

Lecture by Drago Pilsel : Political theology - Theology of national anti-myth (Role of religion in war and post-war).

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[Not authorized text!](#)

Zelimir Zilnik:

Good morning everyone, today as we have already announced we have very special guests, Mr. and Mrs. Pilsel. I told you what you are going to hear in today's lecture and that there will be time for discussion. It is a very special day today because as we are researching the role of religion in today's society, Mr. Pilsel is a great expert in that area. He is not only excellent essayist and journalist in this field but he has also an interesting background regarding his schooling in South America and here in the Europe. So today we have someone who can tell us a lot of interesting things and whom we shall be able to ask some really serious questions about religion, Christianity and about the role and position of Church in today's society. So I will give the podium to Mr. Pilsel. He will speak Spanish because that is his native language. Mrs. Pilsel will translate to English. Afterwards you can ask questions and you can speak German as Mr. Pilsel speaks German or English, French and Italian, the languages they both speak as well. Some of you speak Italian and Portuguese, so you can ask questions in those languages, and of course in Croatian, and I think that you can understand Bosnian and Serbian as well.

Drago Pilsel:

Please if you can't hear or understand me, raise you hand. It is not a problem to repeat because I don't know how the acoustics are and can you hear me, or do I need to speak louder, let me know. Is it ok over there? Ok!

Any kind of informal presentation starts with a little humour. He is asking me to tell you a joke that was showed as a video clip made by Germans which points out how easily communication troubles can cause huge problems or misunderstandings. The joke is called 'German's coastguard'. A young man has his first day at work and his boss is showing him the control buttons, the microphones, the centre of communication for boats and coastguards. So after he finished with introduction boss wished him good luck and left. So young man is enjoying himself, everything is going well; there was no call everything was quiet and than all of the sudden a paniced voice: "Mayday, mayday we are stuck and sinking". He is stressed out trying to find the button where this is coming from. So he finally finds the button and hears again: 'Mayday, mayday we are sinking. Can someone hear us?' He pushes the button and says: "This is the German coastguard. What are you singing about?"

First of all let me tell you few words of introduction about who we are. Tomorrow the topic will be my autobiography, how I was raised as a Nazi-fascist-nationalist and how I became an antifascist and a human rights fighter. So that you have an idea who we are and what I

am talking about. I studied journalism, political science and theology. I was born in Buenos Aires in 1952, to a Croatian refugee family in Argentina. I arrived to Yugoslavia in May 1989. During that time I was a Franciscan monk. In October 1991, my brother was hit by a missile from Yugoslavian navy and together with five other soldiers he disappeared with his boat. Their boat got sunk and there was nothing left. The place where it happened is just an hour from here. When this happened I left my studies of theology and I became a volunteer in brigade in which my brother was. More or less I took his place as a soldier. During the 5 months of fighting, I was in a process of re-examining many things and especially the concept of my identity. Not just my ethnic or national identity, but also my cultural identity, especially my religious identity. I arrived here in '89 and by '91 I have reached a point where I realized that my attitude and my relationship with the Catholic Church in general and a Catholic Church in Croatia in particular wasn't what I expected to be; probably due to my Argentinean roots. Back in Argentina I've been very much involved in the theological movement called "Liberation Theology". Its base was the people of the Church and the hierarchy is very, very flat and completely different in comparison to the European Church, which has a very steep hierarchy. So the Catholic Church in Croatia not only had a hierarchy that is very, very visible, but they still hold onto the feudal mentality, attitude and structure. One of the reasons why I became more or less the enemy of politic and Franjo Tudjman in 90's was that he used Catholicism to create a new national identity to replace Marxist identity of Yugoslavia. I was also very much opposed to his very autocratic style of leadership, which didn't even give a chance for development of civic society in Croatia. When Tudjman and Milosevic agreed to divide Bosnia was the last straw for me to oppose Tudjman; because of my Bosnian roots. My grandparents were from Bosnia and from a very mixed Austro-Hungarian family. I completed my theological studies, but I didn't want to hold a degree from the Catholic Theological University in Zagreb in order to show my opposition to the catholic Church and its role in the nationalism in Croatia. So shortly before finishing my studies I moved to the protestant seminary in Austria and my field of specialization was theological politics. So many of questions raised in the booklet of your project are the topics that I have worked with every day. In September I will be finishing my Master's degree and the title of my thesis is "Theology of Anti Nationalism". I worked as a correspondent for many an international media. I have written for El Paisa, which is one of the largest newspapers in Spain, have also worked for a number of newspapers in Slovenia, however, for the last 12 years I've been working for the only independent daily newspaper in Croatia that wasn't controlled by Tudjman in 90's.

