

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

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**The role of language and religion in reprogramming the national
identity in Croatia**

Vloga jezika in religije pri reprogramiranju nacionalne identitete na
Hrvaškem

Magistrsko delo

Ljubljana, 2017

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To Professor Aleš Črnič. 'O Captain! My Captain', you are the real-life John Keating!

*To my mother, my protector. For all the intellectual and emotional support. Thank you Mom,
this would not be possible without you.*

To my father, a dreamer and inspiration for the subject of this paper.

To my love, my Branimir! Thank you for your patience and unconditional love!

The role of language and religion in reprogramming the national identity in Croatia

In the former Yugoslav republics, in the end of the 80's and in the beginning of the 90s, a new rhetoric, a cult of personality and the division on "we" and "they" are beginning to emerge. "National state" and "national identity" are new syntagms. The main tools used in the (re)construction of a newly created identity are language and religion.

The thesis consists of a theoretical and empirical part. After examining the political-historical context, I provide the theoretical framework. I explain the notion of discourse, CDA, identity, national and religious identity. Then I move to the practical part, analyses. In the thesis I used two analyses: rhetorical analysis and critical discourse analysis.

The subject of rhetorical analysis is the talk of Franjo Tuđman on the arrival of Pope John Paul II in Croatia in 1994. The analysis is preceded by the explanation of the notion of rhetoric, the presentation of the elements of classical rhetoric, which I used in the analysis itself, and the presentation of modern public discourse. The analysed speech is rounded up by discussion and continues with the critical discourse analysis. The subject of the analysis is a Croatian 4th year grammar school language textbook, after which also follows the discussion.

Key words: discourse, rhetorics, public discourse, identity, critical discourse analysis.

Vloga jezika in religije pri reprogramiranju nacionalne identitete na Hrvaškem
V nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republikah so se konec osemdesetih/začetek devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja začele pojavljati nova retorika, kult osebnosti ter ločevanje na »mi« in »oni.« »Nacionalna država« in »nacionalna identiteta« sta novi sintagmi. Glavni orodji za (re)konstrukcijo novo ustvarjene identitete sta jezik in religija.

Naloga je sestavljena iz teoretičnega in empiričnega dela. Najprej bom raziskala politično-zgodovinski kontekst, nato pa bom predstavila še teoretični okvir. Pojasnila bom idejo diskurza, CDA, identitete ter nacionalne in religiozne identitete. V praktičnem delu se lotim analiz. V nalogi sem uporabila dve analizi: retorično analizo in kritično analizo diskurza.

Predmet retorične analize je govor Franja Tuđmana ob prihodu papeža Janeza Pavla II na Hrvaško leta 1994. Pred analizo pojasnim še idejo retorike ter predstavim elemente klasične retorike, ki sem jih uporabila v sami analizi. Predstavim tudi moderni javni diskurz. Analizirani govor sem pospremila z diskusijo, nato pa nadaljevala s kritično analizo diskurza. Predmet analize je učbenik za pouk hrvaščine za četrti razred; tudi to analizo pospremim z diskusijo.

Ključne besede: diskurz, retorika, javni diskurz, identiteta, kritična analiza diskurza.

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1 INTRODUCTION

'The test of courage comes when we are in the minority. The test of tolerance comes when we are in the majority.'

Ralph W. Sockman

The Ideological State Apparatuses of the former Yugoslavia (SFRY) proclaimed and expressed a unique political-ideological identity that praised socialist social system, anti-fascism, workers' self-management, brotherhood and unity.

Ethnicity (nationality) and religious affiliation have been repressed into the sphere of privacy; they were not considered as important determinants of identity. In many areas of the former state, members of different nationalities and religions lived together. Many felt and declared themselves Yugoslavs.

Before the war and during the war, the new political elites succeeded in equalizing the religious and national affiliation and using it against the Other. Others are proclaimed enemies, evil, non-humans; the Other is hell¹. Nationalism has become the fundamental determinant of man, and national identity has become the only socially recognized identity. It has mythical and religious meanings; it is treated, on the one hand as something constant, unchanging, and on the other hand it is (re)constructed in the way required by certain centres of power.

In the former Yugoslav republics, in the end of the 80's and in the beginning of the 90s, a new rhetoric, a cult of personality and the division on "we" and "they" are beginning to emerge. "National state" and "national identity" are new syntagms. The main tools used in the (re)construction of a newly created identity are language and religion.

Although such program was also implemented in other countries, this thesis will focus on Croatia.

The goal of this thesis is to determine whether and how language and religion are used as constructors of a new national identity.

¹ Without knowing Sartre's words from "Being and Nothingness" were quoted but expressed in a completely different paradigm.

The thesis consists of a theoretical and empirical part.

In the first part I explain the political and historical context. The religious and linguistic part are separated. Speaking of religion, I am specifically focused on the use of the elements of religion in the political activities of the ruling party (from 1990 till 1998), I analyze the Military Ordinariate of the Republic of Croatia and religious teaching in educational institutions.

In the language overview, I present the transformations through which the Croatian language has been going through, and the (mis)use it has encountered. I address the paradoxical situation in Vukovar, where the basic function of language – communication is completely neglected.

After examining the political-historical context, I provide the theoretical framework. I explain the notion of discourse, identity, national and religious identity.

Then I move to the practical part, analyses. In the thesis I used two analyses: rhetorical analysis and critical discourse analysis.

The subject of rhetorical analysis is the talk of Franjo Tuđman on the arrival of Pope John Paul II in Croatia in 1994. The analysis is preceded by the explanation of the notion of rhetoric, the presentation of the elements of classical rhetoric, which I used in the analysis itself, and the presentation of rhetorical and political discourse. The analysed speech is rounded up by discussion and continues with the critical discourse analysis. The subject of the analysis is a Croatian 4th year grammar school language textbook, after which also follows the discussion.

The thesis ends with the conclusion in which I have tried to summarize, link and outline the main ideas and conclusions of the conducted analyses.

2 HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

„I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The state has nothing to do with it. The state would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody's personal concern!”

Mahatma Gandhi, The Path of Nonviolence

With the collapse of communism (in Europe and Yugoslavia) began the break-up of Yugoslavia. In order to succeed in their economic and political agenda, the leading politicians had to form a new identity for the people. By selectively reaching into the past and using religious elements, they began to create the identity of division and hostility. They have exploited the historic burdens of two nations so Serbs and Croats have now become each other's greatest enemies.

Hostile rhetoric was used in both states, Croatia and Serbia. Personality cult of a leader was being created: Franjo Tuđman in Croatia and Slobodan Milošević in Serbia.

2.1 RELIGION

As the most important part of its rhetoric, Croatian Democratic Association (political party led by Franjo Tuđman) used religion. Catholic Church was given a role of crucial social and political importance. Nationality and religion² (povijest.net, Sven Vukušić, *Bog I Hrvati*) were identified as equally important³.

Even though, its name Catholicism (from Greek katholu - general, in general, common) does not connect this Christian religion with any particular nation, it has become quite common that the expression 'God's people get turned into 'Croatian people'. The political struggle, even the war is compared and equated with Jesus' sacrifice. Catholic priests selectively use the Gospel and do not stress the words of Jesus: 'My kingdom is not of this world'; 'Put your sword back

² More on: povijest.net (Available at: <http://povijest.net/bog-i-hrvati-13/>)

³ Zdzislaw Mach, full professor at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow speaks about the similar situation from the recent Polish past: "While the Catholic Church united the Poles against their enemies, it also delimited the people who lived on the territory of the old, undivided Polish state, and separated the Poles from other ethnic groups. Germans Protestants, Ukrainians and Belarus Orthodox Christians, Jews and Muslims alienated because of the more powerful identification of the Polish nationality with Catholicism and the construction of new national identities in close association with religion" (Mach 1997, 132)

in its place, for all who draw the sword will die by the sword.' (John 18:36) Particularly avoided were the words of apostle Paul, saying that 'there is no slave or freeman, Barbarian nor Scythian, Greek nor Jew, but Christ is all and in all' (Colossians 3:11). Croatian soldiers (defenders) wore a weapon on their shoulder and a rosary around their neck as one of the symbols of the new identity (as in picture 2.1).

Picture 2.1: Croatian soldier wearing a rosary around his neck



Source: Redakcija, hazud.hr (2014).

The Cross – a symbol of Christianity and the emblem – a symbol of the nation was, without exception, put on the gravestones of fallen soldiers (Picture 2.2).

Picture 2.2: Gravestone of a fallen soldier



Source: ljubuski.net (2014).

It was not uncommon for the national emblem to 'replace' Jesus on the Cross. There was a song ('God keep Croatia safe') with mobilizing 'mission' that was sung at churches during Mass, but also at the extremists' gathering: 'God, keep Croatia safe / my sweet home / people who dine / at Your altar / If need be, Lord / here is my vow / take my life / and give it to 'her' (Croatia)⁴.

National ideological struggle was equated with the central dogma of Christianity (Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross). And so, the belief that anything that was done in the name of the nation was done in the name of God, was created⁵. Franjo Tuđman was treated as the messiah of Croatian people and the father of the nation⁵.

At the first multi-party elections in Croatia nearly two-thirds of the mandate in the Parliament was won by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). This was helped by the newly-enacted electoral law (which is still in force!) and the wholehearted support of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church (clergy) was dissatisfied with its status in the SFRY: much of the Roman Catholic Church wealth was nationalized, atheistic worldview was proclaimed as the only

⁴ More about on: wikipedia.org. *Bože čuvaj Hrvatsku*
(Available at: https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bo%C5%BEe,_%C4%8Duvaj_Hrvatsku)

⁵ More about in: Mirko Kovač, *Flowering of the Mass*, 1997 and in Jakov Sedlar's documentary film from 1997: *Tuđman - Croatian George Washington*; „The President, Franjo Tuđman, who led his country in fighting the Muslims and the Serbs, told Mr. Westendorp that history will place him alongside Franco as "a savior of Western civilization." (Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/04/10/world/diplomat-rules-bosnia-with-a-strong-hand.html>)

correct (scientific, advanced) view of the world, marginalization and impossibility of appearing in the media (especially electronic).

The Church was particularly dissatisfied with the failure to demonstrate the national identity; in an epistle sent by the archbishop of Zagreb, Franjo Kuharić immediately before the elections, which was read in all churches, the national affiliation was presented as an essential feature of man, something determined by God. - "The people of God" and homeland - understood as a state has become the key objective of religious life. It was openly advised that one should vote for those who were not in power before, for those to whom the homeland is sacred and who will fight for the freedom of Croatian people.

Religious rhetoric was fused with political rhetoric and national symbols were fused with religious symbols.

The largest HDZ pre-election gathering, which was held just before the first multi-party elections in 1990 and attended by hundreds of thousands of people in Zagreb, was a religious-political gathering arranged following the tradition of Palm Sunday, on Palm Sunday. On Palm Sunday Christians celebrate the ceremonial entrance of Jesus to Jerusalem when the multitude of Jews exclaimed: Hosanna, Hosanna to the Son of David!, waving with olive twigs. At the mentioned gathering everyone present had olive twigs, and Franjo Tuđman's arrival at the tribune was announced by the priest (in Franciscan habit!) with the words: "As our Saviour entered Jerusalem, today Franjo Tuđman ...", which was followed by frenetic Cheerio! and waving with olive twigs.⁶

During the first multi-party election in 1990, the party led by Franjo Tuđman, HDZ (Croatian Democratic Party), won 42% of the votes. Thanks to the then electoral law⁷ (which is, as said, still in place today), HDZ won the 58% of terms of office in the Parliament. The HDZ won a landslide victory at the election and on May 30, 1990 the Parliament was constituted. On that occasion, Franjo Tuđman held a solemn (politically-programmatic) speech to representatives and religious leaders in which he announced that the new government would provide "a dignified life of free people in their only, much suffered but sacred homeland" (Speech by Franjo Tuđman in the Parliament on May 30, 1990).

⁶ More about on: matica.hr. Lasić Stanko. 2000. *Izrečeno / prešućeno*.

⁷ More about on: sabor.hr (Available at: www.sabor.hr/fgs.axd?id=1844) and izbori.hr (Available at: http://www.izbori.hr/arhiva/pdf/1990/1990_2_1_Sabor_Statistika_Stat_podaci.pdf)

At the political gatherings there were banners bearing the inscription "God and Croats", and Tuđman himself ended his political performance with the words: "Long live our eternal Croatia". Interestingly, no one from the Catholic Church called his performances and slogans blasphemous. This did not happen even when the privatization process was called conversion of social ownership. (Conversion is the central part of the Catholic Mass in which bread and wine become Jesus' body and blood.)

The Catholic Church accepted benevolently everything that came from the HDZ. Although Croatia is according to Constitution a secular state, the state institutions called priests to bless them, religious symbols (cross, portrait of the Pope) were placed in many schools beside the state symbols, while on churches and monasteries state flags were displayed (which was unthinkable in the time of Yugoslavia). It could be said that the rhetoric and the iconography were aligned.

The marriage between the church⁸ and the state was concluded in the Republic of Croatia shortly after the elections.

An important component of this relationship became more pronounced in the formation of the Military Ordinariate in the Republic of Croatia. Namely, on the official pages of the Ordinariate, which speak about its history, it says: "At the beginning of the aggression against the Republic of Croatia, the President of the Republic sent to the President of the Bishops' Conference a letter of 24 September 1991 asking him to take care of the spiritual care of the veterans, who, as volunteers with a rosary in their hands, went to the front line to defend the Homeland. On October 7 of the same year, the President of the Bishops' Conference responded that "the Croatian bishops concluded that the Assistant Bishop of Zagreb Msgr. Juraj Jezerinac is appointed the director of the pastoral care of the soldiers in the Republic of Croatia". For the time being it is known that at the time of the Homeland War 1991-1995 about 160 priests were involved in the pastoral care of Croatian soldiers (vojni-ordinarijat.hr).

