



Spring 2002 ISSUE No. 38

CROATIAN ACTIVITIES

33rd National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS)

The 33rd National Convention of the AAASS was held in Crystal City, Virginia (near Washington D.C.), from November 15-18, 2001. Although the weather was good and accommodations were satisfactory, the Convention was held under the shadow of the tragic events of September 11th. A number of panels were cancelled because many people decided not to travel. Two of the cancelled panels were organized by the Association for Croatian Studies (ACS) members. Those panels were "Cultural and Political Life in Renaissance Dubrovnik" and "Croatian Language and Holy Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Our other scheduled panels were held, although some presenters on those panels did not make it to the Convention.

On Thursday, November 15, **Dr. Jasna Meyer**, Western Maryland College, presented her very interesting paper entitled "A Microanalysis of the Structure of Croatian and Euro-American Conversational Storytelling." Her brother **Mato**, a graduate student of history at Yale University, was presiding over the panel and together with **Cveta Popovic**, commented on Jasna's presentation. This interesting lecture was well attended and a lively conversation ensued. A short summary of the presentation is found in this issue of the Bulletin.

On Saturday, November 17, two panels organized by our members were held. The panel "From Papal Bulls to the 'Pax Americana: Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Making'" was held in the morning and the roundtable "Southeast Europe and the West" was held in the afternoon of the same day. The participants on the panel on Bosnia and Herzegovina were **Dr. Franjo Topic** (Theological Faculty, Sarajevo, and President of the Croatian Cultural Association "Napredak"), **Dr. Ivo Soljan** (Grand Valley State University, Grand Rapids, MI), **Dr. Norman Cigar** (Marine Corps Command & Staff College, Washington), and **Dr. Ante Cuvalo** (Joliet Jr. College, Joliet, IL). Dr. Soljan, who was present at the negotiations of the Dayton Peace Accords, gave an overview of the Bosnian enigma. Dr. Topic focused on the long and proud history of Croatian periodical publishing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, emphasizing that such activity is an important indicator of a strong and living Croatian presence in these lands. Dr. Cigar commented on the

presentations and shared with the audience his insights of how various and conflicting historical paradigms are being applied to the recent situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the presentations, Dr. Cuvalo, who chaired the session, led a discussion. Although some comments bordered on provocation, the chair kept things under control and the session was a success and beneficial to all who attended.

The roundtable on Southeast Europe was a very successful session with all participants present. Those were: **Dr. Joseph Bombelles** (John Carroll University, Cleveland, OH), **Dr. Norman Cigar** (Marine Corps Command and Staff College), **James Hooper** (International Crisis Group and former State Department official, Washington D.C.), **General Jacques Paul Klein** (Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Coordinator of the UN Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina), and **Dr. Ivan Simonovic** (Croatia's Ambassador to the UN). After each of the participants gave a few minutes of introductory remarks, a dynamic discussion and question and answer period followed. Many Convention participants attended this session including some leading Slavic scholars and a number of Croatians from the Washington D.C. area. This was probably one of the best sessions out of about 350 panels that were on the Convention's program. General Klein and Mr. Hooper have submitted their introductory remarks to the editor and you will find them in this issue of the ACS Bulletin.

The panel on "Croatian Modernism" took place on the last day of the Convention. Although the scheduled participant from Austria (Dr. Dunja Tot) could not come, and another one (Dr. Aida Vidan) sent her paper to be read, this panel turned out to be a nice roundtable discussion among **Dr. Marjan Despalatovic**, one of the scheduled participants, **Dr. Elinor Murray Despalatovic**, who substituted for Dr. Vidan, and those in attendance. Although incomplete and small the panel, proved to be a learning experience for those present.

Vjerran Pavlakovic, a new ACS member and graduate student at the University of Washington, also presented a paper at one of the panels. The title of his paper was "Ustasha Symbols and Hero Revival in Post-Communist Croatia." Both Vjerran's presentation and the panel were successful. A young Canadian scholar of Croatian origin and author of a recent book on Stjepan Radic, **Mark Biondich** presented a paper entitled "Defining Croat Identity in Interwar Ustasa Theology" at one of the Convention panels; however, he did not join the Croatian activities at the Convention.

A number of Convention participants also used the opportunity to visit popular sights in the national capital. I am thankful to **Dr. Zdenka Gredel Manuel** and her husband **Dr. Frank Manuel** for inviting me to come along and see some of the art museums in Washington, D.C. It was an enjoyable afternoon in the company of friends and experts on art and architecture.

Our well-known American Croatian scholar, **Dr. James Sadkovich**, Acquisitions Editor at the Texas A&M University Press, was among the exhibitors at the Convention. For many of the ACS members, it was a pleasure to see him again; in my case, it was



I. Seljan, F. Topic, M. Maras & A. Cuvalo

wonderful to meet him at last.

ASC'S ANNUAL MEETING AND ELECTIONS

The ACS annual meeting was held on Saturday, November 17, 2001 from 9:00 to 10:00. Twenty-five people were present, including our guests **Dr. Franjo Topic** (President of "Napredak" from Sarajevo), **Dr. Mate Maras** (Croatian Embassy in Washington, D.C.), **Mario Jareb** and **Sinisa Miskovic** (Fulbright scholars from Croatia at the University of Indiana, Bloomington), **Dr. Ivo Soljan** (Grand Rapids, Michigan), **Dr. Jim Sadkovich** (Texas A&M University), and two graduate students in history, **Mato Meyer** (Yale University) and **Josip Mocnik** (Bowling Green State University).

The meeting focused mainly on possible panels for the 34th AAASS National Convention. The lack of cooperation between the ACS and scholarly institutions in Croatia was also discussed. Efforts have been made on the part of ACS officers to establish bridges with such institutions but there is not much response from the other side. Dr. Maras and Prof. Jareb promised to be instrumental in making future contacts with scholarly institutions and appropriate ministries in Croatia.