Claudia is from a German family but she was born in the Philippines. Her parents were missionaries developing aid in the Philippines. Claudia grew up in very rural region with a group of people called Damages. It is a very small minority. Later she went to school in Manila and because there wasn't any German school she went to international school following the American system. After finishing high school she went to Europe to study languages and majoring in English having minor in Spanish. She has also been working on a project of making a dictionary of medieval Spain at the Heidelberg

University of Science. There are lots of words included that are Arabic or Hebrew origin in that dictionary. She also worked as a teacher of Spanish, teacher of German for foreigners, business English and a teacher of the international relationships for managers, especially training people who work in South-east Asia, teaching them cultural differences.

The title of my work today is "Moral Foundation of Our Society". Why does theological politics interest me? My path or journey within my faith started with my experience in Latin America and it can not be separated from Words of God and scriptures, from the point of view of the victims talking about victims of racial discrimination or racial acts of violence, sexual victims, sexual abuse, ethnic abuse, religious discrimination. I didn't have any problem to become the first Croatian journalist to write about the war crimes committed by Croats against the Serbian minority after the liberation of territories in Croatia occupied by the Serbs. As you can imagine I was called a traitor but for me the most important thing was to serve and to represent the victims. In the same way as I didn't have any problem in becoming the representative speaker of the first Croatian Gay Pride held in March 2000 in Zagreb. But let's go back to the victims. We choose absolutely independently to believe or not to believe in God. Metaphorically speaking all of us have a moral obligation to take the victims off the cross. This is one reason why I am interested in theological politics. Another reason is that it is necessary to demystify the concept of nation and nationalism. For example just few weeks ago Croatian cardinal Bozanic during the commemoration service in Austria, Bleiburg had said a strange thing. This is a place that is mythological for Croatian nationalists. As some of you may know during WWII the Independent State of Croatia was declared and back then it also included the whole of BiH, parts of Serbia, the city of Zemun and part of Montenegro, and that this was a fascist state which was collaborating with fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. So when it was clear that Germany and Italy are losing the war many fascist Croats left for Bleiburg to meet the English troops thinking that the English will help them to fight partisans in Croatia, especially because the large part of Austria was already occupied by Stalin's troops. Of course these Croats were quite stupid because it was already clear that Tito had a pact with the allies, which included repatriation of all who were considered the enemies. So Bleiburg is the place where Croatian fascist troops went to meet English troops hoping to fight together against Tito's partisans. There were not only the Croats but also many other ethnic groups such as Serbian Chetnics, Slovenian Belogardists and Bosnian Muslims. But Croatian nationalism likes to present Bleiburg as the place where the Croatian nation was betrayed and sacrificed. So every May 15th Croatian bishop goes to Bleiburg to hold a mass. The Cardinal of Zagreb held the ceremony this year and at one point he said that he was the Bishop of the Church of the Croatian nation. According to the Second Vatican Council something like that cannot exist in the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church is universal, it is not about ethnic groups or nations; the message of Christianity is personal message to all people, men and women, from different ethnic groups and nations. They can accept it or not and those who accept it are baptized and become part of the new community of people belonging to God. The strength of this new