This text points to the direct involvement of the Catholic Church in political events and the formation of a new (national) identity. On that date, the SFRY still legally existed; there was also the Bishops' Conference of Yugoslavia, whose president was the Archbishop of Zagreb Cardinal Franjo Kuharić. In the mentioned text (and the name) Yugoslavia is ignored.

⁸ More about on: pressreader.com, theimaginativeconservative.org; aimpress.ch; politika.com; david-udruga.hr

The official page of the Croatian Bishops' Conference says: "The Holy See, by the decree of 15 May 1993 founded for the Catholic bishops on the territory of the Republic of Croatia the Croatian Bishops' Conference (HBK) and approved its statute. The Archbishop and Metropolitan of Zagreb Franjo Kuharić was elected the first president of the Croatian Bishops' conference of Croatia."([hrvatska biskupska konferencija.hr](http://hrvatska.biskupska.konferencija.hr)) So, President Tuđman addressed the president of the Bishops' Conference of Yugoslavia because the Croatian Bishops' Conference had not yet existed.

The Military Ordinariate in Croatia has its patron - Blessed Virgin Mary - Our Lady of the Great Croatian Baptismal Vow, which is celebrated on August 5, on the day of "the National Thanksgiving", i.e., on the state holiday⁹.

2.1.1 RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

Under a state contract between the Holy See and the Republic of Croatia (in 1997), Roman Catholic religious education was introduced to state schools. Although formally an elective subject, religious education was always in the "middle" of the daily school timetable. Children from atheistic families or families of other religions, who did not attend the Catholic RE classes, were thus stigmatized. They would spend that lesson sitting alone in the corridor. In order to save the children from being teased and idle, parents would often give up and enrol their children in the RE class.

Article 1, Paragraph 1 of the first contract between the Holy See and the Republic of Croatia on the co-operation in the area of education and culture says: "In the light of the principle of religious freedom, the Republic of Croatia respects the fundamental right of parents to religious upbringing of their children and undertakes that it will, within the school curriculum and in accordance with the will of parents or guardians, guarantee the teaching of Catholic religious education in all public primary and secondary schools and pre-school institutions as a compulsory subject for those who choose it, under the same conditions as the teaching of other compulsory subjects."

It is interesting that the RE teachers, who are paid from the state budget, are responsible only to the Catholic Church that appoints them and places them in particular schools. Article 3 Paragraph 1: "Catholic religious education is taught by the qualified teachers who are eligible

⁹ What would Aurel Augustin who considered the earthly state to be evil say to that?

by the opinion of the ecclesiastical authority and who meet relevant provisions of the Croatian legislation, while complying with all the duties and rights arising therefrom."

2.2 LANGUAGE

Language is the most convenient medium for 'the awakening of national consciousness'. Forming the Croatian nation was started and led by writers and linguists in 1830s. Their primary objective was creating a big South Slavic union – Great Illyria. They spoke of one nation from the Alps to the Black Sea with unique history and one language. Especially interesting was the agreement on the unification of language, made in Vienna in 1850. Croatian writers Ljudevit Gaj, I. Mažuranić, I. Kukuljević Sakcinski and D. Demeter along with Serbian linguists V. S. Karadžić and Đ. Daničić agreed on creating one language for Croats, Serbs and Slovenians. As a result of this agreement (what an irony?!), 'štokavština' and Vuk's (S. Karadžić) 'ijekavica' were accepted as bases of the (present-day) standard Croatian language. (Kordić 2010)

(Ever since 1850, both Croats and Serbs have used 'štokavski' dialect (the name has its root in the question word 'što' – 'what') as a base of their standard language. There are three variants within 'štokavski' dialect, depending on the way the old Slavic letter 'jat' has been replaced: 'ekavica' ('jat' = e), 'ijekavica' ('jat' = ije) and 'ikavica' ('jat' = i). The last variant – 'ikavica' does not belong to the standard language. So, the translation of the word 'milk', for example, would be: mleko ('ekavica'), mlijeko ('ijekavica') or mliko ('ikavica'). As far as 'the nationality' of the variant is concerned, 'ijekavica' is considered to be the Croatian variant and 'ekavica', on the other hand, the Serbian variant of the standard language. However, in spoken language some Croats use 'ijekavica', some use 'ekavica' and some use 'ikavica'. In exactly the same manner, spoken language is used by Serbs. It is probably correct to say that the variant of the language being used depends upon the region one lives in rather than one's nationality. So, for example, in the town of Bjelovar (Croatia), both Serbs and Croats use 'ijekavica', while in the town of Vukovar (Croatia) people of both nationalities use 'ekavica'.) (Babić 2003).

It is almost beyond belief, all that has been done with the language was done for the sole purpose of achieving a political aim – new national identity. The above mentioned Vienna language agreement cannot be found in any Croatian textbooks. Instead, it is repeatedly stressed that the

Croatian language was suppressed in Yugoslavia¹⁰ and that at the same time the Serbian language was preferred, pushed, imposed upon the people by the authorities. The town of Vukovar and the surrounding region 'suffered' a real language rashomon effect: Croats started using 'ijekavica' for 'ijekavica' was 'truly' Croatian, and 'ekavica' was the language of the enemy; the Serbs who moved to Vukovar area from Bosnia-Herzegovina (where they had used 'ijekavica') during the war, started using 'ekavica,' for 'ekavica' was Serbian. Quite often, people were hesitant to speak, being afraid that if they spoke their 'false' identity could be revealed. Expelling 'Serbian words' from speech was an act of true patriotism¹¹. All of a sudden¹², everyone, including the people who could hardly be considered literate, knew what was and what was not Croatian and made sure to correct the others whenever they failed to use right (read: Croatian) words. Librarians joined in creating national identity: all the books by Serbian authors along with all the books written in Cyrillic alphabet (even if they were by Croatian authors) or using 'ekavica' (read: Serbian) by any author were thrown out of all Croatian libraries. It was a true 'bookcide'.

Recent acts of hammering down the official plates on the municipal buildings that had writing in Cyrillic alphabet in Vukovar present a tragic epilogue of identifying nationality with language and alphabet.

Stoics saw the essence of man in his speech; they defined man as 'a being that can speak' (zoon logon ehon). They knew that the purpose of speech, i.e. language, is communication.¹³ However, in 1990s, Croatian linguist Stjepan Babić claimed that communication was not the most important role of language. He saw that its role of being a defining factor of national identity was more important one. And yet, it is a fact that different nations speak the same language: Spaniards and Argentinians speak Spanish; Portuguese and Brazilians speak Portuguese... But Croats and Serbs mustn't speak the same language. There has been an ongoing process of proving that those (Croatian and Serbian) are two completely different languages¹⁴ even though they have the same phonetic system and the same Latin orthography (Serbs use Cyrillic alphabet as well). Methods, such as reviving archaisms and ordering creation of new words have been used in order to make the Croatian lexis as different from the Serbian

¹⁰ More about in: Greenberg .2005. *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration* (p. 21-22)

¹¹ In 1992, Vladimir Brodnjak published a Distinguishing Dictionary of Serbian and Croatian Language.

¹² Which I have witnessed many times!

¹³ More about in: Škiljan. 2002. *Speech of the Nation* (p. 43)

¹⁴ *Razlikovni rječnik srpskog i hrvatskog jezika*

one as possible. As a consequence, communication function of language has been totally neglected. Some people close to the new ruling caste were reconstructing and reshaping the language up to the level of nonsense on a daily basis. 'Forgotten' went the fact that Cyrillic alphabet had once been used on the (Croatian) Island of Brač and the (Croatian) cities of Dubrovnik and Split. The act of destruction of 'Cyrillic plates' was at the same time the act of rejection of Croatian cultural history.

3 THEORETICAL BASIS

3.1 DISCOURSE

Although discourse apparently means very little, the bans that affect it reveal very early, very quickly its attachment to desire and power. And it is certainly not surprising; as discourse - as shown by psychoanalysis – is not only what manifests (or hides) desire: it is the object of desire. Because discourse - as history constantly teaches us – is not just what expresses the struggle and systems of government, but why and how the battle is fought, the power which should be got hold of.

Foucault, College de France – speech

The etymology of the word discourse is lat. *discursus*, which means running forward and backward. The Croatian Encyclopaedic Dictionary (2004) and the Dictionary of Foreign Words by Bratoljub Klaić (1986) explain it as a discussion, talk, speech, style and manner of presentation with regard to the topic or field of activity in which it is realized. Such broad explanations of the term discourse already point to its complexity, multidimensionality, fluidity, and therefore the difficulty in defining it.

Van Dijk explains the discourse as a text in the context. He emphasizes that discourse is not just a special form of language use or a specific form of social interaction, it is also an action (Van Dijk 1990, 164). Discourse is always the result or the cause of something: "Discourse is connected with the chain of past and future actions" (Šarić 2014, 172). It is always in a dialogue (implicit or explicit) with all that makes its context, but also with past and future discourses. So the discourse is never isolated and self-sufficient.

According to Foucault, "the discourse does not describe a reality separated from itself, but realizes that reality. Discourse produces the objects of knowledge and there is no meaning beyond the discourse, which Foucault therefore defines as a set of statements and the way of presenting the knowledge of a particular object at a certain historical moment. Different phenomena, objects and actions exist independently of discourse, but only in discourse they gain the meaning and become the objects of knowledge" (Šarić 2014, 172).

Wodak emphasizes that discourse "uses language in speech and script as a form of social practice" (Wodak 1996, 17). She thinks that a certain discursive event is determined by a

situation, institutions and social structures. But, Wodak writes, these situations, institutions and social structures are also determined by a discursive event. So, it is a dialectical relation (Wodak 1996).

Fairclough agrees with Wodak when he says the content of discourse is always in relation to other discourses. He sees “discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world“(Fairclough 2004, 124). He explains that discourses are not just a "real" world, but they are also “projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions“(Fairclough 2004, 124). The relationship between discourses is compared to the relationship between people; they can compete, complement and dominate each other. “Discourses constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another – keeping separate from one another, cooperating, competing, dominating – and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another“(Fairclough 2004, 124).

TEXTBOOK DISCOURSE

“It is not uncommon for textbooks on language to have sections on the relationship 'between' language and society, as if these were two independent entities which just happen to come into contact occasionally. My view is that there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship.”

— Norman Fairclough

In the last twenty years, the language is referred to as an important factor of the national identity and survival. Problems with language standardization (like the ones experienced by almost all European and world languages, especially in the linguistic aspect), are placed on a victim pedestal, giving them fateful importance. History of language is used especially for this. By (not) stating facts related to the history of language and their distortion a selective picture of the world is created in the recipient, an assessment of historical events is constructed and kind of world view created that the ruling nationalist discourse finds acceptable the carriers of the national identity to have.

Althusser asserts that regimes or states are able to preserve control by reproducing subjects who believe that their position within the social structure is a natural one. Ideology - the background ideas that we possess about the way in which the world must function and of how we function

within it - is, in this account, understood to be always present. Specific socio-economic structures, however, require particular ideologies. These ideologies are instantiated by institutions or Ideological State Apparatuses which provide the developing subject with categories in which she can recognize herself (Althusser in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014)

The educational system is one of the most influential ideological apparatuses (Althusser in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014) because it contains the illusion of objectivity, factuality and universal validity. Control in society is established and maintained through it. It is believed to because it is presented as an official, social and institutional certified discourse.

The processed material as well as the entire educational system is explicitly and implicitly involved in the process of "imagination" as a constituent element of modern subjectivity (Appadurai 1996). Unlike other media which we choose ourselves (even if it is relative), a textbook is selected by educational institutions. We accept its existence and do not question it. Also, most of the children in school do not bring into question the information it contains either. They find it an undisputed authority, and the knowledge that it provides is considered as objective knowledge - truth. However, it is very often a hotbed of ideological and political discourse.

Official education (school) uses textbooks to convey educational material. These should, according to the pedagogical and methodological requirements, impart to the students key knowledge in certain sciences in an appropriate way (for the students) and help them in the critical understanding of themselves, the society and the world. A textbook discourse should be in accordance with this: all proposed claims should be supported by arguments, while facts and data need to be presented without creating a selective awareness and imposing ideologies.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

"Every study of discourse - language in concrete use and in a concrete context - is an analysis of discourse, and a special approach within its framework is the critical analysis of discourse."¹⁵ (Šarić 2014, 172)

Discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary field of study that deals with description and analysis of discourse, i.e. language in use, linguistic features of speech and text as its main form and social and cultural factors that influence their understanding. As such, the subject of the study

¹⁵ The approach of discourse analysis that will be applied later in this paper is Critical Discourse Analysis

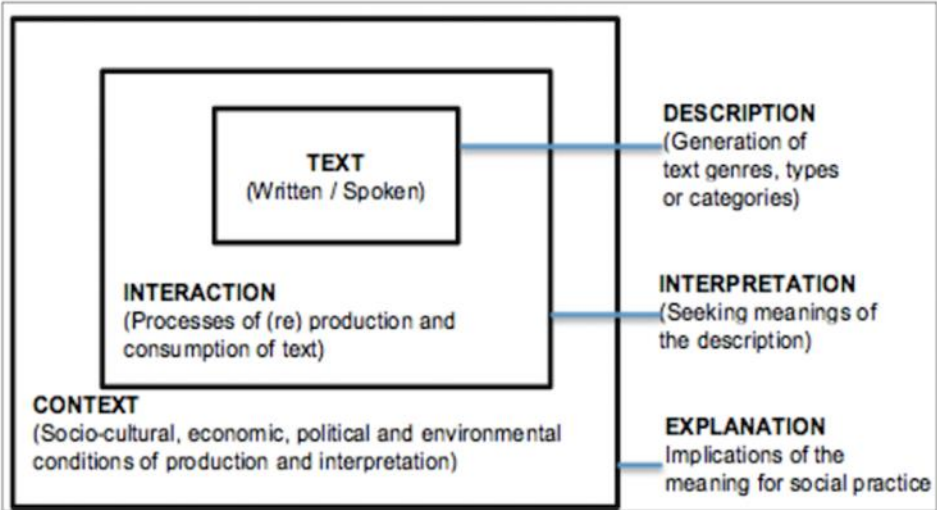
is methods and functions of the use of language elements in the context for the purpose of achieving different interactive, social, political and cultural objectives, in spoken interaction and (in) written texts.

