



**Fall 2000 ISSUE No. 35**

**AAASS 32<sup>nd</sup> NATIONAL CONVENTION NOVEMBER 9 - 12, 2000 ADAM'S MARK HOTEL - DENVER, COLORADO**

The 32<sup>nd</sup> National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) will take place November 9- 12 , 2000 at Adam's Mark Hotel in Denver, Colorado.

**Hotel**

The Adam's Mark Hotel is located on the 16<sup>th</sup> Street Mall in downtown Denver. The Mall is a mile- long pedestrian promenade with free shuttle buses, providing easy access to shops, restaurants, and entertainment.

The room rate is \$115.00 per night, single or double. You must say you are with Slavic Studies to obtain this special discount rate. You may phone 800-444-2326 or phone the hotel directly at 303-893-3333 and ask for reservations at extension 58 to make your reservation. Reservations may also be faxed to 303-626-2544. Book your room early!

**Convention registration fees:**

AAASS Members \$65.00, Students \$25.00; Non-Members \$75.00, Students \$30.00; On-site registration is \$15.00 higher (for students \$5.00). Reception tickets are \$25.00 (students \$10.00). For more information concerning the Convention you may access AAASS website at: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~aaass>

**PANELS**

The following panels are either sponsored by our members or our members are participating in them, or are panels that might be of interest to the Croatians attending the Convention.

**THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9**

**2:00 - 4:00 P. M.**

**Session 1, panel 13**

**Italy and Its Role in the Balkans: From History to Current Events** (Roundtable) Room: *Capital (Plaza)*

**Session 1, panel 16**

**Imagined Communities: Civil Society and Ethnic Identity in Eastern Europe.** Room: *Vail (Plaza)*

**4:15 - 6:15 P. M.**

**Session 2, panel 19**

**Dynamics of Minority Issues in Southeastern Europe.** (Roundtable) Room: Governor's Square 9 (Tower)

**Session 2, panel 28**

**Making the Balkans Safe for Europe: Prospects for Meaningful Economic and Political Cooperation in the Region.** Room: *Director's Row F (Tower)*

**Mark M. Biondich**, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Croatian and Western Balkan Security Issues in the Post-Tudjman Era."

**Sarah Anne Kent**, U of Wisconsin, member of the ACS, is chairing panel 38: Myth and Ritual in Hungarian History. Room: *Plaza Court 6 (Tower)*.

**FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10**

**8:00 - 10:00 A. M.**

**Session 3, Panel 02**

**Violence and Identity in South Eastern Europe.** Room: *Silver (Plaza)*

**10:15 - 12:15 P. M.**

**Session 4, Panel 09**

**Post-Communist Elections: Trends and Meanings.** Room: *Tower Court C (Plaza)*

**Session 4, Panel 19**

**Language and Identity in the South Slavic Context.** Room: *Governor's Square 9 (Tower)*

**J. Keith Langston**, U of Georgia and **Anita Peti-Stanic**, U of Zagreb: "Functional Registers and Linguistic Identity in Contemporary Standard Croatian."

**Session 4, Panel 31**

**Aspects of Music and Society in Nineteenth-Century Croatian Lands.** Room: *Director's Row 1 (Tower)*

Chair:

**Hana Breko**, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (Zagreb)

Papers:

**William A. Everett**, U of Missouri, Kansas City: "Operetta in Nineteenth-Century Croatia."

**Vjera Katalinic**, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (Zagreb): "Staging History: The 1566 Siege of Siget and Nineteenth-Century Opera."

**Lovorka Ruck**, Ivan Matetic Ronjgo High School for Music (Zagreb): "Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Rijeka."

Disc.:

**Maria Anna Harley**, U of S California.

**4:15 P. M. - 6:15 P. M.**

**Session 6, Panel 13**

**Myth-Conceptions of Cultural Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.** (Roundtable) Room: *Capital (Plaza)*

**Stjepan Mestrovic**, Texas A&M U

**Ralph B. Boger**

**Snezana Brajovic**, U of Toronto

**Muhamed Nezirovic**, U of Sarajevo

**Ivo Soljan**, Grand Valley State U

**Krinka Vidakovic-Petrov**, U of Pittsburgh

**Session 6, Panel 15**

**International War Crimes Tribunal: Responsibilities, Expectations, and Doubts.** Room: Beverly (Plaza)

**Ante Cuvalo**, JJ College

**David John Scheffer**, US Department of State

**Zvonimir Separovic**, U of Zagreb

**Ivan Simonovic**, U of Zagreb

**Zdenka Gredel Manuele**, Niagara U

**Session 6, Panel 35**

**Reassessing the Communist Takeover in Eastern Europe 1944-1953.**

**Katherine McCarthy**, U of Dubuque, Rural Cooperation and Resistance to the “Communist Consolidation of Power in Yugoslavia.”

**SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11**

**8:00 A.M. - 10:00 A. M.**

**Session 7, Panel 19**

**Croatia Since 1990: The Tudjman Era and Beyond.** Room: *Governor’s Square 9 (Tower)*

Chair:

**Dijana Maria Plestina**, College of Wooster

Papers:

**Gordana Crnkovic**, U of Washington: “Underground and Public Culture in Croatia Since 1990.”

**Vjerman Pavlakovic**, U of Washington: “The Fate of the Serbs in Tudjman’s Croatia.”

Disc.:

**Melissa Katherine Bokovoy**, U of New Mexico

**Thomas Cushman**, Wellesley College

**Session 7, Panel 20**

**New Research in South Slavic Linguistics.** Room: *Governor's Square 10 (Tower)*

**Curtis Brendon Ford**, UNC, Chapel Hill: "Recent Trends in Language Planning in Bosnia and Hercegovina."

**Session 7, Panel 37**

**Catholic Music in Slavic Europe.** Room: *Plaza Court 6 (Tower)*

Chair:

**William A. Everett**, U of Missouri, Kansas City

Papers:

**Hana Breko**, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (Zagreb): "Non-Beneventan Relics in Medieval Dalmatia."

**Maria Anna Harvey**, U of Southern California: "Political, Aesthetic and Ethical Dimensions of Henryk Gorecki's 'Catholic' Music."

**Metoda Kokole**, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Ljubljana): "Music at Ljubljana Cathedral During the Early Seventeenth Century."

Disc.:

**Luke B. Howard**, Moorhead State U

**10:15 A. M. - 12:15 A. M.**

**Session 8, Panel 03**

**Imagining Croatia: Historical and Filmic Representations.** Room: *Century (Plaza)*

Chair: **Ante Cuvalo**, JJ College

Papers:

**Nick S. Ceh**, U of Wisconsin, Oshkosh: "Reimagining Croatia Through Documentary Films."

**Jeff Harder**, Loyola U: "The Representation of Croatia through Yugoslav War Films."

**Leigh Clemons**: "Nationalism Through Theater."

Disc.:

**Laura Brunell**, U of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

**2:00 P. M. - 4:00 P. M.**

**Session 9, Panel 36**

**Habsburg South Slav Capitals at the Turn of the Century.** Room: *Plaza Court 4 (Tower)*

Chair: **James Paul Krokav**, DePaul U

Papers:

**Robert J. Donia**, U of Michigan: "Sarajevo."

**Sarah Anne Kent**, U of Wisconsin, Stevens Point: "Zagreb."

**Ales Vodopivec**, U of Ljubljana: "Ljubljana."

Disc.:

**Peter Jelavich**, U of Texas, Austin

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12**

**8:00 A. M. - 10:00 A. M.**

**Session 10, Panel 29**

**Education in Late Nineteenth-Century Croatia.** Room: *Director's Row G (Tower)*

Chair: **Richard Charles Frucht**, Northwest Missouri State U

Papers:

**Elinor Murray Despalatovic**, Connecticut College: “Educating the Village in Croatia-Slavonia ca. 1900.”

**Meghan Elizabeth Hays**, U of Michigan, Ann Arbor: ” Constructing Nationalism Through Female Education in Nineteenth-Century Croatia.”

**James Paul Krokhar**, DePaul U: “Imagined Community or Imaginary Community: the Goals of Non-Confessional Education in Croatia in the 1870s.”

Disc.:

**Christine Ruane**, U of Tulsa

### **Annual Meeting and Dinner**

The ACS annual meeting has been scheduled by the Program Committee for Friday, November 11, from 4:15 to 6:15 PM at Century (Plaza) Room. However, the ACS president and a few other ACS members are participating at panels that will take place at the same time. **Therefore, we ask the ACS members and friends who will be at the Convention to come to room Beverly (Plaza) at 6:15 PM for a short gathering.** We also invite the ACS members and friends who will be in Denver to join us for the traditional “Croatian Dinner” in the evening on Friday, November 11, at 7:30 P.M. Please let us know if you will be able to partake in this friendly and important gathering.