A suggestion was made that we create an official ACS web site on the Internet. The ACS President, Ante Cuvalo explained that he and his son, Mike, have already created a web site a few years ago entitled "Croatian Studies" (crostudies.go.to). Although this is not an official site of the ACS, the latest issues of the ACS Bulletin are posted there. It was suggested that the names and e-mail addresses of ACS members also be posted on this site, or on the official site, if someone volunteers to create one. Dr. Cuvalo asked the members and other scholars dealing with Croatian subjects to submit their scholarly materials for the existing "Croatian Studies" web site. The site is visited quite often by those who are searching the web and looking for information on Croatia or the Croatians.

At the end of the meeting, the bi-annual elections of ACS officers were held. The following were elected: **Dr. Ante Cuvalo-President, Dr. Jasna Meyer-Vice President, Dr. Nick Ceh-Secretary, and Dr. Ellen Elias Bursac-Treasurer.**

RECEPTION AT THE CROATIAN EMBASSY

Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Washington, D.C., **Dr. Ivan Grdesic** hosted a reception in honor of the Association for Croatian Studies and its members who participated at the 33rd AAASS Convention. The reception was held at the Croatian Embassy on Friday, November 16, 2001, from 7-9 P.M. Besides the ACS members, at the reception were members of

the local chapter of AMAC and other distinguished members of the Croatian community and Croatian friends from the D.C. area. Among those present at the reception were **Peter Galbraith** (former U.S. Ambassador to Croatia), **Dr. Drago Stambuk** (former Ambassador and presently Visiting Fellow at Harvard University), **Dr. Ognjen Caldarovic** (University of Zagreb), **Dr. Franjo Topic** (professor of theology in Sarajevo and President of the Croatian Cultural Association “Napredak”), **Dr. Joseph Bombelles** and **Dr. Ivo Banac** (two former presidents of the ACS), **Dr. Jim Sadkovich** (Texas A&M University), **Maria Stefanova Spirova** from Bulgaria (presently at the University of Wisconsin), and many others.

We were honored meeting Ambassador Grdesic, his wife, and all of the Embassy personnel, including **Dr. Mate Maras**, who was instrumental in organizing the reception. The cordial reception by the Ambassador and all of his aids, not to mention the exquisite Croatian cuisine and wine, was a friendly and engaging gathering where new friendships were made and ideas for the future work of the ACS were discussed.

We are thankful to Dr. Grdesic and Dr. Maras for extending us the invitation and to all of the **Embassy personnel** for their cordiality and for making us feel at home.

During this reception some of us could not help but recall of times not long ago when Croatian scholars from Croatia could not even be in contact with the ACS or participate at AAASS conventions. This time, however, we were hosted in the Croatian Embassy. Times do change!

VUKOVAR SYMPOSIUM

In the evening of November 15, 2001, at Georgetown Leavey Conference Center, the Association of Alumni and Friends of Croatian Universities (**AMAC**) - **National Capital Group** organized a symposium entitled “Out of the Rubble: Impact of a City’s Destruction on Country and Society.”

The participants and attendants were welcomed by **Dr. Dragutin V. Jezic** (President of AMAC National Capital Group). **Dr. Ivan Grdesic** (the Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Washington, D.C), made the opening remarks. Presentations were made by the following: **Dr. Ognjen Caldarovic** (Department of Sociology, University of Zagreb), **Hon. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick** (former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Professor at Georgetown University and Scholar, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D. C.), **Alenka Mirkovic - Nadj** (Journalist, Radio Vukovar in 1991 and author), **Dr. Raymond Shelton** (Director of Development, American Academy of Experts in Traumatic Stress, New York City, NY), **Hon. Christopher H. Smith** (Congressman, Fourth Congressional District of New Jersey), **Dr. Drago Stambuk** (Visiting Fellow, Harvard University and former Croatian Ambassador to the UK, India, and Egypt), and the concluding remarks were made by **Hon. Peter W. Galbraith** (former United States Ambassador to Croatia). After the presentations, a question and answer period followed. The evening was concluded by a reception hosted by the organizers.

This was a very successful event in many aspects. It ran smoothly, it was well attended (over

150 people), and the presentations were scholarly without losing sight of the human suffering and the tragedy that took place in Vukovar ten years earlier. In addition, a beautiful reception followed, rich in traditional Croatian cordiality.

A number of ACS members and AAASS convention participants attended the symposium. This was an unexpected treat and the best welcome to Washington one could have. We congratulate the AMAC National Capital Group on their successes. Special thanks to **Dr. Danica Ramljak**, the prime mover and heart of this successful symposium, for her invitation to the ACS members, her cordiality, and efforts to put together such a phenomenal event.

AAASS 34th NATIONAL CONVENTION

The next (34th) National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) will take place in **Pittsburgh, PA, November 21-24, 2002**. **Pre-Registration** deadlines are: Convention participants, July 2, 2002; all others, October 7, 2002. Fees for registration are: AAASS members, \$65.00, students \$25.00; non-members, \$75.00, students \$30.00. On site registration will be \$15.00 higher.

HOTELS

The Convention will be held in two hotels, the **Hilton Pittsburgh** and the Omni William Penn. The Hilton will be the main hotel. To make reservation at the Hilton, dial 1-800-445-8667 or 412-391-4600, fax 412-467-3440. The room rate is \$114 per night (plus 14% room tax). You must indicate that you are with Slavic Studies to receive the discounted rate.

Omni William Penn is the overflow hotel. The reservation numbers are 1-800-843-6664 and 412-553-5193. The room rate is also \$114.00 plus tax. Please indicate that you are with Slavic Studies. Reserve your rooms on time!

CROATIAN PANELS 2002 Convention

As far as we know four panels dealing with Croatian issues have been accepted for this year's convention. The panel titles are: "Ideological differentiations and politics in Croatia and the region between the Two World Wars," "Geography and Politics: Perspectives on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina," "Croatian Language and Holy Books of the 16th and 17th Century," and "Christianity, Islam, and Civil Religion in Southeastern Europe." We tried to adapt the last panel so that includes also Judaism, but we have not heard from the Convention officials yet.