Fairclough, who in his works relies heavily on Foucault, explains CDA as an analysis of discourse which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough 1993, 135).

According to Fairclough (1989), for a linguistic analysis to be critical, it must be conducted through three dimensions, i.e. three “communicative events” (see picture 3.1).

The first dimension is a systematic analysis of the text, which pays attention to formal properties of the text (dictionary, grammar, cohesion, text structure), followed by the analysis of interaction, i.e. interpretive analysis which concentrates on the production and interpretation of texts. The third dimension analyses discourse as a social practice, it deals with social and cultural events, studies the political context of social events; examines the impact of ideological effects on social change.

Picture 3.1: Fairclough's 3D model



Source: Kabugo (2016).

Fairclough differentiates between the linguistic analysis of the text and the intertextual analysis. He believes that the linguistic level is reduced to description, whereas the intertextual level focuses on interpretation. He concludes that connection of both levels is crucial to bridge the gap between the text and the language on one hand, and society and culture on the other (Fairclough 1996).

3.2 (NATIONAL) IDENTITY DISCOURSE

“Nationalism narrows down, it impoverishes. Nationalism is a high degree of narrow-mindedness. This is something irrational, because for a small interest you're willing to give up something much bigger and more important than what you get. There is nothing easier than to use nationalism as a tool. Politics actually promotes nationalism, it survives on it.”

Mirko Kovač

Wodak has identified language and discourse as the essential means through which the uniqueness and distinctness of a community and its particular values are presented, making these a key instrument in the social construction of imagined communities (Wodak 1996).

The concept of 'identity' comes from 'post-Cartesian metaphysical philosophy'; Schelling was the first one to 'unite' spirit and nature (mind and being), they were two appearances of one and the same reality he considered identical. That is where the notion that 'identity' is something 'indivisible, unique and original' has its roots (Filipović 1982, 198–241). Such consideration of identity is criticized by numerous experts.

According to the Encyclopaedic dictionary there is a difference between the terms "identity" and "identification". Identity is the equivalence with oneself, the totality of the facts that serve to distinguish one person from any other; the sense of belonging to a group, religious community, or a nation. Identification, on the other hand, is the focus toward something (family, nation, religion, idea), and can be individual and social. Stuart Hall chooses the term 'identification', seeing it as a construction, never completed 'process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination' in the middle of which is the exclusion of other (Hall 2000).

When it comes to identity, Smith distinguishes territorial-political and ethnic identity. Political identity is marked by territoriality, citizenship, participation and civic education. On the other hand, ethnic identity stems from the concept of nation as a cultural and ethnic community that

shares its historical origin, connected by common myths and historical memories. Such identity is strengthened by education, national institutions, ceremonies, all that for the purpose of incorporating or maintaining beliefs about ethnic continuity (Smith 1986). Such ethnocentrism can lead to nationalism.

Such differentiation of identity stems from the distinction between an ethnic community and a nation. The characteristics of the ethnic group, according to Weber, are belief in common origin and, in that way, distinction from others. Ethnic community is defined on the basis of "subjective belief" in "common origin ... regardless of whether there are objective blood connections" (Weber 1968, 389).

The nation is associated with a will for power that implies political power and the idea of its own political organization, and all political creations are creations that use force (Weber 1999, 120–138).

Smith links ethnic affiliation and nation and shows them as a continuity. Namely, it is considered that the nations without the ethnic background are rare. When connecting the modern nation (the beginning of the creation of nations is the mid-19th century) with pre-modern ethnic forms, Smith introduces the term ethnic group. In them (ethnic groups) he sees the origin of modern nations, describing them as the name, a myth about common ancestors, common historical memories, common elements of culture, homeland connectivity, a sense of solidarity (Smith 1986).

Back in 1908, historian Friedrich Meinecke in his work "Cosmopolitanism and national state" distinguished between a cultural and state nation. It thus explains that a nation must necessarily have a natural core that is born out of blood kinship. Something that elevates the tribal community to the nation and allows it to assimilate the alien tribes and elements can grow relying on it (Meinecke 1970, 1–2). He divides nations into "those that are primarily based on a commonly experienced cultural good, and those that are primarily based on the unifying power of common political history and constitution" (Meinecke 1970, 3).

Smith was led by a similar idea in his work "National Identity" in which he categorizes the model of a nation as the western (civic-territorial) and eastern (ethnic) model of the nation. The first one is explained as a community of people of the same origin and cultural tradition, and the second as a community of people who obey the same laws and institutions of a given territory (Smith 1991).

Benedict Anderson interprets the nation as an "imagined political community". It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never meet, yet they are seen as part of the same unity; limited because each nation has the final borders behind which comes another nation; sovereign because it began to develop in times of revolution and enlightenment. The nation is, therefore, a social construct (Anderson 1991).

„Nationalism" is the pathology of modern developmental history, as inescapable as "neurosis" in the individual, with much the same essential ambiguity attaching to it, a similar built-in capacity for descent into dementia, rooted in the dilemmas of helplessness thrust upon most of the world (the equivalent of infantilism for societies) and largely incurable.“ (Anderson 1991, 5)

L. Greenfeld categorically asserts that "there are no objective foundations for nationality. Empirical research reveals that all nations - as nations – are artificial constructs“(Greenfeld, 1993, 663). Moreover, all nations "emerged from political arbitrariness, robbery, intrigue of rulers, bare economic interests, and a combination of raw violence and chance“(Greenfeld 1993, 663–664).

Even more explicit is Llosa, saying that "no nation is a natural occurrence" but a "political fabrication" (Llosa 2000, 55).

Altermatt concludes: "The nations, however, can hardly be described definitively according to objective criteria, leaving only subjective affiliation available. Everyone belongs to the nation to which they themselves identify as" (Altermatt 1996, 80).

National identity is, therefore, a myth based on the identification of the individual with the group and with an idealized past: "Nationalism is perhaps the most irresistible identity myth" (Smith 1998, 7).

The sense of nationhood is solidified by constructing a "common enemy" (internal or external) who should be hated and against whom to fight. "The existence of one common enemy is a prerequisite for the group to solidify, compact, and feel solidarity and discipline" (Supek, 1992, 88). Minimal differences are drawn up and turned into a fundamental distinction. This way the "we" is successfully turned into "us" and "them", because "an individual cannot even understand they belong to a group, if they do not oppose some outside group" (Supek, 1992, 88).

“The idea of a specific national community becomes reality in the realm of convictions and beliefs through reifying, figurative discourses continually launched by politicians, intellectuals and media people and disseminated through the systems of education, schooling, mass communication, militarization as well as through sports meetings“(Wodak 1999, 153).

Identity politics from the "archives of memory" (Pace 2009) selectively and manipulatively exploit the events of the past. These "politics of memory" are aiming at the individual to develop a sense of nationhood. The war, crises and general trauma are ideal for "the awakening" of national consciousness.

Halbwachs uses the phrase 'historical memory'. He believes that people acquire their memories in society, and it is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize them (Halbwachs 1992). He points out that memories are formed, transmitted and maintained in social groups. He emphasises that memories are variable and are equally formed in the past and in the present (Halbwachs 1992). "Collective memory" from the archives of "historical memory" evokes certain elements in order to maintain historical continuity (Wodak 1999).

“Halbwachs’s concept is of particular interest for an analytical approach to subjective discursive construction of national identity, especially regarding the question of which ‘national history’ is told by a nation’s citizens, what and how they recollect, and between which ‘events’ they make a connection in their subjective ‘national narrative“(Wodak 1999, 155).

Unlike Halbwachs who puts the emphasis on memory, Stuart Hall considers culture as an important factor in the construction of nations and national identity. Hall describes nations as political structures and as “systems of cultural representations” (Hall 1994, 200). The nation is a symbolic community discursively constructed: “National culture is a discourse, a way to construct meanings which influence and organise both our actions and our perceptions of ourselves. National cultures construct identities by creating meanings of ‘the nation’, which we can identify with; these are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed“(Hall 1994, 201).

3.3 RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

When talking about identity, we are not talking about one, but multiple identities. "People, apart from the state, belong to linguistic, cultural and religious communities in which they recognize and fulfil their special needs" (Debeljak 2009, 154).

An essential feature of religious identity is group affiliation and therefore it is also referred to as a group phenomenon and a collective identity through which individuals are recognized and identified. Equally, individuals who are not recognized or identified with it are different (Cvitković 2013). Religious identity, therefore, provides an individual with a perspective from which the world is being watched, allows him to socialize with people of different ages, enables the relationship with the past, a sense of belonging, identification with something/somebody, but at the same time gives a sense of difference and non-affiliation. Like all identities, this one is also multilayer, changeable and intertwined with other identities¹⁶.

Religious identity is usually formed in a community whose members are of the same origin. Family upbringing (according to Esad Ćimić), socialization, psychological need for acceptance (especially in places where many religious practices are held) play an important role in it; the crucial role is played by religious collective activities during large religious holidays (e.g. Christmas, Easter, Bayram..) and family celebrations. Many who are religiously indifferent get married in church and baptize children because it is expected of them by their surroundings.

New life circumstances often affect the change of religious identity.

Faced with a new environment in which they are not accepted, migrants often seek their affiliation in religious communities. There they meet with people coming from the same or similar culture, exchange experiences and seek consolation in each other. It is often the case that they become better believers in their new country than they were in their home country. Religion and the religious community connect them to the land they had to or wanted to leave. In this way, very likely, besides seeking shelter, they feel they have stayed "loyal" to their roots. (However, it is interesting that by adaptation and acceptance by "hosts", religiousness and

¹⁶Today, as a consequence of globalization, "believing without belonging" (Grace Davie) is more and more present, which I would not classify as a collective but an individual identity.

socializing in communities get reduced.) The new religious identity is a consequence of rejection and nonconformity - it is not artificially created¹⁷.

In Croatia, however, that was precisely the case. New-born religious identity was not a consequence of geopolitical, social and economic changes, but was the cause - artificially planned and created. As Grace Davie calls it, a "hysterical" religious identity was created (Davie 2007).

Because of the "tangible" religious differences, it was not difficult to start a war among the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The problem was the Catholics and the Orthodox¹⁸. But the powerful ones feared in vain because "the smaller the real difference between the two peoples is, the more intimidating it will surely be in their imagination" (Kordić 2010, 199). Freud called that effect "the narcissism of small differences". By identification of national and religious the "difference" was becoming ever greater.

This "flourishing" of religion and a newly gained identity, Cvitković calls the "surrogate religion" created in "the situation of social desirability to formally express religious identity after the 90s of the last century. Never in the Balkans, since the 1940s, there had been greater religious self-identification and church attendance, whereas at the same time the greater distance from religion and its teaching (if judged by the number of murders, suicides, violence against the Other, trafficking in women, drug use, juvenile delinquency, lack of human empathy, etc.)" (Cvitković 2013, 18).

¹⁷Here I am not talking about fundamentalists and extremists.

¹⁸ Differences between Islam and Christianity are more tangible (members are easier set against each other). While the differences between Orthodox and Catholic are subtle and it is harder to find them.

4 RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

Redefining the identity through religion is most noticeable in the public speeches of clergy and politicians. Speakers, understandably, use the word as the most powerful weapon. Through the rhetorical analysis of Franjo Tuđman's speech, I tried to penetrate the ideological background of Croatia's independence and detect the attempts to construct the national identity. Before the rhetorical analysis itself, I briefly exposed the notion of rhetoric, elements of classical rhetoric (which were used in the analysis) and explained the correlation and interdependence of political and rhetorical discourse. Then I presented the basic information about the speaker whose speech was being analysed and described the rhetorical situation in which the speech was made. It is then followed by the rhetorical analysis.

4.1 ABOUT RHETORIC

Speak, so that I may see you.

Socrates

For Quintilian, a great Roman teacher of rhetoric, rhetoric is the most beautiful gift that gods could give to man. "It flourished in ancient times as art and as a theory" (Šego 2005, 174). It developed parallel with social life. Remarkable oratory skills were already noticed at Homer's heroes (Achilles, Hector, Odysseus). Ancient Greece is a cradle of conscious rhetoric. Aristotle defined it as "faculty (dunamis) of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion." (Aristotle in Herrick 2009, 21) The Romans enthusiastically took over the art of speaking from the Greeks and gave the most prominent speaker of all time – Cicero:

"There is a scientific system of politics which includes many important departments. One of these departments - a large and important one - is eloquence based on the rules of art, which they call rhetoric. For I do not agree with those who think that political science has no need for eloquence, and I violently disagree with those who think that it is wholly comprehended in the power and skill of the rhetorician. Therefore we will classify oratorical ability as a part of political science. The function of eloquence seems to be to speak in a manner suited to persuade an audience, the end is to persuade by speech." (Cicero 1949, I, V: 6)

4.1.1 CLASSICAL RHETORIC

Rhetoric owes much to Aristotle and Cicero. Modern rhetoric is based on their foundations. Aristotle was the first to distinguish the types of rhetoric so he wrote about political, judicial and epideictic speech, i.e. rhetoric. (Kennedy 2001, 93). He first recognized forms of persuasion (logos, pathos and ethos). Cicero in many ways complemented Aristotle and systematized the knowledge he gathered. The Romans here also showed as good practitioners.