**AAASS 33<sup>RD</sup> NATIONAL CONVENTION will be held in Crystal City, Virginia at the Hyatt Regency Crystal City and the Washington National Airport Hilton from November 15 to 18, 2001.**

### **ACS MEMBERS**

The ACS member, Vietnam veteran and journalist Mr. **Ack Spahich** of Borger-Fritch, Texas, was recipient of the Republic of Croatia’s state honor, **Croatian “Pleter” Medal**. Mr. Spahich has been an active promoter of Croatian studies and interests for many years. He serves as managing editor of Balkan News Service and the Trumpeter, journal of the Croatian Philatelic Society. Congratulations!

### **SCHOLARSHIP OPPORTUNITIES**

#### **Ron Brown Fellowship Program**

The program provides grants to outstanding university graduates and young professionals from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, and Serbia and Montenegro for one- and two-year degree and nondegree programs of study at US institutions. Programs are available in the fields of business administration, economics, educational administration/civic education, environmental policy/resource

management, journalism/mass communications, law, public administration, and public policy. Country participation is subject to annual funding allocation. Requirements To be eligible the applicant can be no older than 40 at the time of application and must possess an undergraduate degree or equivalent. Candidates must have advanced English proficiency and at least two years of professional work experience. Deadline Contact sponsor. Geographic Restrictions Central Europe; Eastern Europe <http://www.irex.org/programs/ronbrown/index.htm> Sponsoring Organization Department of State 301 Fourth St SW Washington, DC 20547

## **National Security Education Program Graduate International Fellowships Competition 2001**

The Academy for Educational Development (AED) announces the National Security Education Program (NSEP) Graduate International Fellowships enable U.S. graduate students to pursue specialization in area and language study or to add an important international dimension to their education. Created by Congress to address the need to increase the ability of U.S. citizens to communicate and compete globally, NSEP embodies a recognition that the scope of national security has expanded to include not only the traditional concerns of protecting and promoting American well-being, but the new challenges of a global society, including: sustainable development, environmental degradation, global disease and hunger, population growth and migration, and economic competitiveness.

NSEP Fellowships are intended to provide support through overseas study and limited domestic tuition to students who will pursue the study of languages, cultures, and world regions deemed critical to U.S. national security. Excluded explicitly is study of Western Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Fellowships are awarded in a broad range of academic and professional disciplines including business, economics, history, international affairs, law, applied sciences and engineering, health and biomedical sciences, political science, and other social sciences. Award recipients incur a requirement to work for an agency or office of the federal government involved in national security affairs or in the **field** of U.S. higher education in an area of study for which the Fellowship was awarded, in that order of precedence.

**Eligibility Requirements:** Applicants must be U.S. citizens, enrolled in or applying to graduate programs in accredited U.S. colleges or universities located within the United States. All applications must include study of a modern language other than English.

**To Apply:** Guidelines and application forms for NSEP Graduate International Fellowships may be obtained from our Web page at <http://www.aed.org/nsep>. They also may be obtained by contacting AED at 800-498-9360 or 202- 884-8285, or by e-mail at [nsep@aed.org](mailto:nsep@aed.org).

**Deadline:** Applications must be **postmarked by January 16, 2001**. applications will not be reviewed. No faxed submissions **accepted**; late

## **UPCOMING EVENTS**

**The Second European-American Intensive Course in Clinical and Forensic Genetics that will take place in Dubrovnik September 3 - 14, 2001.**

Over 500 scientists, clinicians and professional graduate students from over 35 countries will attend The Second European-American Intensive Course in Clinical and Forensic Genetics that will take place in Dubrovnik, September 3 - 14, 2001. This unique conference simultaneously covers forensic and clinical molecular aspects. The both sections include the best possible scientists in the field of molecular medicine that can be obtained. This conference is already announced as the one of the most important genetics event in the European during 2001. The 2001 meeting is filled with a combination of progressive scientific talks from invited investigators in forensic and clinical medicine, as well as poster presentations of scientific abstracts. We are especially pleased to announce that the Promega Corporation Inc. has agreed to be the principal sponsor of the conference

The first course organized in 1997 was tremendously successful. More than 200 participants from 32 countries participated, providing an opportunity to train individuals from emerging middle and eastern European countries.