M. Vezlich, Nasja & Jasna Meyer

Pittsburgh not only has a large and vibrant Croatian community but is also the headquarters of the largest Croatian diaspora organization, Croatian Fraternal Union. The AAASS convention will give an opportunity to the ACS members to see our old Croatian friends and to meet new ones.

NEW MEMBERS

We welcome the following graduate students who have joined the ACS since the last AAASS Convention.

MIRJANA MOROSINI- DOMINICK mm56@georgetown.edu

Mirjana is working toward a Ph.D. in history at Georgetown University. She is also pursuing jointly an additional advanced degree, a Master in German and European Studies, at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Affairs. She earned a B.A. Magna Cum Laude in History and German from Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia. Her research focuses on issues pertinent to borderland communities, more specifically on German - Slavic - Italian borderlands, and her dissertation topic centers on multiethnic Trieste between 1860s and 1914. Additionally, her current research includes the issues of mapping, borders, and identity of late 19th and 20th century Istria and social history of science and technology in 19th century Central and Southeastern Europe. Within the Master in German and European Studies program, she focuses on issues pertinent to the economic and cultural consequences of eastward expansion of the European Union with a focus on East Central and Southeastern Europe. Her broader areas of specialization are modern Germany, Habsburg Monarchy, and South Slavs, with an emphasis on nationalism, ethnic conflict, and intellectual history.

Mirjana comes from Rovinj, Istria, Croatia. She is fluent in Croatian, German, Italian, and Slovene.

VJERAN PAVLAKOVIC vpav@u.washington.edu

Vjeran was born in Zagreb and came to the United States in 1978. He studied history at the University of Arizona, and moved to Seattle, Washington, in 1997 to attend the University of Washington. He received a Master's degree from the Jackson School of International Studies, writing his thesis on refugee returns to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He is a PhD candidate in the History department at the University of Washington and is teaching the course "Readings on Yugoslavia and the Successor States".

Vjeran is currently researching the history of volunteers from Croatia who fought in the Spanish Civil War, and the way the veterans were portrayed in the media, public events, and history books during communist Yugoslavia. He has presented conference papers on "Minorities in Croatia", "Fascist Symbols in Postcommunist Croatia", and is the editor of "Nationalism, Culture, and Religion in Croatia since 1989", issue Number 32 of the Donald W. Treadgold

Papers. Most recently, Vjeran organized a conference on “Post war guilt and responsibility in Serbia.”

JOSIP MOCNIK jmocnik@bgnet.bgsu.edu

Josip originally comes from Hrvatsko Zagorje. He earned his undergraduate (BA Hon) in history/theology at Newbold College and an MA in Library and Information Science at University College, University of London, England. After working for a few years as a librarian at Andrews University, MI, he went back to school and is enrolled in the Ph. D. program in history at Bowling Green State University, Ohio. His study and research are in the US foreign policy, church and state, and policy studies in general with focus on the so-called Balkans.

OTHER ACS MEMBERS

ELINOR MURRAY DESPALATOVIC

A very active member of the ACS, a participant in numerous AAASS conventions, an expert on modern Croatian political and social history, and a colleague that we all not only like but love, Dr. Elinor Murray Despalatovic has retired from teaching. She was a professor of history at Connecticut College for many years. We are sure that her students and colleagues miss her collegiality, warmth, and high professional standards. However, she is not retiring from scholarly work. Dr. Murray Despalatovic is enthusiastically doing research and writing a book on the history of the Croatian peasantry from 1880-1914, and she is already discussing the ideas for ACS panels for AAASS 2003 Convention. Retiring means more work, but doing it when one wants to! Now, she has more time to dedicate to her lovely family, her new book, and other scholarly endeavors. We wish a pleasant and fruitful retirement to our friend and colleague Prof. M Despalatovic.

NORMAN CIGAR

Dr. Norman Cigar’s book “Vojislav Kostunica and Serbia’s Future” was published by London’ Saqi Books, at the end of 2001.

IVANCICA DVORZAK SCHRUNK

Dr. Ivancica Dvorzak Schrunk, professor of archaeology and ancient history at the University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, MN, will lead a group of SPAN (Student Project for Amity among Nations) students to Croatia this summer. She was a SPAN adviser also in 1988. We wish



M. Spizora, J. Sadkovich, Z & F. Manuel

Ivancica and the SPAN students a successful and pleasant summer in beautiful Croatia!

EKREM (Eck) SPAHICH

Eck Spahich of Fritch, Tex., ACS member, has been named a local board member of the Selective Service System. Spahich received notification from Alfred Rascon, director of the Selective Service System, in a letter from Arlington, Va., stating "It is my pleasure, in the name of the President, to appoint you as a member of the Selective Service System local board in the state of Texas."

Ekrem was also included among the "Outstanding American and Canadian Croats" in this year's Croatian Almanac, published by Croatian Franciscan Publications & Croatian Ethnic Institute.

Amarillo Globe News, Sunday, June 10, 2001, published Ekrem's article in which he describes his memories of the Bleiburg tragedy, that he, as a young boy, and his family experienced at the end of the Second World War.

Ekrem has been a Hutchinson County resident since returning from the U.S. Army in Vietnam, where he served as a combat correspondent with the 173rd Airborne Brigade.