CANONS

„Classical rhetorical teaching consisted of five parts that parallel the act of planning and delivering a speech.”(Kennedy 1994, 3). Most important parts of classical rhetoric are invention, arrangement, and style and they are equally applicable to public speaking and written composition. (Kennedy 1994, 3).

A INVENTION

Invention (Lat. invenire - find, discover) is the first and also the most important canon of classical rhetoric. Focus of this canon is: „identifying the question at issue, which is called the stasis of the speech, and the available means of persuading the audience to accept the speaker's position.“(Kennedy 1994, 2).

Kennedy distinguishes between direct evidence and „artistic“ means of persuasion. The first one includes, for example, witnesses, contracts, documents, testimonies „which the speaker uses but does not invent“ (Kennedy 1994, 2). In other words, evidence already exist, the speaker does not create them, they do not arise from him.

The second means of persuasion („artistic“) includes „presentation of the speaker's character (ethos) as trustworthy, logical argument (logos) that may convince the audience, and the pathos or emotion that the speaker can awaken in the audience“. (Kennedy 1994, 2)

Cicero considered the invention as a formula for discovering the arguments that would properly lead the audience to correct interpretation (Cicero 1954, 8). He found that its purpose is to find valid or seemingly valid arguments (Herrick 2009, 98). The arguments must match the content of the speech and the audience.

In conclusion, Aristotel invented and stated the main ideas, Cicero systematized them and applied them.

LOGOS, PATHOS AND ETHOS

The classification of artistic proofs, as stated, is another of many Aristotle's contributions to rhetoric.

„Aristotle was perhaps the first person to recognize clearly that rhetoric as an art of communication was morally neutral, that it could be used for either good or ill. He says that persuasion depends on three things: the truth and logical validity of what is being argued, the speaker's success in conveying to the audience a perception that he or she can be trusted, and the emotions that a speaker is able to awaken in an audience to accept the views advanced and act in accordance with them.“ (Kennedy 2007, X)

Logos (speech, reason, mind) “seeks to provide a speaker with a basis for argument in ‘truth’: that is, in knowledge of the propositions of politics and ethics and of how to use this knowledge to construct arguments” (Kennedy 2007, 15).

It is a dimension of the rational speaker's argumentation (Kennedy 2007, 109). It represents a rational proof that refers to the internal logic of the topic (Herrick 2009, 83).

When talking about logical arguments constructed by the speaker, Aristotle distinguished between inductive argument (paradigm)-a particular conclusion from one or more parallels- and deductive argument (rhetorical syllogism) – a conclusion from stated or implied premises. (Aristotle in Kennedy 2007). For better understanding, here we have to distinguish induction in formal logic and induction in rhetoric: “In formal logic an induction consists of particular observations from which a general conclusion is drawn; in rhetoric it takes the form of a particular statement supported by one or more parallels, with the universal conclusion left unstated.” Similar situation is with an enthymeme¹⁹ which “rarely takes the full syllogistic form of major premise, minor premise, and conclusion; more often a conclusion is offered and supported by a reason, as in the first sentence of the treatise.” (Kennedy 2007, 40)

It's also very important to highlight the differences he made between rhetorical and dialectical argument. Namely, the dialectical argumentation is argumentation in dialogue, in controversy, pro et contra argumentation, and in rhetorical argumentation a speech is a monologue (the speaker addresses the audience): „Dialectic proceeds by question and answer, not, as rhetoric does, by continuous exposition. A dialectical argument does not contain the parts of a public

¹⁹ Kennedy calls a „rhetorical syllogism an enthymeme, a rhetorical induction a paradigm.“ (Kennedy 2007, 40)

address; there is no introduction, narration, or epilogue, as in a speech - only proof and refutation“(Kennedy 2007, 28).

However, if the speaker is "attacked" by other speakers and the rhetorical monologue turns into a pro et contra argument, then rhetoric gets a dialectical dimension, then “rhetoric is an antistrophos to dialectic” (Aristotle in Kennedy 2007, 30).

When differentiating rhetorical argumentation as persuasion with opinion and philosophical dialog which leads to the truth, Aristotle stated that in dialectic the only acceptable argument is the logical one, „whereas in rhetoric, the impression of moral character conveyed by the speaker and the emotions awakened in the audience contribute to persuasion.“(Kennedy 2007, 28)

What dialectic and rhetoric have in common is building their arguments „on commonly held opinions and dealing with what is probable“. However, „dialectic examines general issues (such as the nature of justice, philosophical questions), whereas rhetoric usually seeks a specific judgment (e.g., whether or not some specific action was just or whether or not some specific policy will be beneficial, practical questions, making decisions in court).“(Kennedy 2007, 28)

Cicero considered that the combination of external arguments (presenting the material evidence in argumentation) with argumentative discussion makes a true speaker who respects his audience (Cicero 1954, 187).

„Aristotle’s inclusion of emotion as a mode of persuasion, despite his objections to the handbooks, is a recognition that among human beings judgment is not entirely a rational act.“(Kennedy 2007, 39) By using pathos as a means of persuasion, speakers influence public emotions (Kennedy 2007, 109), because people are motivated to act on the ideas that affect their emotions. So, to raise the emotions in the listener, the speaker himself must attain the level of emotions he wants to implant (Crowley and Hawhee 2004) According to Aristotle, the speaker with the help of pathos puts the audience into a "specific frame of thinking" (Herrick 2009, 83). Pathos is often used to force the audience to act (Herrick 2009). This is possible if the speaker recognizes the state of mind of the audience. „For we do not give the same judgment when grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile.“(Kennedy 2007, 39)

Ethos denotes the character and nature of the speaker. The speaker presents himself in his speech in the way he wants the audience to see him; he speaks what he (the speaker) is, and what he is not (Barthes 1970, 212). He shows his personality in the positive light, judged by the value that audience believe in and the opponent in negative. Aristotle considered the ethos to

be an appropriate means of persuasion when the audience is not entirely convinced of the speaker's logical arguments. Kennedy asserts in Aristotle's Rhetoric that in terms of persuasion ethos is „the thrustworthy character of a speaker as artistically created in speech“ (Kennedy 2007, 163). Speaker must „construct a view of himself as a certain kind of person“ (Kennedy 2007, 112). He continues „it makes much difference in regard to persuasion that the speaker seem to be a certain kind of person and that his hearers suppose him to be disposed toward them in a certain way“ (Kennedy 2007, 112). If the speaker presented himself successfully, the audience would be more convinced, because people believe the speaker who is honest or at least represented as such (Crowley and Hawhee 2004, 170).

B DISPOSITION

The second canon – arrangement or disposition - refers to the appropriate organization of parts of the speech. The speaker must, before polishing the style and the delivery of the speech itself, sort and edit the collected material (Kennedy 2001, 120). It is therefore a matter of organizing the speech into a meaningful whole that will attract the public's attention (Cicero, 1954, 8). However, „the order in which arguments are presented, whether the strongest first or toward a climax, is sometimes discussed“ (Kennedy 1994, 2) According to Kennedy there are some difficulties in separating discussion of arrangement from discussion of invention; rhetoricians often „merged the two into an account of the inventional features of each part of a speech“ (Kennedy 1994, 2). Basic division (which according to Kennedy applies best to judicial oratory) is: „(1) introduction, or *prooemium*, (Gk. *prooimion*, Lat. *exordium*); (2) narration (Gk. *diegesis*, Lat. *narratio*), the exposition of the background and factual details; (3) proof (Gk. *pistis*, Lat. *probatio*); and (4) conclusion, or epilogue, (Gk. *epilogos*, Lat. *peroratio*)“ (Kennedy). He later added *partitio*, *digressio* and *refutatio* in his division. Briefly explained:

exordium seeks to obtain the attention of the audience and goodwill or sympathy toward the speaker. It then proceeds to a narration of the facts, or background information, and states the proposition which the speaker wishes to prove, often with a *partition* of it into separate headings. The speaker then presents his arguments in the proof, followed by a refutation of opposing views; here he may incorporate what was called a digression, often a relevant examination of motivations or attendant circumstances. Finally comes an epilogue which summarizes the argument and seeks to arouse the emotions of the audience to take action or make judgment. (Kennedy 1984, 24)

C ELOCUTIO

Elocutio or compilation is a phase in which the vocabulary and style appropriate to the subject, the public and the speaker himself is selected.

So „once the speaker has planned 'what' to say and the order in which to say it, the third task is to decide 'how' to say it, that is how to embody it in words and sentences. This is 'style'.“ (Kennedy 1994, 2)

It is characteristic of classical rhetoric to regard style as a deliberate process of casting subject into language. There are two parts of style: diction (words we choose) and composition (putting words into sentences) (Kennedy 2007, 307) It is therefore the choice of appropriate words (appropriate to the subject, situation, audience, ethos, pathos and logos) and about linking these words into syntax, wider text, discourse.

Discussion of style is based on concept of Theophrastus; Aristotle's student first defined four „virtues“(aretai): correctness (of grammar and usage), clarity, ornamentation, and propriety.

The relationship between ornamentation (aesthetics) and decorum (appropriateness) is crucial; the words (and figures) are chosen appropriately for the situation we are talking about.

Ornamentation²⁰, therefore, refers to the choice of words and the use of figures. She includes:

"tropes," literally "turnings" or substitutions of one term for another as in metaphor (figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them), personification (attribution of personal qualities, representation of a thing or abstraction as a person or by the human form);

figures of speech, or changes in the sound or arrangement of a sequence of words, such as anaphora (repetition of a word or expression at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, sentences, or verses especially for rhetorical or poetic effect) or asyndeton (omission of the conjunctions that ordinarily join coordinate words or clauses);

²⁰ The Encyclopaedia of Rhetoric (2006) defines rhetorical figures as "the smallest structural units of rhetorical stylistics (elocutio) that have been an integral part of texts since the ancient times until now. They are present in all kinds of persuasive speech and poetic communication."

and figures of thought, in which a statement is recast to stress it or achieve audience contact, as in the rhetorical question (a question not intended to require an answer)²¹.

Styles were often classified into types or "characters," of which the best known categorization is the threefold division into "grand," "middle," and "plain." (Kennedy 1994, 3) Plain style is characteristic for scientific speeches and lectures; middle style is used in meetings, judicial and political speeches - the use of figures is moderate; grand style is used in festive occasions, greeting speeches, necrologies and abounds in stylistic figures (Škarić 2011).

GENRES OF CLASSICAL RETHORIC

Rhetorical genres are an essential element of the canon. The first to write about them was Aristotle and later Cicero.

Aristotle differentiated rhetorical genres and so he distinguished deliberative, judicial and epideictic speech, i.e. rhetoric, whereas Cicero focused on the goal of a particular genre.

The feature of deliberative rhetoric is to persuade or advise the audience to take some actions. It is focused on the future because the consequences of the actions the speaker is persuading the audience to do are visible only later (Škerlep 2009). When persuading, he must take into account the circumstances and obstacles that may arise in the future (Herrick 2009, 80). The speaker advises or discourages according to the categories of usefulness or danger. „Deliberative speakers often advance other facts, but they would never admit that they are advising things that are not advantageous [to the audience] or that they are dissuading [the audience] from what is beneficial; and often they do not insist that it is not unjust to enslave neighbors or those who have done no wrong.“ (Kennedy 2007, 49)

Judicial rhetoric concentrates on the judgment of past actions. The judgement is based on (dis) respect of written or unwritten moral codes. The main elements are justice and injustice, that is, prosecution and defence (Corbett and Connors 1999, 23). The speaker is therefore in the role of a prosecutor; he persuades the public to pronounce the accused guilty or innocent (Škerlep 2009). „Forensic speakers must be skilled in convincing a jury that the available evidence supports a particular hypothesis. The judicial advocate must be careful observer of human character so as to be able to argue effectively that a defendant either was or was not capable of committing the crime in question. This pleader should, in addition, have a very good grasp of

²¹ Merriam-Webster's online dictionary

what the citizens think is just, and so must be familiar with public values about justice.“ (Herrick 2009, 78)

„Aristotle’s concept of epideictic is the most problematic of the species and it has remained a problem in rhetorical theory, since it becomes the category for all forms of discourse that are not specifically deliberative or judicial.“(Kennedy 2007, 47) Primarily, Aristotle thinks of epideictic as „funeral oratory or praise of a mythological figure. In such speeches, praise corrects, modifies, or strengthens an audience’s belief about the civic virtues or the reputation of an individual.“ (Kennedy 2007, 47) Its essential feature is (over)pronounced praise of a particular person, group, institution or event that is the subject of the speech (Škerlep 2009). The speaker points out the values that are considered social norms and patterns (Herrick 2009, 81). „Aristotle recognized the importance of ceremonial speaking as a way not of training speakers or entertaining audiences but of reinforcing public values“(Herrick 2009, 77) Listeners’ judgement is based on the evaluation - beautiful or ugly.