community does not come from any sense of national pride; it is a gift from Holy Spirit. This is the explanation of Christian theology. Things are slightly different with the Orthodox Church and Islam. According to Islamic theology it is not about the conversion of ethnic groups to Islam, here again the message of Prophet is a personal message and requires submission of each individual to the will of God. In the Orthodox Church, even though they are structured as national Churches and there is Russian Orthodox Church, Polish Orthodox Church, Serbian Orthodox Church, Romanian Orthodox Church, Greek Orthodox Church, etc., which are national Churches the Church itself always requires an individual response and an individual relationship with the Creator. So the reason I am interested in the topic of political theology is because of the concept of nation and nationalism, which has been one of defining powers in the creation of nations not only in the 90's but also throughout the history. Good example of this type of nationalism in connection with the religion is here in Mostar with bishop Peric, the big cross on the hill and a huge tower, which Franciscans created here. That tower has nothing to do with Franciscans' spirituality or Franciscans' teachings that are about the humility, the minorities, serving the small and most of all they stress the need for a dialogue. Let's go back and remember the Crusades in the middle of 13th century. St. Francis, who started the Franciscan order, was against the Crusades and he took a boat and went down to the Holy Land to talk to the Muslims. Since that time the Franciscans have been present in the Holy Land. Their main goal there is to develop a dialogue with Muslims. Have a look now what they have done here in this city after the war. What they have done here in Mostar after the war by placing the cross up on the hill and building the bell tower, which is hugely out of proportions and an act of domination, arrogance and an act of provocation, which goes absolutely against the principle or function and ideas of religion. Why? The problem is that they have lost their roots and what they stand for; even with the Vatican and the latest declaration of Vatican. The focus has shifted away from the theology and the individual human beings onto the nation and the state. I believe that the Church and all religions need to transcend nationalism and nations, because if we identify ourselves with a certain Church, religion, religious group or with a certain ethnic or nationalistic group we exclude everyone who doesn't belong to our particular ethnic or religious group. God in Christianity, Islam, Judaism and in every monotheistic religion is a personal God and has universal relationships. On the other hand by combining the religious identity with a national or ethnic identity the Church loses one of its most important functions. When I talk about the Church I am talking about any kind of religious community and wish to include the Muslims in this term as well. The role of any religious community is to examine itself and to accept and recognize the sins or mistakes made by this particular group in the past and the present. I have here a quote from an important person of the 20th century who was the first post-war Cancellor of Germany. In February 1946 Adenauer wrote a letter to his friend who was a Catholic priest in Bonn. "I think that the German nation as well as the Catholic clergy and Protestant priests and bishops are very guilty and carry a part of responsibility for what happened in concentration camps in Nazi Germany." This fault of responsibility started long before the war because the nations, people as well as Churches, supported the

Nazi attestation and campaign and many of them were in fact very enthusiastic supporters of the Nazi regime. Adenauer said this and for this reason my friends I think that the moment has arrived that we need to start taking about the responsibility for the sins of our generation and the generation of our fathers and to stop playing around with fascism, allowing the fascism to influence the faith by putting nation up to the level of divinity making the nation sacred. I am aware of the fact that some of the catholic bishops in Argentina supported the dictatorship that started in Argentina in 1966. I was 14 years old when the dictatorship started so as you can tell I am not that young anymore. In 1983 when the dictatorship ended and a democracy returned, and when different groups for human rights started to compare the information the Argentinean society had to accept not only the loss of war for the Falklands but also the figures, which showed that more than 30 000 people were killed or disappeared during the dictatorship. The Church never said anything to condemn this policy. Not even when two left oriented bishops fighting for human rights were killed because they were speaking out about these events. I am studying political theology because I am aware that the role and responsibility of theologian and journalist who is working to promote civil society is also to be able to work in terms of so called 'N' times. At first it seems like a very abstract concept. The job of the religious ideology is to promote freedom, peace, justice, reconciliation and this is not only the ideology of Christians but also every religious group in the Balkans. There are different types of religious ideologies that deal with political ideologies. In Latin America the liberation theology wants to liberate poor people from any kind of oppression, especially because their poverty is being caused by unfair and uncontrolled capitalism. Here in the Balkans the focus is more about humans being slaved. For example many young people feel trapped in their countries because it's very difficult to travel abroad and there are also areas and the cities with mixed population where the educational system is still completely divided and very nationalistic. So for example in the morning there are classes for Croatians and in the afternoon for the Muslims and in some other time for the Serbs. Therefore we are looking how to liberate the individuals. In the communist age the individual was considered an instrument of ethnic propaganda. Now for example in Croatia if you are not a good Catholic you cannot be a good Croatian, if you are not a good Orthodox you cannot be a Serb, if you do not wear a scarf you cannot be a faithful member of the Bosnian Muslims, and so on. So we are talking about the type of criticism, which wants to introduce new values such as love, solidarity and compassion into the society. The goal is not only to bring changes into the society in general but also to bring more democracy into institutions, especially the religious structures. So to conclude this introduction, the freedom in political theology or a sacrament of hope as called in dogmatic theology is our job and it is our responsibility to liberate it from any type of slavery. I am going to skip some of the more theoretical topics so that we have time for a dialogue, which will be more interesting.