IN MEMORIAM BRANIMIR ANZULOVIC (April 26, 1926-November 3, 2001)

Branimir Anzulovic, a cultural historian and alumnus of Croatian University, died November 3, 2001, in Virginia. Born in Zagreb on April 26, 1926, and grew up surrounded by his parents native from Jelsa, two sisters and a brother. He graduated from the University of Zagreb School of Philosophy in 1952. As a young intellectual he left Croatia, then a republic of Yugoslavia ruled by the communist party. His initial destination was Argentina, a refuge for many Croats after WWII. From there he moved to the United States to continue his academic career. Branimir Anzulovic obtained his doctoral degree in comparative literature at the University of Indiana in 1972. During his teaching career he wrote and taught about literature, cultural history and literary theory at the University of Indiana and the University of Arizona. An experienced translator and interpreter, he worked in that capacity for various institutions in Washington, D.C., including the Voice of America, the U.S. Department of State and the International Monetary Fund. He is survived by his former wife Visnja and his two children, Maja and Radovan. Although he had lived abroad from the early days of his career, his deep connection with Croatia persisted throughout his entire life. Not only through loving relations with his brother, sisters and friends, but through vivid and broad interests in Croatian culture, tradition and public life, Branimir remained connected to his homeland. Among his early achievements, he published film and theatre reviews in Zagreb during the 1950s, and throughout his life he authored numerous articles and book reviews for literary journals. He also worked as an assistant editor of Croatia: Land, People, Culture (University of Toronto) from 1964 to 1970. Branimir Anzulovic was one of those

rare Croatian scholars who had devoted years of his intellectual drive to investigate the historical, philosophical and sociological circumstances, which had generated and sustained the deceptive ideology of Serbian expansionism. In 1999, he published an important book entitled *Heavenly Serbia From Myth to Genocide* (New York University Press). In this meticulously researched monograph, which won generally favorable reviews, Anzulovic disclosed an impressive accumulation of data. He advanced the thesis that the Serbs are not the only ones deluded by their vision of themselves and their history. "In the course of the nineteen and twentieth centuries, the world, for various reasons, uncritically accepted many Serbian myths." As a scholar and critical thinker he challenged not only Serbian ideology, but also the international establishment for failing to prevent the war against Croatia. In his words "It would have been possible to prevent the war in 1991 had the dominant powers had a realistic view of the situation in that country and the will to prevent the tragedy. Instead, they have also used myths and lies to justify their actions, or inactions. Therefore the liberation of politics from myths, lies, delusions and sheer inexcusable ignorance is not a task for the Serbs only. It is a universal obligation." For us who knew Branimir as a colleague, friend, alumnus of Croatian University, it is an honor and obligation to remember his legacy, not only at this time of sorrow, but in the years to come. His loss will leave a deep void in the Croatian community in this country. We all cherished his definite and solitary personality, and his observing presence. May God bless him. **Thea Kalebic, M.D., Ph.D.** P.s. We thank Dr. Kalebic for sending us the above In memoriam and we would like to add that Branimir was an active member of the ACS for many years. I talked to him about the November AAASS Convention just a couple of months before his untimely death. He was very interested in what will take place at the Convention, but at the end of the conversation he stated that most probably he wouldn't be with us by that time. And it turned out to be that way. We express our condolences to Branimir's family and may he rest in peace. **ANTE NIZETEO (February 5, 1913 - April 4, 2000)** Ante Nizeteo (Anthony Niseteo) was born and raised in Zadar, Croatia. He graduated from the Law School of the University of Zagreb, studied in Rome, and, after coming to the United States (1950) he received an MA in history from Fordham University and MS in library science from Columbia University. Most of his years in this country he worked as a librarian at Cornell University. Nizeteo was an accomplished short story writer and a poet, as well as a translator of Italian literature into Croatian. He was a regular contributor to the *Journal of Croatian Studies*, *Hrvatska Revija*, *Danica*, and other Croatian publications in America. He was a member of the ACS and the Croatian Academy of America, and he was a very visible figure on the Croatian cultural scene in this country for a number of decades. Nizeteo returned to Croatia permanently in 1996 and he was buried at Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb. May he rest in peace. We will not forget his contributions to Croatian culture in America and at the homeland.

DONATIONS

Vlado Markovac - \$85.00 Melchior Masina - \$20.00 Thank you!

NEEDED “SELJACKA SLOGA” and “GOSPODARSKA SLOGA” Does any library or organization in the US that you might know possess a full or a partial collection of the Croatian Peasant Party publications “Seljacka sloga” and “Gospodarska sloga” from the period between the two World Wars? The Congressional Library in Washington D. C. had these collections in its stacks but unfortunately they discarded them a few years ago. **Dr. Elinor Murray Despalatovic** needs these publications in her research. In case you can help, please contact the editor or Dr. Murray Despalatovic.

AAASS CONVENTION PRESENTATIONS Summaries and Presented Materials

JASNA MEYER

“A Microanalysis of the Structure of Croatian and Euro-American conversational storytelling.”

This paper was presented as part of a panel entitled: “The Structure of Croatian Conversational Storytelling, Croatian Poetry, and Croatian Film.”

This paper is a conversational analysis, which examines the structural and cultural elements of storytelling displayed by Euro-American and Croatian speakers in everyday, natural, conversational discourse.

Findings showed how culture as a variable affects interactants’ style and pattern of speaking during conversational storytelling. (The Croatian speakers were audiotaped in Croatia while interacting in their homes.)

Compared to Euro-Americans, Croatians exhibit much more overlapped speech, which is typical in Mediterranean cultures (Italians, Greeks, Southern French, etc. display similarities.) Also, Croatians are more difficult “story critics,” e.g. they don’t accept explanations as easily, produce several competitive recipient behaviors, such as utterances or laughter that ridicule the teller or the teller’s utterance. Other examples include Croatian story recipients explicitly challenging their tellers and displaying a lack of interest or enthusiasm for what the teller is saying.

JACQUES PAUL KLEIN

Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Coordinator of the United Nations Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Scholars, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure and an honor to address the 33rd National Convention of the American

Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. I extend my sincerest appreciation to Ante Cuvalo and his dedicated colleagues for hosting this significant event.

My examination today will focus on the role of the international community in building peace and security in Southeast Europe - with emphasis on Bosnia and Herzegovina. I believe that I speak with some authority on the subject having spent the last six and a half years engaged in peace implementation in the region as the Head of two United Nations operations - UNTAES and UNMIBH and serving as the principal Deputy High Representative in the OHR.

Throughout history, substantive questions have plagued Southeast Europe - never adequately resolved except through the eventide of military conquest. This in a sense is probably the essence of understanding a region that Winston Churchill characterized as having more history than it can safely absorb.