4.2 POLITICAL DISCOURSE

4.2.1. MODERN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Modern public discourse besides political, includes both media appearances, strategic communication of public relations, marketing and various public events. Herrick thinks the discourse is rhetorical because the rhetoric adjusts the discourse to meet its intention. Herrick's main features of rhetorical discourse are actually adaptation of classical rhetoric to modern conditions of public communication.

The main determinants of rhetoric discourse are the following:

- 1) planning (planning the speech through the five canons which I will talk about later);
- 2) adaptation to the audience (the speaker must adapt the speech to the audience it is intended for, taking into account the background of the listener, not the mass, it is important to be familiar with the listener's status, beliefs, experiences and interests);
- 3) motivation (the motivation of rhetorical discourse is to persuade the listener to gain, win over its side, or reach an agreement);
- 4) reaction (discourse is a reaction to a certain situation, therefore it is also called situation rhetoric because it is always a reaction to an event, time and space; accordingly, the speaker is trying to predict the reaction of the audience to what was said);
- 5) focus on persuasion (the most important determinant of rhetoric is persuasion);
- 6) uncertain topics (topics that often do not offer the final answer are common in rhetoric because they require judgment, weighing and decision making) (Herrick 2009, 7–17).

Bitzer defined rhetorical discourse as a specific response to a specific situation: “it is the situation which calls the (rhetorical) discourse into existence” (Bitzer 1968, 6–7).

Relying on Bitzer, Škerlep interprets the rhetorical discourse as “an act that seeks to solve the challenge of the situation”. He thinks that discourse is public speaking, which, if it involves scientific truth, must be adapted to the public and the situation and must be convincingly presented (Škerlep 2004, 41).

4.2.2 RHETORICAL SITUATION

Speaking of the rhetorical situation, Škerlep mentions Bitzer as the most influential rhetorician in the area. He thinks it was him who has developed the most influential model of rhetorical situation. He states that "the rhetorical situation is the condition of rhetorical discourse", i.e. that rhetorical discourse is a direct reaction to a rhetorical situation (Bitzer 1968). The rhetorical discourse Škerlep explains as "an act that seeks to solve the challenge of the situation", and the rhetorical situation is defined, according to Bitzer, as a "set of persons, events, objects and relationships that represent a current or potential challenge (exigence) that can be fully or partially realized if the discourse that enters into a situation can direct decisions or actions of people so that they result in a visible change of challenge." The main elements²² of the rhetorical situation are, therefore, the exigency (necessity or need that requires reaction and action), audience (which the speaker wants to act on and if successful, to stimulate to act) and structural constraints (e.g. collective beliefs) (Bitzer in Škerlep 2009, 101).

4.2.3 POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND RHETORIC

Chilton defines political discourse as "the use of language to do the business of politics and includes persuasive rhetoric, the use of implied meanings, the use of euphemisms, the exclusion of references to undesirable reality, the use of language to arouse political emotions and the like" (Chilton 2008, 226) Political discourse concentrates on the issues of power, domination, control and conflict. (Schiffrin 2001)

For van Dijk, political discourse is eminently ideological. „He may express group ideologies and other beliefs, especially in collective forms of text and talk such as party programs. But many forms of political discourse are produced by individual speakers, and the ways they `personalize' the group beliefs underly the more particular properties of political discourse (Van Dijk, discourses.org)²³“

Rhetoric and politics have been intertwined since ancient times. Political success largely depended and depends on rhetoric; the art of persuasion was and is crucial to success. That is

²² Discursive practice model puts text into interaction and context; the context is the one that changes the textual analysis into the discourse analysis, and the rhetorical situation is the one that converts speech as text into rhetorical discourse.

why political speeches are often the subject of rhetorical analysis. They combine all three Aristotelian persuasion strategies (logos, pathos and ethos) (Zarefsky 2008), and Reike and Sillars consider the argumentation process the oldest recorded argumentation sphere (Reike and Sillars 2000). The arguments used in political speeches are characterized by "a lack of time constraints, a lack of clear ending, heterogeneous audiences and a prerequisite for being accessible to everyone" (Zarefsky 2008, 318–320). These elements confirm the free form of political discourse. The speaker's success is measured by the effect. The goal of speech of the speakers speaking to people in war times is often the mobilization of nations and strengthening of national identity. They often use ideology and mythology.

4.3 FRANJO TUĐMAN

Dr. Franjo Tuđman was born in Veliko Trgovišće, a municipality in Hrvatsko Zagorje, on May 14, 1922. Since 1941, he participated in the anti-fascist movement and the social revolution. At the end of January 1945 he was sent by Croatian representatives to the Supreme Headquarters of the NOV (People's Liberation Army) and POJ (Yugoslav Partisans) in Belgrade. He was then employed by the Ministry of National Defence, after that at the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and in the Military Encyclopaedia editorial office. Three years later he was promoted to the rank of general. After Tito's death Tuđman was sentenced to three years in prison (he served only 10 months) in 1981 and banned on any public action in the period of five years, as he had given interviews to German and Swedish television in which he talked about the inequality of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and underestimated the number of victims of the Jasenovac camp. Tuđman (who was a supporter and builder of socialism) became one of the leaders of the opposition to the communist regime in the 70's. He became one of the new nationalistic leaders with Milošević, Kučan and Izetbegović.

In August 1992 Franjo Tuđman was already in the first round elected President of the Republic of Croatia. At the second presidential elections in 1997, Tuđman was again elected President and remained in the position until his death.

On 11th of December 1999, day after Tuđman's death, New York Times Journalist, David Binder, gave an critical overview of Tuđman's life. So he wrote: "Mr. Tuđman contributed heavily to the collapse of the Yugoslav Federation of six republics - and indeed to the defeat of the whole concept of South Slav brotherhood, whose founding fathers included leading Croatian politicians."

Author considers Tuđman responsible for death of “several thousand additional ethnic Croats” who were killed in “fighting with Bosnian Muslims in 1993 and early 1994 as a result of his (Tuđman's) determination to create a homogeneous Croatian enclave in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and eventually to incorporate it into his state”.

Beside wanting to create ethnically pure Croatia, Tuđman wanted to incorporate western Bosnia and much of Herzegovina and create a “Greater Croatia” (“as it had been under Hitler and Mussolini's protection in World War II”). So Herzeg Bosna was made, a Croatian puppet state authorized by Tuđman (“the state was eliminated after 50,000 NATO troops occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina and all ethnic factions became subjects of international authorities in 1996”).

In his article, author mentions accusations of The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe which accused Tuđman's governance (in a detailed report) for: “harsh treatment of the remaining Serbian minority, suppression of the press and failure to cooperate with the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague.”

Binder distincts three phases that characterized Mr. Tuđman's life: Tuđman as a World War II Partisan officer, Tuđman as a much-criticized historian and Tuđman as a politician.

In 1989, Tuđman published his most ‘controversial’ work “Impasses of Historical Reality” where he claimed that “only” one million Jews were killed in Holocaust instead of six million. He also diminished number of Serbs and Jews numbers killed in Croatia's main death camp, Jasenovac, from more than 500,000 to 59,639.

In "Impasses," he wrote: "A Jew is still a Jew. Even in the camps they retained their bad characteristics: selfishness, perfidy, meanness, slyness and treachery." In 1990 he stated:

"Thank God, my wife is neither a Serb nor a Jew."

Author of the article described The Croatian Democratic Union (Tuđman's party) as a nationalist party with a program of separatism which “was heavily financed by members of the Croatian diaspora, especially by remnants of the Ustase movement in the United States, Canada and Australia.”

Bogdan Denitch (Serbian historian with Croatian citizenship) stated that Tuđman and Milošević each strengthened “his own power by painting the other as a satanic menace”. They (Tuđman and Milošević) conferred several times (in 1991) that their main plan was to “divide territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina between Serbia and Croatia, with Serbs taking most of the southeast and Croats taking most of the northwest.”

In 1990 Tuđman stated that NDH ('Independent State of Croatia' established by the Ustase) "was not simply a Quisling creation and a fascist crime, it was also an expression of the historical aspirations of the Croatian people."

He enraged Croatia's Serbs (12 percent of population) by "ramming through a Constitution in 1990 that proclaimed Croatia 'the national state of the Croatian nation'.

"His life was full of contradictions. He was an enthusiastic Yugoslav patriot who became an equally enthusiastic Croatian nationalist. He was an ardent Communist who became an ardent anti-Communist. He was an atheist who gained the support of the Catholic Church hierarchy in Zagreb and later in Rome."

Mihajlo Mihajlov stated that "In the Croatian media, his cult is much bigger than Tito ever had".

4.3.1 THE SPEECH OF FRANJO TUĐMAN ON THE ARRIVAL OF POPE JOHN PAUL 2 (September 10, 1994)

The speech was held in 1994. Croatia is at war (although the state of war was not officially declared), a third of the Croatian territory was not under Croatian rule. The main liberation action- "Oluja" - will be launched a year later.

On September 10, 1994, Pope John Paul II visited Croatia for the first time. He landed at the Pleso Airport, where the President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tuđman and Zagreb Cardinal Franjo Kuharić welcomed him. The Pope first kissed the Croatian land that had been put in a bowl (because of the hip operation he could not bend and kiss the ground, which he used to do when he came to visit a country), and then President Tuđman held a greeting speech. Although the speech was officially referred to the Pope and the faithful, the speaker also addressed the international community. Namely, in the beginning of the war, Croatia, in the eyes of the international community, was justifiably enjoying the status of the victim. Massacres in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the demolition of the Old Bridge in Mostar changed that. Although the Croatian government denied the departure of Croatian troops to BiH and all the horrors were attributed to the Serbian army, it became increasingly difficult to hide the evidence. Croatia was no longer just the attacked country, but some military and paramilitary formations committed crimes. The president could not allow such an image of Croatia, so he used the Pope's visit for multiple purposes, first to strengthen the Croatian catholic identity and to create a better image of Croatia. Tuđman uses the rhetoric of a leader at war.

4.3.2 THE ANALYSIS OF TUĐMAN'S SPEECH

GENRE

Analysed speech is part of the political discourse and it belongs to the epideictic genre. The main characteristic is to praise or/and to blame. Celebration of the people the speaker is addressing is often for the purpose of mobilization. Other elements present are black and white descriptions, that is, simplified description of events, exaggeration (either glorification of the people the speaker addresses or demonization of the enemy) and one-sidedness. The background of such rhetoric is often ideological.

Although the speech unambiguously belongs to the epideictic rhetoric, I have observed the elements of other types, i.e. genre hybridity (what I will show during the analysis). Aristotle also wrote about it, but it is particularly visible in modern rhetoric (Škerlep 2009, 107). Tuđman's speech, therefore, is no exception, and there are also the elements of deliberative as well as judicial genres in it.

COMPOSITION AND BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CONTENT

Franjo Tuđman's speech has an interesting composition. It is special because Tuđman uses the "Holy Father" syntagm to divide the thematic units. After each topic being discussed, the speaker uses this expression as a transition to a new unit. Together with the introduction and conclusion the speech has six units. They are arranged chronologically; from reaching back far into the past through determining the current state of affairs and wishes for the future.

In the first, introductory part, the President expresses welcome to the Pope and highlights how long was the period of waiting for his arrival and emphasises the (long and painful) aspiration of the Croatian people for independence. He wants to show the Pope that his support and arrival are of great importance and that to the Croatian people national liberty is as important as religious. Only then is the freedom of the people complete. The idea is supported by the statement that the wish of Croatian people to "live in their own country, in accordance with the natural and God's laws, as a free and sovereign nation" has finally come true.

In the second part of the speech Tuđman wants to show to the Pope (but also to the people) that Croatia and the Catholic Church have a long common history; the relationship from which both sides benefited. As a decent and witty host, Tuđman first of all points to the rewards given to Croatia by the Church and the events in which the Church wholeheartedly helped, and then the

focus is shifted to Croatia and the benefits the Church had from it. The thought is supported by pointing out events, agreements and quotations from the distant past.

In the third part (which is also the central part) Tuđman moves from the distant past to the newer history. He thus says that it is certainly not a coincidence that Croatia is among the first countries (probably referring to the eastern bloc countries) to return to the "wing of the free world and the moral values of the Christian civilization." This is to show how Croatia and the Church are destined to continue the relationship they had in the past. The idea was supported by pointing out the situation (from the beginning of the nineties) in which the Church (again) helped Croatia and reminding that the Pope first recognized the "state independence and sovereignty of the democratic Republic of Croatia on 13 January 1992".

In the fourth part Tuđman establishes the current political situation of Croatia and the Croatian people, which is still difficult and uncertain. His main thought is that Croatia has always had a pacifist approach and still intends to have it. The thought is supported by mentioning the Washington Agreement, by taking on the merits for stopping the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, by guaranteeing rights to national minorities and by expressing the desire to normalize interstate relations: "Croatia wants to be a factor of peace, stability of the international order and cooperation among peoples and states in this part of Europe."

The fifth part is a promise to the Pope's that Tuđman, as president, will try to establish the Croatia's development on the principles of the Catholic Church, so he says that "this Croatian government gives full attention to your (Pope's) teaching about the importance of the family, the right to life and upbringing for responsible parenting. "

The speech ends with the desire that the guest (Pope) will visit Croatia again.

The analysis showed that Tuđman in his speech presents the main ideas in the middle (arguments and quotes are below) of the central parts of the historical overview, while in the parts relating to the present and the future (the fourth and fifth parts as quoted), the main ideas are summarized in the last sentence (of the specific part).

