hangs on the top of the sword,  
and now the crown slides down the sword,  
now the slave is exalted onto the empire,  
and he who was an emperor, is now a slave.

The political and social order of Bosnia and Herzegovina speaks of a culture that squares with the legacy of the past and totalitarian regimes, with violence as an instrument of politics, as well as with the ideological legacy of nationalism. The strike of the Husino Miners began at the end of 1920, and ninety-five years later, the disempowered workers Tuzla went on peaceful protests. Since the ruling oligarchy refused to receive the representatives of protests, riots broke out and the power of social networks got stronger in one night than all the institutions of the political system. In solidarity with Tuzla, mass protest broke out in all cities across Bosnia and Herzegovina: Bihać, Sarajevo, Mostar, Zenica, Srebrenik, Tešanj, Tuzla, Travnik, Kalesija, Brčko, Zavidovići, Maglaj etc. and resulted in social fires<sup>46</sup>.

Protests in Tuzla standing under the wing of The Husino Miner did not only get the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina on their feet, but also the entire region<sup>47</sup>. Comments came from everywhere, as those of messages of support to Protestants, so as of criticism and condemnation of the ruling structure that, having no other choice, resigned on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2014<sup>48</sup>.

The German constructivist, M. Albvas, when talking about memory, remains within the conscious psychological process and claims that the power and durability of memories abide within the sense of group belonging. To re-find the past, people reconstruct them in the form of different sources and monuments, and memory serves this well, that is, constructed memory. Also, the places of remembrance are common places of historical awareness with long duration<sup>49</sup>. They provide rapid understanding of historical assumptions and explanations: "It is a history located in language that cannot be told, but, once told, it can only be highlighted and applied in communion" (J. Riise).

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<sup>46</sup> After sentencing JuroKerošević to death, on July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1922 in Belgrade the workers' assembly began to protest against the violation of the rights of organizing and the freedom to strike and, in the resolution, sought amnesty for convicted workers for participating in strikes. News about justification crossed the Yugoslavian borders and reached America, Russia, Italy, France, Germany ... where workers 'assemblies were held, and millions of workers demanded that Kerošević be pardoned and the right to strike as a weapon of the working class be recognized. (AntoCigeljević, Husinski Miner)

<sup>47</sup> On the third day of the demonstrations in Tuzla, demonstrators gathered in the city center, demanding the resignation of the Government. In twenty major cities in Bosnia, demonstrations continued. According to official data, 130 people were injured in the riots, 104 of which were police officers. Some time after, around 10,000 demonstrators broke through the police cordon positioned in front of the Government of Tuzla Canton, and several demonstrators set fire to the building. The rapid intervention by the city firefighters failed, and the fire soon spread to other floors of the Government building. Following the announcement that one of the initiators of the action on Facebook has been arrested, demonstrators marched towards the building of the Cantonal Court, demanding his release. The Officers of the Court were timely evacuated, and further clashes with the police and the use of tear gas were recorded throughout the city. The building of the Court was stoned, after which it was announced that the police had joined the demonstrators and that clashes with the police were discontinued. (<http://www.media.1.rs/tuzla/politika>)

<sup>48</sup> "Dear people of Tuzla, your fight is today the brightest example of self-liberation of the working people of the Balkans, in line with the heroic struggle of the people of Tunisia, Greece and Latin America! The victory you have won today, the resignation of the state government and the capitulation of the state organs of repression, represents, not only inspiration, but irrefutable proof of the dependence of every authority on popular acceptance. Every oppressor is an oppressor only until the oppressed accepts the oppression - this is the lesson you have taught the world. The fight by your city and your country is the future that awaits for us all." (The Proclamation to the People of Tuzla, The Marxist Organization Red.)

<sup>49</sup> At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ayan, with janissaries, became the interference to the reconstruction to the Imperial authority of the central government and the implementation of necessary reforms. The first holder of reforms, Sultan Selim III (1789 - 1807), was a victim of the ayan-janissary rebellion, after which, in 1826, they were confronted by Sultan Mahmud II (1808 - 1839). Following the confrontation of Mahmud II with the janissaries (1826), the remaining autonomy in the Empire came to order, with Bosnia in the first place. Having discovered what was prepared for them in Istanbul, the Bosnian ayans met in Tuzla and in February of 1831 started with the preparations for resistance. Husein-Captain Gradašćević was elected the leader of the resistance. (HazimSabanovic, Bosnian Pashalik)

Ah, čijemsi se zahvalila,  
taštaljudskaoholosti?  
Sveštovišestereškrila,  
svećešpakanižepasti!<sup>50</sup>

By interpreting the past, the present becomes more understandable, since memories are always connected to the present. They interpret, explain, arrange and define the present, but also justify it. However, we cannot relativize the present as a part of linearly understood time. The present is a component of the time that is moving from the past towards the future. The present is always a time pattern of perception of reality. It is the period of duration or stability, in which the space of experience and the horizon of expectations coincide, and memory and experience become orientation actions (Rosa Luxemburg, Reform or Revolution). Ninety-five years after the Husino Uprising, a new rebellion began in Tuzla when the entire cabinet resigned and formed a temporary, expert government. This expert government was supposed to be in power for eight months. However, not even this government has brought significant changes, and at the time of writing this paper (early December, 2014) protests are still ongoing. There are still around a hundred disempowered workers on the streets of Tuzla pleading for their rights. Elections were completed two months ago, and the new government has not yet been established, and the statue of The Husino Miner still defies and warns the ruling oligarchy to realize that the government is in the service of the people. Otherwise, a new revolution, which will certainly happen, (and historical facts say in ninety years time), could yield much more consequences than any so far. However, this shall be written and witnessed by another generation of kids.

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<sup>50</sup>Ivan Gundulić, Osman  
Oh, to whom do you thank,  
you vain human insolence?  
The more you spread your wings,  
the lower you shall fall!

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SLADANA ILIĆ finished elementary and secondary education in Tuzla. She received her BA degree in Pedagogy and Psychology from the University of Tuzla, as well as her MSc degree. She is a Teaching Assistant at the Department of Psychology, University of Tuzla. She participated in a huge number of seminars and educations related to psychology, as well as workshop within international network „Trauma, Trust and Memory“ organized by DAAD and IPU Berlin. She has been member of international network „Trauma, Trust and Memory“ since April 2013. She was awarded golden badge of the University of Tuzla.





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PJ br. 2 IMPORTANTNE CENTAR (-1)  
PJ br. 3 Hamdije Cemerlica br.35