I would like to you invite you to think about the fact that the building right next to the Pavarotti Centre is completely destroyed, it's a ruin. The international community, people like Pavarotti or

Bono have reconstructed this building as musical and cultural centre, but the community of Mostar, the politicians here in Mostar, people who have money here in Mostar, the young people in Mostar didn't do much. It does not only present a problem of a lack of identity on a national level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also a problem of lack of values to allow this building to continue to be in ruins for years. Crossing from Slavonski Brod to Sarajevo you can see destroyed houses everywhere. Where are those people, where are the children of those who lived in these houses, many of them left and never came back. I lived in Sarajevo for 3 years from 1996 to 1999, studying the theology of Islam and investigating the results of war and I am aware of the fact that many people left to save their lives because Sarajevo was completely under the siege and basically it was a lottery whether you would stay alive or not. There were many people who said "I don't want to sacrifice my youth and I don't want to face the people who burned houses, destroyed churches, killed people, created concentration camps..." The concentration camps were actually opened by all sides in the conflict. I don't want to say that all ethnic groups have the same level of guilt in the last war. I accept the fact that in this last war Bosnian Muslims had a much higher rate of destruction and number of deaths, and on a political level they were victims of conflict made by Tudjman and Milosevic. We can't deny the fact that religious representatives have worked together with the nationalistic leaders to promote nationalism, xenophobia, to scare people, to create areas and regions that are completely ethnically cleansed. The result of all that is that a large part of population is confused, not motivated, without capacity for creativity, and I am talking on a general, national level. On a more informal level here in Mostar, those of you who are local can confirm this, there is a movement for change among young people. People are mixing more and disregarding whether one is Croatian, Bosnian or Serbian; the aim is to simply go and meet in cultural cafes and bars. But this level of motivation, the desire and attitude doesn't exist on a national level.

For example the political climate in Croatia has changed radically in comparison to the 80's. Firstly because they understood that the international laws, conventions and agreements are above the local legalisation. It is much more important what Carla Del Ponte says than what Croatian prime minister or president says. Now as the work of tribunal in Hag is getting to an end the cases that are left over will be handed to Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian courts. They recognized that the international law is more important than the local legislation and they think that the national state can function to a certain degree if they respect the minorities and if they give them certain rights. The point is that the Kurds want more than Turks will ever give them. It is internal but the problem will not be solved, even Angela Merkel would not be able to help, as she has a Turkish policy in San Casino.

Any questions?

***Sometimes when we speak about multicultural development what are we talking about? This political union of regions, can it really affect the world in a positive way? As you mentioned in one part of***

***Europe the national identity grows simultaneously with the religious identity and in another part of Europe, in my experience, the opposite process is happening - the religious identity is getting messier.***

What is clear now is that in the next 20 to 30 years there won't be this kind of stability in the EU. So why don't we suppose, for example, that Albania will be a member? As you know Albanians are atheists, Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants and Muslims. With further urbanization there are absolutely no obstacles to have the same situation among the Albanians in Kosovo. If you talk with Albanian Catholics from Kosovo or Muslim Albanian from Kosovo or even with Catholic or Muslim Albanians from Tetovo in Macedonia you can feel the same intensity of nationalism and the strong support for Kosovo independence. This is just an example of one state. For Albanians the religious identity plays absolutely no role. But if you take Ireland on the other hand the religious question is absolutely fundamental and after 30 years of peace process they now have a new constitution and new parliament, so for the first time Orange March took place without any violence. What will happen in the future depends mainly on educational system. Policy of castigation started with the children in the city of Vukovar, in Croatia. Children there had a separated kindergarten; one building with two kitchens, two playgrounds, two doors and everything was absolutely separated between Serbs and Croats. But now people that are ten years older get together in cafés, something that is also happening now in Mostar. This is the result of efforts of some NGOs, which were creating projects for opening the dialogs and getting the young people together. For 7 years we have worked together with a NGO that was doing projects to connect Serbs and Croats for 3 weeks, and which soon after the 'Vukovar' have seen the first mixed marriages again. So all is dependent on the social and political climate and the system of education. The desire or wailings of the religious communities to promote reconciliation and dialogs is also crucial. But your question was the future of civil society. Civil society requires that all the members of society have equal status. It requires mental progress and tolerance so that we are able to say I don't really like that person but I respect his lifestyle. This is just the first step. The community or regions already exists in Europe. Croatia is in part of the experiment called 'Alpe-Dunav-Adria' and this includes region of Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Italy and Hungary. These countries cooperate within different cultural and economic projects. For example there are industrial areas in Croatia, especially in an area of city Varazdin where local authorities grant special status and conditions to any regional company if it wants to open its offices there. Students also study the culture of different parts of the region; for example Slovenian culture, German language, Hungary folklore, Italian civilization etc. This is very important for Istria, part of Croatia, which is becoming truly multicultural like no other part of Croatia. I don't know what the final result of this experiment will be but in my opinion it is a positive process. Anyway, we want to change a political model in Croatia and create five regions and we hope to create more cultural and political dialog between the regions. For example, Croatia isn't aware of the fact that it is actually part of the Mediterranean. In Croatia everything is still centralized in the