RECONSTRUCTION OF MAIN ARGUMENTS

The main topics of Tuđman's speech are the mutual support between the Croatian people and the Catholic Church in the struggle of the Croatian people for independence. Even though their culmination comes in the central part, similar leitmotifs appear throughout the speech.

1) Tuđman speaks about the relationship between the Croatian people and the Church in the whole speech, which is not surprising since it is a welcoming speech to the head of the Church and that most of the audience are Croats Catholics. As characteristic for the epideictic rhetoric, Tuđman celebrates the Pope, welcomes him very kindly (almost flatteringly) and emphasizes how important his arrival is for the spiritual upbringing of the Croats:

In the name of the Croatian people, and all the citizens of Croatia, I welcome you and express my gratitude for coming to the land of the Croats, who have been waiting for centuries for the visit of the supreme head of their Church. Croatia awaits you with joyful souls and arms wide open, worshiping you as your protector and the supreme moral authority of the civilized humanity. Your visit is perceived as the arrival of the apostle of peace and a bearer of the consolation of the divine mission to all people and nations who suffer from injustice and violence in today's world. The Croatian people have long and eagerly awaited this visit...

After the greeting, Tuđman praises and lists all the good things the Church has done for Croatia in the distant past but also recent history. By submitting citations of Croatian princes and documenting, he supports the claim that "from the very beginning of the existence of the Croatian people on this soil, the role of the Holy See - as a supreme authority of religious and for a long time international secular authority as well - was of the great importance for its social, cultural and state - political development. "

"Its first international recognition – as perceived in those days - came from your predecessor Pope John VIII who wrote to prince Branimir on 7 June 879: "... We blessed you and all your people, and the whole of your land, that here and in eternity you might in body and spirit with health, joy and safety rule in your land, and that after your death you might joyfully and eternally dwell with the Lord."

"The testimony of the emperor Konstantin Porfirogenet is historically important because it confirms the treaty of 679 with Pope Agaton, which states that the Croats will not attack other nations."

Then he continues with the important role of Croatia in the defence of Christianity. The argument is supported by quoting Pope Leo:

"How important was the defence of Croatia for Christian Europe is seen from the message to the Croats by Pope Leo X on December 12, 1519, given through Toma Niger, the bishop of

Trogir: "Son, go and welcome your ban (governor) and all the people of Croatia! And tell everyone:"... the Head of the Church will not let Croatia die, the strongest shield and bullwark of Christianity!"

In the argumentation process, Tuđman used induction:

Many Croatian people, from religious and secular classes, have contributed not only to strengthening the role of Catholicism in Croatian lands but also to the development of Christian civilization and the struggle to overcome the schism in Christianity: from Grgur Ninski (in the 10th century), through Juraj Križanić (in the 17th century) and Josip Ruđer Bošković (in the 18th century) to Josip Juraj Strossmayer (in the 19th century) and Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac (in the 20th century).

All of the above arguments Tuđman used as supporting arguments of the central claim, which is the amplification of the Pope. Tuđman thanked him for everything he did for Croatia, and especially for recognizing its independence. He achieves the effect using assonance and gradation; namely, Tuđman adds two more functions to the syntagm "Holy Father" - besides serving as a chronological and thematic separation tool - it is now used as a means of gradation, and by adding the pronoun "You", even stronger voice effect (assonance) is achieved. In this concentrated addressing of the Pope, pathos is visible the most.

To further emphasize the Pope's contribution, Tuđman used contrast; parallel to praising the Pope, he calls out the indifferent world, in which some elements of judicial rhetoric can be seen:

You, the Holy Father, as a consistent advocate and a relentless conveyor of the highest Christian moral principles, first stood up for the protection of the attacked Croatian people in their quest to realize the right to freedom and sovereignty. You have awakened the conscience of Europe and the world firmly calling for the end of barbaric aggression against Croatia, recognizing the right of the Croatian people to their independent and sovereign state within the democratic international order. You have given an example, but also warnings to the indifferent world...

The Pope is shown as "the apostle of peace and the bearer of the consolation of the divine mission". By intertwining the references to the events from the history of the Church and Croats, he emphasizes the fundamental importance of nationality and religion and presents them as two halves of one being.

Apart from the fact that he wants to point to the Pope and the public the fundamental importance of faith in Croats, Tuđman wants to show and determine that Croatia through its actions has deserved its recognition by the Church. Tuđman's need to highlight Croatian contributions through history (analysed above), to express its pacifistic nature ("Croatia wants to be a factor of peace, stability of international order and cooperation among peoples and states in this part of Europe") and seriousness with the aim to promote and implement Catholic teaching leads to the conclusion ("Therefore, this Croatian government gives full attention to your teaching about the importance of the family, the right to life, and the upbringing for responsible parenting.")

Tuđman wants to prove Croatian loyalty to the Pope and in persuasion he uses a qualifier:

"On this occasion I conveyed to you the wish of the Croatian people to visit always faithful Croatia as soon as possible".

2) In his entire speech Tuđman celebrates the Croatian people and praises its history. Likewise, he emphasizes the size of the sacrifice that the people have sacrificed for centuries and still are:

„... the history of the Croatian people, because of the geopolitical position, the dividing line between different civilizations and imperial pressures, so far has been a tough and difficult struggle for survival"

He glorifies the Croatian people and seeks to show (and prove) their almost crucial importance for the "defence" of Christianity in Europe:

"Many Croatian people, from religious and secular classes, have contributed not only to strengthening the role of Catholicism in Croatian countries, but also to the development of the Christian civilisation"

"... the Head of the Church will not let Croatia die, the strongest shield and bullwark of Christianity!"

As specific to a political and patriotic speech, Tuđman builds the collective ethos; he speaks of the Croatian people as a unique being (collective person) identical through the past. This is achieved by mentioning the deep roots of the Croatian people: "...*Croats are among the oldest nations of today's Europe.*" Tuđman establishes national pride with personification: "...*the history has assigned a special task to Croatia...*"

The elements of Tuđman's speech in which he celebrates the homeland and the people remind us of Pericles' speech²⁴, and later of Lincoln's speech²⁵ (although Pericles and Lincoln's speeches are commemorative). Namely, all three patriotically celebrate their homelands; they celebrate their ancestors, tradition and emphasize the fundamental values on which their homeland is built or want it to be built. Below there are the quotes to testify that.

So Tuđman praises the Croatian people and proudly points to its Christian tradition:

Croats are one of the oldest nations of today's Europe. They came to these areas of south-eastern Europe, between the Danube and the Adriatic, at the time of the great migration from "White Croatia", which was on the territory of your homeland in Poland. Coming here, they soon, back in 7th century accepted the faith of Christ and the Roman bishop as his governor, having become and remained forever the constituent part of the creation and defence of the Western Christian civilisation.

Pericles celebrates the forefathers and the foundations they laid for future generations:

I will speak first of our ancestors, for it is right and seemly that now, when we are lamenting the dead, a tribute should be paid to their memory. There has never been a time when they did not inhabit this land, which by their valor they will have handed down from generation to generation, and we have received from them a free state. But if they were worthy of praise, still more were our fathers, who added to their inheritance, and after many a struggle transmitted to us their sons this great empire.

In one sentence, Lincoln praises the forefathers and concisely speaks about freedom and equality as fundamental ideological values.

„Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.“

As fundamental ideological values of Croatia, Tuđman cites freedom and independence, democracy and minority rights:

Croatia wants to give its contribution to eradication of any extreme nationalism and fundamentalism in this area. Croatia is also for normalization of the relations with

²⁴ The entire speech is available at: http://www.matica.hr/media/pdf_knjige/719/Tukidid%2097-133.pdf (115-122)

²⁵ The entire speech is available at: http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/gettysburg/good_cause/transcript.htm

Serbia and Montenegro (i.e. their present Yugoslavia) on the basis of international recognition. To the Serbian community in Croatia we guarantee all human, religious and ethnic rights, as well as to the Italian and any other national minority, in accordance with the highest standards of international conventions. We are aware that only with ultimate reasoning can we create the preconditions for a new international order in this area, on the principles of Western civilization.

Pericles emphasizes equality, freedom and respect for the law:

It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while there exists equal justice to all and alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty an obstacle, but a man may benefit his country whatever the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private business we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private business, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having a particular regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

So, all three speakers glorify their homeland, proudly speak of their ancestors and emphasize the fundamental ideological values on which their homeland is built.

STYLE

One of the features of ceremonial rhetoric, as well as of this speech, is the high speech style that often involves the use of figures of speech. (I have already pointed out some in the reconstruction of the arguments) Tuđman evidently uses:

metaphors:

"... to build new ways of coexistence, cooperation and friendship" // "the wing of the free world ..."; personification: "... the history has assigned a special task to Croatia..." // "... awakened the European conscience..." // "... tortured and ruined Vukovar ..."

hyperbola (for the purpose of emphasizing importance, greatness or tragedy): "Croatian people"
// "centuries-old aspirations" // vast majority;

paradox: "... re-establish permanent links between Croatia and the Holy See".

The speaker promotes his own neologisms: *zlosilje*, *razlučnica*, although there are valid and generally accepted lexemes in the Croatian language for these terms. He uses past participles characteristic for literary works: *postavši*, *ostavši*, *došavši*. Such verbal forms enhance the solemn atmosphere and the elevated tone, creating a sense of importance and pride.

4.3.3

*

Tuđman's speech is epideictic, it directly celebrates and does not hide the agenda. But, when placing the text into a broader context, and by reading Tuđman's published books from before the 90's, I found inconsistencies.

In expressing the historical continuity of the relationship between Croatia and the Holy See, the speaker ignores to mention the highest diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which Croatia was part of (Konkordat, 1935) and the SFRY, with which all relations were regulated in 1966, and the Republic of Croatia is one of the states, legal heirs of Yugoslavia. President Tito visited Pope Paul VI with his wife Jovanka. The last Yugoslav ambassador to the Vatican, Dr. Ivica Maštruko, was the first ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the Vatican. And President Tuđman in his speech only says that "... the links between Croatia and the Holy See in the Communist era were prevented by force". Until recently declared as an atheist, now he presents himself as a Catholic deprived for years.

I consider this (non)reference to historical facts a falsification.

When President Tuđman again talks about ex-YU as a "communist hell", it would be correct to mention that he himself participated in its creation as a general, historian and theoretician. Namely, in the book "Creation of the Socialist Yugoslavia (1970)" Tuđman says that the socialist democracy in Yugoslavia "is based on the versatile development of the free creative initiative of a socialist citizen as an individual and a working nation as a whole in all areas of social life" (Tuđman 1970, 195).

Moreover, he says that the results of the Yugoslav socialist revolution "were and still are of the most important international, world-wide meaning"(Tuđman 1970, 196).

In his book "Great Ideas and Little People" he says:

"The Croatian people had to convince themselves that the National Liberation War, which was led by the Communist Party in Croatia and Yugoslavia, really and in its full reality was its revolutionary and national liberation movement, not only the movement that would lead to liberation from the invaders and Ustashes, but the movement that will revive their national and social aspirations."(Tuđman 1970, 202–203)

It is unusual for a speaker to overlook his own time and his own attitudes. Although many, and Tuđman himself as well, will attribute such a political turnaround to the fear of the sanctions of the Yugoslav militia (I do not dispute Goli otok, political persecutions nor justify the political single-mindedness), the background and reason for Tuđman's persecution should not be silenced.

The New York Times writes the following on this subject: "As storms gathered in the Communist Party around his increasingly nationalist interpretations of contemporary Croatian history, he (Tuđman) sought and gained the protection of the leaders of Matica Hrvatska, Croatia's premier cultural institution and an incubator for revived nationalism, and he found a new vocation as a nationalist politician."

Communist party expelled him in 1967 because he signed a petition that demanded the linguistic separation of the Serbo-Croatian language.

He then publishes the books (mentioned in the chapter in which I write about in his biography) justifying the Ustasha creation of the NDH, reducing the number of killed Jews in the Holocaust and the number of killed Jews, Roma and Serbs in Jasenovac.

The following is also stated in the cited New York Times article: "Mr. Tadjman confided to friends that he did not really hate Serbs, but that he detested Bosnian Muslims. In May 1995 in London, he told Paddy Ashdown, a Liberal Democratic member of Parliament, that he preferred Mr. Milosevic to Mr. Izetbegovic, the Bosnian leader, whom he described as "an Algerian and a fundamentalist."

Having taken into account all his statements ("A Jew is still a Jew. Even in the camps they retained their bad characteristics: selfishness, perfidy, meanness, slyness and treachery." and "Thank God, my wife is neither a Serb nor a Jew."), we can understand the skepticism, but also

the fear of the minorities when in addressing the Pope, Tuđman guarantees them all human, religious and ethnic rights, especially if taking into account the time gap between these statements and the speech itself - 4 years.

In the book "The Military Path of 32nd Division" in which he speaks in detail about the concrete combat activities and battles in the National Liberation War, he cites the examples of "the criminal work of the Catholic clergy". He says that "In the spread of the Ustasha fascist movement, besides some intellectuals, the Franks, the main role was played by Catholic priests, who were not only organizers of the Ustasha movement, but were often actively armed Ustashes themselves ..." (Tuđman 1959, 15).

Neither this ideology, nor its followers or the evil that they did, which greatly affected the events in 1991, at the outbreak of the war, Tuđman does not mention at this historical moment.

Interestingly, in 1992, when Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were admitted to the full membership of the United Nations, in the speech which President Tuđman held before the General Assembly, he proudly pointed out that as a "young man" he participated in an anti-fascist struggle.