1. Historical Challenges

For centuries, the fault lines between historic politico-religious constructs - whether Byzantium or Rome, Christianity or Islam - have constituted this region defining much of the protracted conflict with in it.

What of course is so remarkable, is that these religious ideologies and paradigms have largely determined the identity of peoples - who ethnically and bio-genetically are largely the same. Therefore, we are talking about a region that is as much a civilizational entity, as it is a political, economic and territorial construct.

Now, I do not subscribe to Huntington's views - that the conflicts in this region are simply a re-enactment of "primordial loyalties." I am inclined to side with Noam Chomsky, that such a simplified prescription "removes all barriers to coercion and manipulation by the powerful."

The blame for the succession of conflicts in the territory of the former-Yugoslavia, lies not with the common people, but rather, to quote from the 1914 Carnegie Endowment Report on the Wars in the Balkans:

"The real culprits are those who through personal interest or inclination, declaring constantly that war is inevitable, and by making it so, asserting that they are powerless to prevent it. The real culprits are those who sacrifice the *general interests* to their own *personal interest* and who hold up to their people sterile policy of conflict and reprisals."

I am further inclined to believe that much of the political and philosophical development of the region has never moved beyond the 19th Century in terms of collective rights vs. individuals rights and freedoms. So in a sense, when we are talking about international intervention in Southeast Europe, what we are talking about is the establishment of liberal democracy in which cultural and religious identity are safeguarded and enhanced - but are not in themselves a political construct.

And if there is anything at the basis of why we have not been able to make more progress in the crucible of Bosnia and Herzegovina - it is precisely our inability to solve a 19th Century dilemma with a quick 20th Century tempo-centric solution.

Ladies and Gentlemen, few states or regions have a history without aberrations. For example,

I come from the province of Alsace, France, a region that has gone through six changes of nationality in 350 years. States are like organisms. They can become sick; they can become infected by the viruses of aggressive nationalism, fascism or xenophobia. The historian Milovan Djilas warned, “there comes a time when only strife is the order of the day, as though there were nothing else in life.”

Of course the illness is far more virulent and devastating when the body politic is already weak from the effects of communism and the moral vacuum it created as a legacy of centralized control, and when the natural defenses of an independent media and objective academic institutions are corrupted by the state apparatus.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia was the bloodied harbinger of the failed states that spun out of East-West orbit at the dawn of a new Century. This complex and vicious conflict posed one of the greatest challenges ever to international intervention. This is perhaps best illustrated by the valiant efforts and sacrifices of the men and women in UNPROFOR, who lacking a clear and supportive mandate, with defined rules of engagement, could do little to stop the escalation of conflict.

By the fall of 1995, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the primary battleground, was a wasteland of human tragedy and destruction. Half the pre-war population - some 2.2 million people - were refugees or internally displaced persons and more than 200, 000 people were killed. Economic infrastructure and the housing stock were decimated, and religious and cultural objects of an ethnically and culturally diverse land purposefully destroyed. Not a single family was left unscathed.

2. The Dayton Peace Accords

In his study, *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia*, my old friend Bogdan Denitch described the Dayton Peace Accords as a “terrible peace to end a terrible war,” But Bogdan also concedes, that there was and still is “no effective alternative to the Dayton Peace Agreement.”

Dayton was an historic achievement. It ended the bloodiest conflict in Europe since 1945 through negotiation not capitulation. The price of that negotiation was that we were unable to impose an international trusteeship. Instead, the Dayton architecture deployed an overwhelming military presence in and around BiH, whose purpose was to contain and restrain. The underlying assumption was that outside powers would ensure that the war does not break out again, while internal forces, with international reconstruction assistance, would mend the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Six years later, we see more clearly three impediments to these assumptions.

First, is the fact, that Bosnia and Herzegovina was never an independent state with sovereignty and territorial integrity. For 600 hundred years, the decisions which affected it were made in someone else’s court, be it Istanbul, Vienna or Belgrade. In sum, it has always functioned within a larger geo-political construct. European integration was the missing political ingredient in Dayton, without which, regional stability cannot be achieved. Europe must now

take up where Dayton did not go.

Second, the international community was not faced with “rebuilding” Bosnia and Herzegovina, but rather with the building of a state. This has necessitated building a single national identity among a citizenry clearly divided on their allegiance to a state - wedged, until very recently, between two hostile neighbors.

Third, the plethora of international organizations (*five principals* - UNMIBH, UNHCR, SFOR, OHR and OSCE) mandated to engage in peace implementation has been counter-productive. On the ground, there are often five sets of field officers, all with an identifiable niche, but rarely in coordination. The result is a bonanza for manipulation by hard-line nationalists and obstructionists.

3. The Role of the United Nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The United Nations was not invited to Dayton. I sometimes wonder whether the final Dayton package would have benefited from the experience of 56 years and 54 peacekeeping missions, many of them highly successfully. Regardless, the UN was given the role of putting together the largest police reform and restructuring programme that has ever been undertaken. Our primary mission is to contribute to the establishment of the rule of law to create conditions conducive to multi-ethnic co-existence and returns.

I will add here however, that in addition to my role as the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I also serve as the Coordinator of United Nations Operations. For almost a decade now, 17 UN specialized agencies have been active in BiH. Their work encompasses virtually all aspects of peacebuilding and development, ranging from Human Rights and Refugees and Displaced Persons, to Civil Aviation and Economic Development and from demining to International Law and education.

In many ways, the work of the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina lays the groundwork that permits the projects and programmes of our partners to be effective and sustainable.

Our specific role is to reform and restructure local police in accordance with international standards and fundamental human rights and freedoms. Thus, our core mandate is to ensure that local police have professional training and personal integrity; and that police administrations have the capacity to function professionally and non-politically in a multi-ethnic society.