capital Zagreb; the economy, the education just to give you an example. However Zagreb has predominantly central European cultural identity. There is no space for the identity of Dunav Bridge, and yet Croatia has so much in common with the Serbs and Hungarians. Not to mention the history of the city of Dubrovnik... Dubrovnik was a city-state with a lot of cultural identity. This was 700 years ago. Dubrovnik also had a lot of trade with the Turkish Empire.

I believe in your future, especially if you analyze the level of respect towards the civil society in regions like Istria or Bavaria where the cultural life is very rich. Istria has the best film-festivals, best school of alternative music, the best ecological organizations, the best level of respecting human rights and is the part of Croatia where local legislation works the best and there is no anti-Croatian activity or attitude. At the same time they have a very strong identity, they are open towards their neighbours and conscious of the fact that they were not part of the Partizan movement. Istria will never become part of Croatia. People in Istria are very much aware of this all and it would be very offensive to see Istrian people as bad Croatians. That is another example that people with different cultural and religious identities within one nation can work together. The problem is that at the moment there is no political desire or motivation to accelerate these processes of regional cooperation within the European parliament. Part of the problem is that there is a conservative nationalist movement in Poland for example, that the catholic Church in Spain is fighting with the government in Spain because they don't want to accept that in public schools (we are not talking about private catholic schools but public schools) a subject called 'the citizen culture' has been introduced where for example a marriage is not defined only as a union of man and woman, etc. As you know in Spain it is legal to have homosexual relationships and they even have a right to adopt children and the Catholic Church wants to put a stop to it. In 2000, when Tudjman died, the bishops of the catholic Church here in Croatia were so furious when the social democrats won the elections that they did not attend the annual new year reception for the president. Traditionally they always attend as the representatives of the Church and their boycott sent the message to the wider public that social democrats victory was a renewal of Yugoslavia. That was because new government opened the economic relationships with Serbia and another republic of former Yugoslavia. An intelligent and smart person would answer this by not attending the Catholic Church mass. You have the same conflict between left and right all over the EU.

What the war against terror has shown is what we see in Iraq every day; the attacks on the Spanish tourists in Yemen, the war in Lebanon, the fighting between the Hamas and Fatah in Palestine etc. The fact that Bush is using the fundamentalist religious position for his politics shows that nothing would be possible if the people were not ready and willing to behave in a fanatic way. Mostar is an example for ethnics and religious fanaticism. It is more prevalent on the Croatian side than on the Bosnian side. I said it before but I want to repeat it again when the religion takes a nationalistic position it says that one can't be a good representative of ones religion if one is not at the same time a god patriot. If we remember what the catholic theologians who supported Mussolini said:



'We can be moral, only according to the measure that we identify our morality with Italian patriotism," and Croats said the same thing, as well as the Serbs or Alqaida. They don't speak about an ethnic or religious identity and the result is a destruction of communication within the civil society and the effects of NGOs. This creates the fanaticism because if someone is not highly educated or hasn't developed high personal awareness, it takes only one step to enter into this circle of national hate. It is a disastrous situation what happened in BiH, where the war objective was to create ethnically clean areas. It would never have been possible if there were no discourse, which was both religious and nationalistic at the same time and which produced fanatics. There is absolutely no difference between the attitude of the Scorpions who killed Muslims in Srebrenica and the Muslim brothers who behead people in Egypt, the Alqaida or the Ku Klux Klan. These are the same forms of behaviour and I saw this already in Argentina, so when I arrived here I immediately figured out what was going on here.