Furthermore, in his speech Tuđman announces the "completion of spiritual and economic revival on the principles of Christian civilization"; when uttering these words privatization is being carried out in Croatia: real estate, hotels, castles ... which were social (i.e. state) property, were given, often without any compensation to the people who in no way participated in their creation. In short: he took from the workers and gave to the tycoons. The privatization that Tuđman approved of and encouraged led to the current economic disarray (Agrokör).

The context points to Tuđman's tenaciousness and inconsistency. Namely, first he proclaims himself a partisan and atheist, joins the church with the Ustasha movement, then justifies the Ustasha ideology, and in the end proclaims himself and the Croatian people Catholics since ancient times. He said that the Pope visited Croatia (the Croatian people) "in the days of the fulfilment of the centuries-long aspirations of Croatian people to live as a free and sovereign nation in their own country".

Rhetorical analysis and context are, therefore, in conflict. If we take it out of the context, Tuđman's speech is an example of epideictic, relatively rational rhetoric, without an ideological and nationalistic charge. But, taking into consideration all the above mentioned, the speech takes a different meaning. Tuđman leaves the impression of an inconstant person eager for

power - no matter what regime it is. His attitude is confirmed by his frequently used slogan: Do everything for Croatia, do not give Croatia for anything, which can be compared with Machiavelli's "the ends justify the means", and the suitable means, at that time, was the Catholic Church²⁶.

²⁶ The benefit was mutual

5 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDA, an approach that seeks to uncover manipulation, sources of power, reinterpretations, distortions of historical facts and persuasion to a certain mindset, is an excellent method for determining whether and to what extent the national identity is programmed through language or textbook discourse. The phase of growing up is suitable for imposition of ideology, and a textbook is the most feasible means of achieving this objective.

5.3.1 DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

The subject of my analysis is "Textbook for the 4th grade of grammar school." Author Marko Samardžija; publisher Školska knjiga; published in 1998. The textbook is approved by the Ministry of Education.

5.3.2 OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Ana Tomljenović has published the scientific paper titled: "The image of Croats in Serbian and Serbs in Croatian primary school history textbooks". The paper speaks of "nation-building in schools and the role of textbooks". The results of textbook analysis show that the Croatian and Serbian textbooks use similar methods and means of creation and construction of the image of "others". And in both Croatian and Serbian textbooks there is visible victimization of "us" and demonization of "them".

In the published scientific article "Reconstructions of identity in textbook production: content analysis of textbooks for the first four years of primary school from 1945 to the present" Jelena Marković "analysed textbooks, workbooks and teacher handbooks for the first four grades of primary school." The paper talks about "ideological determination of textbook content" (Marković 2006, 69); the social crisis, social construction of reality, about gender, home and family, the processes of globalization and fragmentation. In the concluding observations, the author draws attention to the volatility of content depending on the economic, demographic, cultural and ideological currents. She defines textbook production as a place where social memory and social "oblivion" is co-created (Marković, 2006, 87).

5.4 ANALYSIS

I will use two examples from the book 'Hrvatski jezik u 20. stoljeću' (Croatian Language in the 20th Century) to analyse language means used by the author. The book consists of five parts and for this analysis I have chosen the following: 'From 1918 to 1941' and 'From 10 April 1941 to May 1945'.

"Activity in the pursuit of bringing the standard language, particularly its vocabulary, closer to the ideal of purity by removing adopted international words or words of languages against which the purism is directed at a certain time" (Anić 1994). Milroy speaks of purism as a tool "which serves the fascist and nationalist ideology" (Milroy 2005, 328).

Often used words, in all five parts of the article, are purity and correctness of the Croatian language; however, the author neither defines those terms nor states their nominal (lexical) meaning. Moreover, he uses the words together 'locking' them into syntax (which gives them a new meaning), but again, the new meaning is not defined.

The very first time the author uses the syntax he connects it with purism (though he neither defines purism nor determines its merit). "Vatroslav Rožić and Nikola Andrić, with their purist values made important contribution to purity and correctness of the Croatian language." (p. 121) A way the quoted sentence is set up, suggests that terms purity and correctness are 'a priori' positive and to be preferred in practical language usage and social relations.

Samardžija's point of view on purism changes when it's used by the linguists he considers bad and unacceptable: 'Coming out of 'Hrvatski ili srpski jezični savjetnik' (Croatian or Serbian Language Adviser) by Maretić (in 1924) confirms that purist concept of Croatian Vukovians is archaic and completely inadequate to apply to the standard Croatian language of that time. (Croatian Vukovians refers to a group of Croatian linguists who were active at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century; they accepted and applied ideas of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. The standardization of Croatian was made in accordance with those ideas, the fact Samardžija fails to mention.) (Peti-Stantić and Langston 2013) The quotation reveals his negative attitude towards the purism of Vukovians.

However, when he talks about Croatian State Office for Language (founded at the beginning of existence of quisling 'NDH' (Independent State of Croatia)), he emphasises that it is through this Office that 'the new state', from the start 'paid a great deal of attention to the linguistic

issues', 'took care of purity and correctness of Croatian in public usage' and 'particularly, tried to 'relieve' Croatian, especially its lexis, of the influence of Serbian.'

In 1990, words: 'pozornost' (attention), 'skrb' (care) and 'poraba'²⁷ (use, usage) were 'pronounced' Croatian (and so, should replace the words that had been commonly used up to that point: 'paznja', 'briga' and 'upotreba', respectively). These words are used often by the author and consequently imprinted in students' memory and that way, lexical purism is being affirmed.

A lexicalized metaphor 'to relieve Croatian' suggests that the language is carrying a burden imposed on it by another language (Serbian). The manner in which Samardžija uses the word 'proljeće' (spring) is quite interesting; 'The second era in history of the Croatian standard language in the 20th century lasts from 1918 to spring ('proljeće') 1941.' First meaning of the word 'proljeće' (spring) is the season of the year. The term is inaccurate if it is used to chronologically define the beginning and / or the end of something (so, in the first part of the statement, the author uses a number – a year). In the second part of the statement, instead of just using a number, he chooses to use a noun – spring that metaphorically suggests something new, young, lively, desirable (And it is all about the new state 'NDH' – quisling Independent State of Croatia.). The same word he uses to talk about changes in the language that followed changes in politics which took place in 1990 ('From May 1945 to spring 1990'), the changes he evidently glorifies.

Unlimited spectrum of meanings suggests modality to a student. Modality is 'a relationship between a speaker and the ideas he expresses', it's 'a qualification of what is being said', in analysed examples modality is realised on lexical as well as syntactic level. Modal lexemes diminish or emphasize the meaning, create emotional relationship. The author uses them to express his judgement on the third era in history of the Croatian language in the 20th century (time of quisling 'NDH'). 'Although it only lasted for just over four years ... the third era... it presented a very important try to create social circumstances that would guarantee free and undisturbed development of the standard Croatian language.' Modal lexemes are used to additionally stress the importance of this era. For various reasons, modal lexemes are also used to 'soften' rigorous, statutory purism: 'Therefore, especially solutions that came out as a result of purist tendencies have been opposed for various reasons by Croatian linguists' (p. 126).

At the syntactic level modality is a pervasive linguistic and expressive ability; it is a feature of every sentence. Modality establishes/modifies the meaning of a sentence; it affects the

²⁷ Which are, for the record, all Slovenian words.

relationships in the linguistic discourse, and thus its meaning, i.e. the meaning that was intended to be given/added with this discourse (Wodak and Myer 2007). In the scientific, as well as in the textbook discourse, declarative sentences (clause of statement) are dominant. Declarative sentences express facts or phenomena that are either positive or negative; they contain a statement of reality, express acquired knowledge. Indicative (Lat. Modus indicativus) prevails in them, indicative presents facts that objectively exist or those that are uttered as objective ones (Anić 1994).

In the sub-topic "From 10 April 1941 to May 1945." the author of the textbook uses exclusively declarative sentences:

"On 10 April 1941 the Independent State of Croatia was declared. On that day begins the third, shortest period that lasted until the beginning of May 1945. At the very beginning, the new state paid considerable attention to linguistic issues. The Croatian State Office for the Language was founded, whose main task was to take care of the purity and correctness of the Croatian language in public use (in newspapers and books, on the radio, in the theatre). The office is the only one in the country that was authorized to give binding advice. "

In the quoted passage prevails indicative; in such a way a student accepts the stated facts about language as credible, positive, and thus creates a positive attitude towards the NDH and the ideology and politics that it carried out. It is interesting that the author does not mention that it was the time of the Second World War (racist laws and camps in the Independent State of Croatia). But when he speaks of 1918 he states that it was the year when the World War I ended. In the observed period, the author finds nothing unacceptable, neither linguistically or socially. Although all language policy in the "new state" boiled down to a rigorous purism (against Serbian language) and inventing new words ('neologisms'), Samardžija in indicative mode states that "The Office refused bad or unnecessary neologisms".

So the modus indicativus, neutral way, became a means used to gain confidence of the recipients (students); the author's claims become credible, and therefore the ideology is tacitly placed.

It has been already said that for this purpose, in several places, a very arbitrary stating of chronological data is used; in one part of the same chronological data dates (figures) are used, and in the other the words that in everyday language mean beautiful, desirable (May, spring), which suggests certain political connotations to students. Likewise, the author in the same sentence mixes political and linguistic discourse:

"Problems of the Croatian standard language and the Croatian language in general will grow out of its political status, which is again a result of the political situation of that time."

Syntagms standard Croatian language and Croatian language are not explained at all. The author many times repeats the words cleanliness and correctness; they impose a desirable state in the Croatian language. These words are present in everyday speech (street cleanliness, correctness of procedures), but when associated with the word language they move away from its denotative meaning and become metaphors. A metaphor can be freely interpreted and read.

Lexical (dictionary, denotative) meaning of the word purity is the condition of something that is clean, without unwanted stains, markings, where nothing unnecessary is added (Anić 1994). Of course, the author does not specify any connotative or denotative meaning of the word, but has a strong effect on students' emotions, to their pride. Therefore, not to be "dirty" and "faulty" they will speak as a textbook author claims to be clean and proper.

These connotations are associated with the author's introductory settings, where he uses the metaphors: unbreakable bond, destiny: "... unfavourable political events have made the link between the fate of the Croatian people and Croatian language indissoluble ". The word destiny - the force that manages the life of people and events - loses its denotative meaning, and the connotative meaning will be added by a student at the discretion of his own emotions. Probably fate is a metaphor for the present and future of the Croatian language; but this simple denotative term has no metaphysical dimension, and "force majeure" easily stimulates the desired emotions.

In such a way a student is imposed an (unscientific) nationalist conception according to which the people and the language are inextricably identical. The relationship between the people and the language was the best, according to the author of the textbook, at the time of the Independent State of Croatia. It is suggested to a student that the state was good, that its laws which "took care of the purity and correctness of the Croatian language" were good, and thus the ideology on which they were based.

Communication function of language in a concrete historical situation (20th century) is not mentioned at all, it is totally irrelevant. Likewise, it is not explained to the student what the standard language is and how it was produced, what is the foundation of the Croatian standard language and the purpose of the standard language. Instead, the author mentions historical events which have nothing to do with the language and its fundamental function. The discourse

of nationalist ideology, a new power of new social groups, is projected to the language discourse.

TRANSLATION OF NAMES AND NOTIONS

Analyzing the textbook, I came across irregularities. Although they do not belong to KAD, I consider important to mention them. The history of a language can be most comprehensively examined through its dictionaries, grammar and spelling.

By studying the part in which the dictionaries of the Croatian language are chronologically listed, I noticed incorrect translations and alteration of dictionary titles. Such alteration is used to distort historic facts. Although the textbook author lists facsimiles of linguistic works (dictionaries), translations and commentaries are not in accordance with what is written in the titles of said works.

Some of the dictionary titles had been translated by the textbook author, and some were left with their original title followed by the author's comment.

The title of the dictionary „*Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum: latinae, italicae, germanicae, dalmaticae et ungaricae*“, by Faust Vrančić from 1595, the author does not translate but comments on its lexical material: "Croatian lexemes are shown in the fourth column and called 'dalmaticae', i.e. the Dalmatian language, which means Chakavian Ikavian speech with some Stokavian elements."²⁸ It is easy to notice the misinterpretation and deliberate guidance to the wrong conclusion. The basis of today's Croatian standard language is Stokavian. Chakavian Ikavian speech is a dialect that has never been the basis of the standard language. To translate "dalmaticae" as "Croatian" is historically inaccurate and taken out of context.²⁹ That former notion of Croatian is not identical with the today's notion of Croatian because it does not apply to the same territory.

Jakov Mikalja is the author of the dictionary "Blago jezika slovinskoga". Even though the facsimile clearly shows the original title, the author of the textbook follows it up with a

²⁸The term *dalmaticae* Samardžija defined and used arbitrarily; actually, in the Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Linguistic Terminology the Dalmatian language is not mentioned. Thus, it exists neither as a language, nor as a linguistic term. There is a Dalmatic language: Encyclopaedic Dictionary defines it as "a language that evolved from the Balkan Vulgar Latin in the Byzantine cities on the eastern Adriatic coast" (Simeon, 1969, 207).