UNMIBH is also highly engaged in the state building process. By way of example, we have established:

The BiH State Border Service (SBS), the first multi-ethnic state level law enforcement institution, which now covers 75% of the country's border;

A model Interpol National Coordination Bureau to serve as the state link between all law enforcement agencies and the global Interpol criminal intelligence network;

The State Information and Protection Agency (SIPA). This institution is responsible for addressing inter-Entity felonies and cooperating with Interpol to combat international crime.

And we have successfully brokered regional mechanisms for law enforcement co-operation in the fight against organized crime, illegal trafficking of human beings and international terrorism.

UNMIBH has achieved a great deal of success in the past six years. And we predict that by December 2002, all law enforcement personnel will be trained according to European standards. They will be organized in accountable and transparent civilian police structures and possess a basic level of equipment. I will add that local police riot control units will also be fully functioning.

Upon the successful completion of our technical mandate, we anticipate the establishment of a follow-on presence, which is currently the subject of discussion. A continuing intrusive police-monitoring mission will be essential to ensure that our achievements are not reversed and that the work of the international community is not compromised.

It is crucial that over the next year, we are given the full support from all of our partners to enable the mission to achieve its goals on time, particularly the Office of the High Representative, SFOR and European institutions.

I would now like to take this opportunity to say something about the role of SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4. The role of SFOR

The drafters of Dayton purposefully chose to separate the military and civilian components of peace implementation. In fact, the two are inseparable. And in light of the new global effort to combat terrorism, our joint efforts are more important than ever to ensure that extremists and criminal elements do not undermine domestic and regional confidence building measures.

To my mind, three primary issues should define SFOR's role in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the next two to three years.

First, on the issue of troop reduction. I am utterly convinced that any change in SFOR's troop to task ratio will have serious consequences for the entire international presence in the country. At a time of increasingly violent resistance from extremist groups whose interests are directly threatened by more intrusive measures of peace implementation, the international community is more reliant than ever on the security support of SFOR. Any form of draw down is akin to pulling the pin on the hand grenade.

Second, is the *de facto* presence of three armies in one state. As long as there are formed military brigades ready to mutiny and defect in a matter of hours (as the Croats did *en masse* a few months ago, despite nearly six years of 'confidence building measures'), SFOR must maintain its current presence to ensure a safe and secure environment.

Third, is the issue of war criminals - particularly Karadzic and Mladic. Their continued presence undermines the establishment of the rule of law; inhibits inter-ethnic reconciliation; and holds back the political future of the country. The longstanding media guidance that SFOR does not know, or cannot find out where they are, is meeting a major credibility gap. If the greatest military alliance ever assembled cannot find an international war criminal who appears on radio

talk-show programme and has had his own Web Page, what can it do?

We committed ourselves to the task of building peace and security in BiH not only for humanitarian reasons but because politically, the country cannot be relegated to a mere footnote in Southeast Europe. Three times in the past century it has necessitated massive international intervention.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is the test case. If we fail there, we abandon the hopes of a new generation that is just beginning to exercise democracy and look towards Europe. And we sound the death knell for multi-ethnic states anywhere in Southeast Europe, with grave implications for peace and stability in Macedonia, Kosovo and elsewhere.

5. European Institutions

The only stable long-term future for BiH and for Southeast Europe in general, is to be included within a Europe of open economic spaces and culturally diverse regions.

The EU road map and the Stability Pact (*despite its slow start*), for the first time lit the path to a European home. The challenge of course is to make this promise credible to the common people.

Nationalist elites do not represent the aspirations of ordinary citizens whose life experience has been shaped by influences consistent with mainstream European heritage. It should not be forgotten that before 1991, the ordinary citizens of BiH had the highest living standard in the “socialist” system, and had the long experience of interethnic coexistence under Tito’s concept of “brotherhood and unity.”

The starting point is clear. Weak states, devastated by war, near the bottom rung of development, with underdeveloped democratic and rule of law institutions lacking a credible overarching construct for stabilization and development. The end point is equally clear: stability and development, domestic accommodation, intra-regional cooperation and European integration.

6. Conclusion

In closing, I would like to leave you with a thought. In 1478, the first print shop in the Balkans was established in a Montenegrin monastery. This print shop played an enormous role increasing literacy and culture awareness in the region. The first book printed on the press was also the first printed Cyrillic book of the South Slavs - the Orthodox service book, *Octoechos*. Unfortunately, not long after, the leaden letters of the print shop were smelted into cannon balls.

The lesson for all of us, is that it is time to bridge fault-lines and embrace this region, providing the ultimate answer to the question we have wrestled with for several centuries and that is whether we can finally create a Europe that is inclusive, wholly at peace, and fully free.

Thank you

JAMES HOOPER

International Crisis Group and former State Department official

Overview

1. September 11 marginalized southeastern Europe for the U.S.
2. But even before the attack and the subsequent war in Afghanistan, the administration had abolished the Balkan special envoy position and cleared away the bureaucratic support structure for a policy of serious Balkan engagement.
3. Benign neglect impelled by the threat to U.S. homeland security will likely not work in favor of moderation in the Balkans.
4. There is no self-sustaining stability yet in the region, absent NATO troops.
5. U.S. troops and other visible signs of American engagement are still the coin of the realm in Balkan policy terms.
6. Europe has improved its crisis management since Bosnia days but has yet to demonstrate that it can handle the big crises alone. Macedonia is evidence of this.
7. The U.S. is getting better but has yet to master conflict prevention in the Balkans.
8. More conflict looms.

Macedonia

Macedonia is heading for partition, probably through ethnic strife. The ethnic Macedonian elite, the Macedonian Albanian leadership, and significant numbers of ethnic Macedonians favor separate entities.

9. The NLA remains the most effective fighting force in Macedonia and retains the capability to inflict unacceptable losses on Macedonian regular and paramilitary forces.
10. The only thing that prevented war was the arrival of U.S. special envoy Jim Pardew to negotiate a deal in tandem with the EU.
11. The unwillingness of the U.S. to commit even token numbers of ground forces, even before September 11, to sustain Macedonian peace has projected Washington's disinterest and probably doomed the agreement to ratification without implementation, at best.
12. If Macedonia is partitioned, it will likely ultimately merge with Kosovo. The new Pristina-led entity will challenge Tirana for leadership of Albanians.