This type of hypocrisy, which began in the 60's, has now transformed itself into hegemony of North America. Not to be critical about Bush and those who support him and is hypocritical in the same way as it was for Nixon, Johnson and even John F. Kennedy to not recognize or admit that they have lost the war in Vietnam. It is hypocritical of Bush that he doesn't want to admit that he lost the war in Iraq and they have a civil war there. What is he doing now? He is blaming Iran for financing the terrorists in Iraq. It is probably true however it is also a consequence of US politics. It has been proven in the US Congress that Americans have had plans to invade Iraq long before the attacks in New York and Washington. And it was not by accident or by chance that Donald Rumsfeld, the former defence minister, financed the army of Hussein after '92, because they needed Hussein to stay in power as a reason for invasion. At the same time Franjo Tudjman allowed the Muslim soldiers from Arabic countries to enter Bosnia, and the secret service provided clean papers not only for Mujahedins but also for those who killed Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić. This was Tudjman's politics to keep the enemies in order to justify the future attack. This attitude works all around the world and you can find it in Africa, Asia or South America.

But fortunately there are some societies that are under control and those do punish all violation of law. For example in Germany you can't go around in a tee-shirt showing fascist signs, however in Croatia you can. Recently 50 000 visitors went to the concert of a controversial man who keeps claiming that he doesn't have anything to do with this ideology. The same concert was shown on the Croatian television, and Croatia wants to be a member of EU! Croatia likes to think of itself that it is much better society than Bosnia or Serbia. From an objective point of view, it is better organized, yes, but personally, I'm not sure, if the creative potential of the Croatian youth is better or higher than that of Serbia, Bosnia or Slovenia. In Slovenia situation is better because the country is organised, they've managed to enter to the European Union, and there are more possibilities. But in all other countries of former

Yugoslavia, young people have no way to express themselves. The democracy has returned to Argentina not only because of the political opposition, or because the military party lost a war against Britain, but because there was a very strong democratic movement at the universities during the dictatorship. 65 percent of the victims of the dictatorship who were younger than twenty-five years were students.

***Do you think it is necessary for a nation or country's existence that the religion can be practiced?***

No! The problem is cultural identity. Croatian cultural identity is basically inseparable from the catholic element. For example, the first document written in the Croatian language is on stone, two metres long, five fingers high and is written in Glagoljica alphabet, which was the unique Croatian alphabet before. This document says that king Zvonimir in the year 1060 gave as a present to two Benedict's monks a piece of land in order to construct and build the monastery where they will pray for the king's soul.

This is the first document of Croatian culture in history. In this document you find the union between Church and state and this is something, which has been continued throughout the history of Croatia. On May 30th 1990 when the first democratic elections in Croatia were held, as a symbolic act a cradle was placed in front of one hundred thousand people in the main square in Zagreb, a child's cradle with a loaf of bread, which symbolized life. Beside the cradle stood side by side the president of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman and Kuharic, the head of Croatian Catholic Church, who blessed the loaf of bread in the cradle as a symbol of a resurrection of the Croatian nation. So what does this have to do with the civil society? And this is a part of the reality! What are people like me - the journalists and theologians- trying to do? We want to introduce a new social concept and a better understanding of national concept; the fact that the message of Christianity can help to improve the quality of State if it promotes solidarity, if it's not a school of fascism. If in order to be a Croatian you need to be a catholic means that it's more important what happened between your mom and dad in bed than the fact that you were baptised in the name of Jesus Christ. And so the baptism and the religion becomes merely folklore and we return to the theory of blood and land and we return to the Nazism. At the same time we are trying to accelerate the process of integration in the European Union. For this reason the last time I was on TV I attacked Cardinal Bozanic and other Church leaders in my interview. They were saying that Croatian language will be lost in EU and have said one thing in Bruxelles and another in Croatia. If you're aware of the fact that 40% of Croatians are illiterate, that 42% of them do not participate in elections or that only 6% have a university degree you have a situation in which the leaders of political parties as well as the leaders of religious groups can manipulate with people extremely easily.