²⁹"Moreover, Vrančić explicitly states in the dictionary that it is a common language: 'jazyk, Dalmati(n)zki, Harvatzki, Sarbski, ili Bosanski (jere ovo jedan jezik jest)' - 'Dalmatian, Croatian, Serbian or Bosnian language (them being one language)' (Kordić 2010, 270).

comment about it being "...actually a trilingual Croatian-Italian-Latin dictionary with Croatian as the source language and the translation of Croatian lexemes into Italian and Latin." Here we also come across an incorrect renaming of the term "slovinski" into "Croatian". In the 17th century, the period when this dictionary was written, the notion of "Croatian" applied only to some parts of today's Croatia.³⁰ Thus, the translation of "slovinskoga" as "Croatian" is not accurate because in the context at the time the term "slovinski" marked the language of all southern Slavs.³¹

The third example also confirms the inconsistency of translation; the original name of the dictionary by Ivan Belostenec, "GAZOPHYLACIUM LATINO – ILLYRICORUM ONOMATUM", written in the 18th century, the author of the textbook translates as "Two-way Latin-Croatian and Croatian-Latin dictionary". The author equates the terms "Illyrian" and "Croatian" despite the fact that "the term Croatian language has, from 17th to the mid-19th century, been limited to denote Kajkavian only, as opposed to Stokavian and the term Slavonian language, signifying Stokavian" (Kordić 2010, 271).

Analysis of the fourth dictionary title shows an open denial of the title proper; in the text that comes with the title page facsimile of "Dictionary of Croatian or Serbian language", the author completely ignores the two-part name of the language. Samardžija comments: "Work on this great historical dictionary of the Croatian language lasted for over a hundred years..."; "...the Academy's Dictionary is the most extensive and most comprehensive dictionary of the Croatian language."³² 5 Except for the facsimile of the cover showing the real title, in no part of the chapter is the adjective "Serbian" mentioned.

³⁰In the 17th century, the term Croatian most often referred to the north western Croatia where the Kajkavian dialect was spoken.

³¹Ivan Gundulić (17th century) was the first to use the term "slovinski" in the sense of: "1. language of the southern Slavs; 2. the language of all Slavs" (Simeon 1969, 441).

³²The creation of the Dictionary of Croatian or Serbian Language was initiated by the then Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (JAZU), today the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – HAZU); the dictionary was being written and published from 1880 to 1976.

5.5 DISCUSSION

The analysis of chapters has shown that the author abuses the textbook in order to create a collective consciousness and impose ideology. His intention is evident in the quote that ends the preface:

"The Croatian language is the product of the Croats' relationship toward Croatia, toward nature, toward the field, the mountain, the forest and the air... Only our beautiful homeland was able to create the wonderful beauty of our language, the splendour of our words, as gorgeous as our islands."

The quote is poetic and very subjective; here, in addition equating artistic, literary language and standard language, Samardžija stresses the importance of national identity and equates nationality and language (one language = one people).

With the aim of identifying students with the Croatian language, the author personifies the language in all analysed chapters; he highlights its vulnerability, the suffering it had gone through and the injustice it suffered. With this kind of language portrayal Samardžija influences the emotions of students; he wants them to identify with the fate of the language, to perceive the injustice to language as injustice caused to them and to all speakers of the Croatian language. The author leads his students to the conclusion that they (the students), the language, and the nation are united. So any oppression of language in turn oppresses the student and the nation to which he belongs. In the analysis we saw that Samardžija emphasizes in several places in his textbook that the Croatian language has for decades been the victim of the Serbian linguistic hegemony.

It has already been said that the modern standard Croatian and Serbian standard language have the same basis - Stokavian, and that the process of their standardization unfolded jointly and at the same time long before Yugoslavia was created. This means that these two languages have a common not only the old Slavic past, but also a large part of recent history. Evidence of a common lexis is the already mentioned Academy's Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language which was (jointly) put together by Croatian and Serbian linguists. Author suppresses this, and stresses that any effort to unify these two languages is against national interests. Arrangements which he does recognize, he describes as imposed against the will of Croatian linguists.

Selective resorting to "memory archives" and one-sided presentation of the history of the Croatian language, Samardžija politicizes the textbook and carries out identity politics. He completely ignores historical context and geopolitical changes, suppresses phenomena that do not correspond to the nationalist discourse, changes the names of phenomena and languages, and gives them characteristics and meanings they could not have had in their own time. He speaks about the Croatian territory and the Croatian people as something constant that have always existed.

Such constructed history is presented to the students as their own (all Croats have a common history). Common past is interpreted biologically; it is looked upon as the continuity of glory, honour and innocent suffering. The feeling of belonging to the nation is strengthened by creating an enemy; a prerequisite to strengthen, compact and discipline a group is the creation of a common internal or external enemy (Supek 1992, 88).

Using the already mentioned personification, the author creates a sense of vulnerability of language, and thus the sense of vulnerability of students. Serbian language and the Serbian people are treated as aggressors who are to be defended against. Aware of the small differences between Croatian and Serbian, the author reaches for purisms, invents neologisms or revives archaisms. "Freud called this effect 'the narcissism of small differences'" because "the smaller the real difference between two nations, the more it will be intimidating in their imagination." (Kordić 2010, 199)

(The author of the textbook, a university professor, Croatist, linguist Marko Samardžija published in 2015 in Zagreb a Matica hrvatska publication under the name of "Serbo-Croatian explanatory dictionary". Along with implementing a "differential" policy in its own way, in the preface he makes assertions important for this thesis. He really expresses what he more or less covertly tried to achieve with his textbook: "...on the Croatian side generations grew up with a Croatian linguistic sense (language competence), but linguistically educated in a different way". What was this "different education" is evident in the analysed textbook. Here too is the author - to use an oxymoron, his figure of expression - consistently inconsistent; namely, in the Dictionary of Croatian Language Anić defines sense as a "spiritual experience which, in contrast to the actually perceived, expresses the relationship of man toward the world around him": sense is also "a special aptitude for something" thus, in the context of language, making it a "sense of language", i.e. "the sense of the Croatian language". The word competence means "ability, jurisdiction, recognised expertise". The phrase "Croatian linguistic sense" ("language

competence"), Samardžija's creation, is logical-linguistic nonsense. It declares a student "linguistically educated in a different way" - a linguistic expert (sic!); a linguist who, in his lexicological work, does not respect the basic (denotative) meanings of words.)

Through such a violent invasion of lexis, the author reaches into the students' knowledge and understanding of themselves and the world. The students are no longer sure about being able to properly name the objects around themselves.

However, another more terrifying problem is the way in which the author shows the Independent State of Croatia. To speak of a creation based on Nazi ideas in a positive tone - highlighting its contribution to the Croatian language - is devastating.

Unfamiliar with the politicization of textbooks, students often unquestioningly believe the read material. Should they rely on the credibility of textbooks, they will view the NDH as a state that took care of their own language; and if it cared about their language, it cared about their nation (which, according to the author, goes back far into the past), their ancestors, and therefore caring about their future. Such rhetoric is unacceptable - moreover, it should not be allowed. With it the author is not only "pumping" the national pride, but creating, I dare say, foundations for the development of a neo-Nazi identity.

The author has ignored the conclusion of international sociologists about national identity being an invented and presented it in the textbook as something that has a stable core and does not change throughout history. He misused the language to promote his own ideological and political ideas - because politics and ideology are ready to make use of any available resource to achieve their goals, and the human need for security and shelter is very useful.

The phase of growing up is the most suitable for imposition of ideology.

6 CONCLUSION

'We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians.'

Massimo Taparelli, marquis d'Azeglio

The class collectivity that was nurtured by the official politics and ideology in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in second half of the 20th century was replaced by the national collectivity. The new identity is often programmed very aggressively. A key role in its formation has been going back to the past, to the "archives of memories", the most important of which are religious affiliation and language. Each religion has an arsenal of rhetorical phrases suitable for purely secular, political goals; they were chosen selectively and used massively, but the religious communities did not oppose it. They preferred political (terrestrial) - "their people" to eternal, transcendental or universally human.

Original religious education is often overlooked, the national is proclaimed sacred, national interests are placed above religious, ethical and human with the blessing of religious institutions. Nationalism has become, as Cvitković says, an acute "Balkan disease"; many of the individuals, religious leaders and institutions in Croatia suffered from it. (Cvitković 2013, 25)

Religion seen as an identity marker swallowed the loyalty to the common God. And besides God on the lips of all, religion has become unholy (Kuburić 2012).

NATIONAL IDENTITY is a myth based on identification of an individual with a group and the idealized past. Crisis or a traumatic change in society creates a need for 'going back into the past', for putting the 'new picture' in the old familiar frame of memories, tradition and ideas (Kordić 2010).

From 'the archive of memories', sacrifices that had to be made for the creation of identity are being pulled out. Collective consciousness becomes a characteristic of national identity. There is a biological view on common past and it is considered to be continuity of glory, honour and the suffering of the innocent.

Politics and ideology are bound to use anything and everything in order to achieve their goals and, in that sense, human need for safety and sanctuary is very 'usable'. The feeling of belonging to the national community and the identification with it is being offered to the individuals left

without neighbours and friends and/or having poor relationship with their surroundings. 'Those individuals are given sense of importance, without being aware that they are just marionettes whose strings are pulled by the people in power, the same ones who are about to turn national euphoria into the source of their own profits' (Kordić, 2010).

(National) identity is not based on a solid 'substance', it is rather an ongoing process of reconstruction and change that has been given and taken away from anything that is found or meant to be 'necessary' at a time.

Vloga jezika in religije pri reprogramiranju nacionalne identitete na Hrvaškem

V nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republikah so se konec osemdesetih/začetek devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja začele pojavljati nova retorika, kult osebnosti ter ločevanje na »mi« in »oni.« »Nacionalna država« in »nacionalna identiteta« sta novi sintagmi. Glavni orodji za (re)konstrukcijo novo ustvarjene identitete sta jezik in religija. Čeprav so se takšni programi izvajali tudi v drugih državah, se pričujoča naloga osredotoča na Hrvaško.

Na Hrvaškem je politična propaganda o nacionalni identiteti govorila kot o nečem, kar ima stabilno jedro, je samoumevna, se ne spreminja skozi zgodovino in je najpomembnejši del človekove identitete. Tak pogled kritizira veliko kritikov; Stuart Hall kaže na subjektivnost in nezavedne procese identifikacije, vključene v politični diskurz, na vlogo simbolov in „fantazijo prisvajanja“ (Hall 2006). Enzo Pace politike identitete, ki spodbujajo občutek nacionalne pripadnosti, vidi kot „arhive spominov“, iz katerih se selektivno in manipulativno vlečejo dogodki iz preteklosti (Pace 2009). L. Greenfeld trdi, da ne obstajajo objektivni temelji za nacionalnost. Njegova empirična raziskava razkriva, da so vse nacije – kot nacije – umetne konstrukcije (Greenfeld 1993).

Na Hrvaškem so o pomembnosti nacionalnosti govorili politiki in duhovniki ter jezikoslovci. Pomembnost nacionalnega občutka so poudarjali v cerkvenih obredih; o hrvaškem narodu se je govorilo kot o 'Božjem narodu'. Politikci so izenačevali nacionalno in religijsko identiteto („Bog in Hrvati“). Ustvarjena je ti „histerična“ religijska identiteta (Davie 2007).

Tudi v šolskih učbenikih se je govorilo o nacionalni identiteti; spodbujali so jezikovni purizem (Milroy o purizmu govori kot o orodju, ki streže fašističnim in nacionalističnim ideologijam). Naloga je sestavljena iz teoretičnega in empiričnega dela. Najprej sem raziskala politično-zgodovinski kontekst, nato pa sem predstavila še teoretični okvir. Pojasnila sem idejo diskurza, CDA, identitete ter nacionalne in religiozne identitete. V praktičnem delu se lotim analiz. V nalogi sem uporabila dve analizi: retorično analizo in kritično analizo diskurza. Predmet retorične analize je govor Franja Tuđmana ob prihodu papeža Janeza Pavla II na Hrvaško leta 1994. Pred analizo pojasnim še idejo retorike ter predstavim elemente klasične retorike, ki sem jih uporabila v sami analizi. Predstavim tudi moderni javni diskurz. Analizirani govor sem pospremila z diskusijo, nato pa nadaljevala s kritično analizo diskurza. Predmet analize je učbenik za pouk hrvaščine za četrti razred; tudi to analizo pospremim z diskusijo. Kot prvo, analiza, retorična analiza, je v konfliktu s kontekstom. Če ga vzamemo iz konteksta, je Tuđmanov govor primer epideiktčne, relativno razumne retorike brez ideološkega in nacionalističnega naboja. Če upoštevamo še retorične okoliščine, govor pridobi drugačen pomen. Tuđman daje vtis osebe, ki si želi moči – ne glede na režim.

Analiza učbenika je pokazala, da je avtor ignoriral zaključek mednarodnih sociologov o tem, da je nacionalna identiteta izmišljena, saj jo v učbeniku predstavi kot nekaj s trdnim jedrom, ki se skozi zgodovino ne spreminja. Avtor je zlorabil učbenik, da bi ustvaril kolektivno zavest in vsilil ideologijo.

Zlorabil je jezik, da bi promoviral lastne ideološke in politične ideje, saj sta politika in ideologija pripravna vira za doseganje njihovih ciljev, človekova potreba po varnosti in zaščiti pa se pri tem izkažeta za zelo koristni. Faza odraščanja je najbolj primerna za vsiljevanje ideologije, jezik pa je najbolj priročno sredstvo za »prebujanje nacionalne zavesti.« Razredno kolektivnost, ki sta jo podpirali uradna politika in ideologija v Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji, je v drugi polovici dvajsetega stoletja nadomestila nacionalna kolektivnost. Ključno vlogo pri njenem nastanku je bilo vračanje v preteklost, v »arhive spominov,« med katerimi sta najpomembnejša verska pripadnost in jezik. Kot pravi Cvitković, je nacionalizem postal »akutna balkanska bolezen«, za njo pa so zboleli številni posamezniki, verski vodje in institucije na Hrvaškem.

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