Kosovo

- ı Today's parliamentary elections mark a crucial step forward for Kosovo's self-governance.
- ı The governing party or coalition that emerges will have two key challenges: wresting self-governing authority from UNMIK and developing a practical and credible roadmap for independence based on democratic practices, protection of minority rights, and regional stability.
- ı It is regrettable but likely that most Kosovo Serbs will choose not to reside in a Kosovo governed essentially by Albanians. The only thing that most ethnic Albanians and Serbs still agree on is their desire not to live together. There is little the U.S. can do to affect this.

ı It is nonetheless in the U.S. interest to help broker a transfer of self-governing authority to Kosovars and help them develop a roadmap toward conditional independence. The UN is incapable of governing Kosovo and reassertion of Belgrade's authority in any manner, even symbolic, would prompt further conflict.

ı The price that the Kosovo Albanians may pay for their independence is loss of some part of the north above Mitrovica.

Montenegro

ı U.S. policy seeks "a democratic Montenegro in a democratic Yugoslavia." It is U.S. policy to preserve the FRY.

ı In reality, the political level of the administration, in my view, does not care if Montenegro and Serbia become independent so long as it is done through a democratic referendum. It is the non-senior levels of the bureaucracy that are struggling to preserve the FRY, as if on automatic pilot from the period of the early 1990s.

ı The future of the FRY and Montenegro's status will not affect in any significant way the stability of Kosovo or Macedonia.

Serbia

ı The U.S. has a significant stake in the outcome of the struggle between Kostunica and Djindjic. They present two very different visions, essentially nationalist and non-nationalist (Djindjic a 15 percent nationalist).

ı This has implications for the durability of Serbian democracy, stability of the region and future of Montenegro, Kosovo and Bosnia.

ı Washington has asked Djindjic to do all the heavy lifting and not penalized Kostunica for his essentially anti-Western, anti-democratic, anti-reconciliation policies. Nationalism, not legalism, is Kostunica touchstone.

ı Milosevic arrest and transfer demonstrate that conditionality works. Provide background.

Bosnia

ı U.S. has for most of past six years had four of five key positions in Bosnia, providing enormous leverage which Washington deliberately chose not to use.

ı Key is making clear that U.S. will not accept RS nor Belgrade to retain the option of the RS becoming part of FRY or Serbia.

ı Policy of U.S. excuses for non-arrest of Karadzic and Mladic continues.

ı In Bosnia there is little but the shell of an active U.S. policy. Washington perceives Bosnia as an issue of force levels.

AN EXHIBIT ON CROATIAN PIONEERS

From November 16, 2001 to March 16, 2002, the Gig Harbor Peninsula Historical Society and Museum in Gig Harbor, Washington State, held an exhibit titled "Harbor Heritage - Croatia." The museum's Web site (http://www.gigharbormuseum.org/at_museum.html) states that the exhibit documents the importance of the Croatian Community to the history of Gig Harbor. The Croatians created one of the first towns, they established the local fishing industry (which sustained the local economy for more than 100 years), and the related industry of shipbuilding. For more information contact info@gigharbormuseum.org

JOURNALS JOURNAL OF CROATIAN STUDIES Vol. 41

The Croatian Academy of America issued volume 41 of its annual interdisciplinary review, the *Journal of Croatian Studies*.

The 220-page thematic issue deals with the language identity of the Croats and includes several contributions from scholars in Croatia.

The opening piece by well-known linguistic and long-standing editor of *Jezik*, Stjepan Babić, concisely reviews the historical development of the Croatian and Serbian literary languages, showing why the two languages are close, but distinct.

The contributions by Benedikta Zelic-Bucan and Ivan Ostojic examine in detail the extent to which Croats of different socio-economic, cultural, educational and religious backgrounds designated their language by its national name from the 9th through to the 20th century. The authors cite examples from diverse texts and show that the terms Slavic (*slovenski*), Illyrian (*ilirski*), Dalmatian (*dalmatinski*), Bosnian (*bosanski*), Slavonian (*slavonski*) and language of Dubrovnik (*dubrovački*), were used as synonyms for the Croatian language.

Marko Babić of the Miroslav Krleža Lexicographic Institute discusses the changes to the name of the language spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the first decade of Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1888). Initially decreed Croatian (*hrvatski*), the authorities later changed it to the nondescript Land's Language (*zemaljski jezik*/German *Landessprache*) and finally to Bosnian (*bosanski*).

The turbulent 20th century is covered by two pieces. Vinko Grubišić reviews the naming and renaming of the Croatian language, focusing on the political motivations and historical circumstances influencing these changes. Attention is also devoted to the successor states to former Yugoslavia. Stan Granić gathers together in English translation or English original fifteen pronouncements issued by individuals, cultural and educational organizations, and academic institutions both in Croatia and abroad, related to the Croatian language.

In the final piece, Vinko Grubišić briefly assesses some twenty Croatian language advisory books published primarily during the last two decades of the 20th century.

The issue also includes reports on the 46th Annual General Assembly, the reminiscences of the Academy's longest serving President, Maria K. Tuskan, other activities and obituaries.

The Journal of Croatian Studies is the only English language scholarly periodical dedicated entirely to Croatian history and culture.

The Croatian Academy of America was established in 1953 and has published the Journal of Croatian Studies since 1960. Managing editors of the Journal are Karlo Mirth and Jerome Jareb.

Single issues of the Journal may be ordered at a price of US \$20 for individuals and US \$30 for institutions.

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BOOKS

Norman Cigar, *Vojislav Kostunica and Serbia's Future.*

London: Saqi Books, 2001, 120 pages.

The fall from power of Slobodan Milosevic in October 2000, following an electoral defeat, was one of the most dramatic and unexpected events of the millennium year. Western governments and public opinion alike have feted Vojislav Kostunica, leader of the coalition of forces that won those elections, and new President of the 'Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' (FRY). They perceived his victory as marking the definitive advent of democracy in Serbia, promising peace and stability throughout former Yugoslavia. Since his assumption of office, however, it is becoming increasingly clear that strong elements of continuity prevail between the old and new regimes.

In this pioneering study of Kostunica's political formation and general world view, Norman Cigar explores what he really represents for the future of Serbia and the FRY. He believes that Kostunica's policies are essentially an attempt to preserve a 'Greater Serbian' paradigm - relying on institutions like the Orthodox Church and the army - in opposition to more democratic and reform-minded political and civic forces. Cigar argues that such policies precisely deter democratization at home and reconciliation with neighbouring states, thus promising renewed conflict rather than stability.

To order: www.saqibooks.com

Hrvoje Kacic, *Serving My Country - Croatia Rediviva.*

Zagreb: Institute of Social Sciences "Ivo Pilar," 2002. \$15.00

To order: IDZ "Ivo Pilar", Marulicev trg 19/I, Zagreb, Croatia.

Tel. 385-1-482-8304; Fax 482-8296; E-mail: ured@maipdi.hr

Dr. Hrvoje Kacic is a professor of the Maritime Law. He was elected to Croatia's Parliament as an independent candidate by the people of his native city of Dubrovnik in 1990, served as the Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and was involved in various international negotiations during the war in Croatia. From 1994 to 2001 he worked voluntarily as the President of the State Commission for Boundaries.

Forward by K. V. Willkes

It is an honour to be asked to write a foreword to Hrvoje Kacic's book. I found it quite eye-opening; for in the besieged city of Dubrovnik I, along with many others, had very little access to news from "outside". Indeed, I had to be more concerned with trying to get news about, and

appeals for Dubrovnik out than getting news in - I had access just to one much-overworked telephone/fax. In particular, I read with astonishment that in Zagreb even Tudjman himself thought that in Dubrovnik there was no stomach for the defence of the city, or that it might yield to the blandishments that invited it to consider a status as an “autonomous” province within the so-called “Great Serbia”; and this scepticism about the determination of Dubrovnik’s (hugely courageous) defenders and citizenry, and about its loyalty to Croatia, clearly spread to the world outside and, obviously, to the Serbian generals and politicians - a fact which helps explain some of their otherwise inexplicable changes of tactics. Equally surprising was the discovery that it had been widely assumed that Dubrovnik’s defence was largely provided by mercenaries; this was something that Cyrus Vance, for example, had taken to be a fact. From inside the city, most of us were unaware of these lying and dangerous rumours. But Kacic, as the reader will see from this book, hit such canards firmly on the head.

He was in an exceptional position. An independent in politics - thus owing his allegiance to Croatia rather than to any political party - he shows in this volume his independence of spirit time and again. He was often in Dubrovnik, usually accompanying heads of state, foreign ministers, ambassadors and diplomats, people like Sir Fitzroy MacLean and Bernard Kouchner; but also in Zagreb, Belgrade, the Hague, talking to the European Parliament, to parliamentarians of the NATO countries, to the Council of Europe, to Cyrus Vance, even to generals in the JNA and much, much more. He took every opportunity to argue, to explain, to correct misapprehensions such as those mentioned in the previous paragraph. A “roving ambassador” in every sense; for Croatia in general and Dubrovnik in particular.

The reader should be aware that this volume is a collection of articles, speeches, addresses, reports, letters, interviews; most were written in 1991-2, some in the 1-2 years following. Each piece was delivered, recorded, or written at the date given. This means that each can be read as a free-standing chapter, without reference to others; but also, of course, makes some slight degree of repetition inevitable. It also means that none of them makes reference to events that followed (for example, only a few make reference to the war in B and H came hard on the heels of the war against Croatia, and none to the events in Kosova that followed that; nor, of course, to the downfall of Milosevic in 2000). Thus, the items in the book constitute almost a diary-like account of the war against Croatia as it proceeded. Several pieces use the present tense, some the past. The present tense - for example, in speeches or appeals - adds a great sense of immediacy, and brings vividly to life the situation as it was seen and felt in these years so crucial to Croatia. It is important to see each chapter in the context and time at which it was written or presented.

Ivan Prcela and Drazen Zivic, eds.

Hrvatski holocaust - dokumenti i svjedocanstva o poratnim pokoljima u Jugoslaviji.

Zagreb: Hrvatsko drustvo politickih zatvorenika, 2002.

A part of the book is a translation of Operation Slaughterhouse, Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1970 and about two-thirds of the book is a collection of new documents dealing with the post-World War II crimes committed against the Croats. Price, \$30.00 plus postage from Croatia \$10.00. To

order: Hrvatsko društvo političkih zatvorenika, Masarykova 22/4, 10 000 Zagreb, Croatia or John Prcela, 4037 Monticello Blvd., Cleveland, OH 44121

Vesna Kukavica, Ed., *Hrvatski iseljenicki zbornik 2002*. 374 pages

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Trg Stjepana Radica 3, Zagreb, Croatia

Ljubo Krasic, Ed., *Croatian Almanac 2002 Outstanding American and Canadian Croats (Part 3)*, 224 pages

Published by Croatian Franciscans and Croatian Ethnic Institute, 4851 S. Drexel Blvd., Chicago, IL 60615 Tel. 773-373-4670

E-mail: croetljubo@aol.com

Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox,

***The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Balkans*. New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001, 128 pages. Palgrave, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010**

Each map is accompanied by an appropriate text. The book is very useful for students of the area.

Vjeran Pavlakovic, Ed., *Nationalism, Culture, and Religion in Croatia since 1990*. The Donald W. Treadgold Papers No.32, November 2001. Contributors: Gordana P. Crnkovic, Vjeran Pavlakovic, Vjekoslav Perica and Sabrina P. Ramet.

To order: Jackson School of International Studies, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-3650, Tel: 206-221-6348, E-mail: treadgld@u.washington.edu

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