Forensic section will include: Identification of human remains by use of genomic and mitochondrial DNA, DNA in the laboratory and in the court room, and analysis of STR's and Y chromosome in forensic casework. The leading scientists from the FBI, Connecticut State Police, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, New York State Police and 20 more institutions will present the latest technology and principals of genomic and mitochondrial DNA analysis in the forensic field. At list a half of the invited speakers are the members of American Academy of Forensic Sciences.

The clinical section of the meeting will begin the following week and will address issues relating to gene therapy of cancer and inherited diseases, macro array and chip technology used in clinical diagnostic and related fields, as well as poster presentations of scientific abstracts. There will also be a comprehensive educational program on the basic science and use of viral and non-viral vectors for gene transfer and expression in animals and patients, sessions on the design and performance of gene therapy clinical trials as well as the session on and stem cell and progenitor cell engineering for clinical application. All the sessions will be held by the top scientists from the Mayo Clinic, University of Stanford, Harvard Medical School, University of Connecticut, McGill University, Ruder Boskovic Institute and from the 19 additional institutions.

For the next year we are happy to offer six European-American Intensive Course Awards to emerging scientists to cover travel and lodging expenses for the conference. The proceedings and plenary talks will be published in a special issue of the Croatian Medical Journal and cited in current contents and other scientific citations. The articles will all be peer reviewed prior to publication

The social program at the Second European-American Intensive Course in Clinical and Forensic Testing will include a welcoming reception for all participants to be held in one of Dubrovnik's most attractive locations. A boat cruise along the Adriatic Coast to the island of Mljet (National Park) will also be included in the events. At least one concert will be organized in the remarkable facility of the Knezev Dvor (Duke's castle) or Sponza. A guided tour will also be arranged for participants to enjoy the amazing 8th - 16th century architecture that makes

Dubrovnik so unique.

All additional information about the conference can be found at the following web page:  
<http://www.european-american-genetics-meetings.org>

Conference Founders and CoChairman **Dragan Primorac, MD, PhD** **Moses S Schanfield, PhD**

## **BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SCHOOLS FOR EUROPE CATHOLIC - MULTIETHNIC- MULTI RELIGIOUS**

During the 1992-1995 war, the children of Sarajevo and other cities, as well as of entire regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), were not able to go to school. In the few places where they did, classes were held irregularly in cellars, cafes, and private houses. Even where schools did function in a more or less normal way, minority children in that particular region suffered intolerance and prejudices. Very often, unfortunately, teachers themselves contributed to and/or participated in such behavior. That was an additional reason for many parents to leave their homes and the regions where their ancestors lived for ages. In fact, that was the ultimate objective of the aggression and war.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, the country where different nations, cultures, and religions meet - a Europe in small, one might say - faced the deadly challenge of choosing either exclusiveness or tolerance; a culture of death or a culture of life. According to a well- made plan B&H was supposed to become a counterpoint and negation of all values that Europe and the rest of the world were striving for after the fall of communism.. Aware of the tragic and far-reaching consequences of such plans, the Catholic Church carried by the power of faith and the spirit of its mission, opposed hatred and violence from the very beginning of the war. As a part of its effort, it decided to open schools for the young as soon as possible. Such schools were to be symbols of hope and a witness that the people of that land were still open to the “other,” to those of different ethnicity and religion. While Sarajevo was still being shelled and the war in B&H was raging, the Sarajevo Archdiocese started renovating a war-damaged and devastated building where it opened, among the ruins of Sarajevo, the first school in the fall of 1994. As a big surprise to everyone, that “Catholic” school, which was open to children of all nations and religions, became too small from the outset. There were three times more applicants than the school was able to accommodate. Although it was thought that the interest for the school would diminish after the war was officially over, the fact was that the number of applicants grew. As a result, schools were opened also in Tuzla, Zanic, Konjic, and Travnik. During this school year, there are 2,530 students enrolled in Catholic schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



These schools are founded and led by the Catholic Church, but the students come from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. The school program fulfils all the state requirements and the school certificates are approved by the state authorities in Sarajevo. True, religious

instruction is offered, but only to those who choose to attend such classes. Students who are not Catholic may attend religious classes offered by a qualified person appointed by the head of their respective religious community. All students attend together classes on the history of the world's greater religions and ethics in order to get to know better each other's religious backgrounds.

The Catholic Church, through these schools wants to promote the message of peace that the Pope John Paul II called for when he challenged the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina to make Sarajevo an example of coexistence and peaceful cooperation between different nations and religions. This can be done only if the new generation is helped through education to discover and develop in themselves higher human values.

Although the Schools for Europe are doing more than their share in promoting the high ideals of humanity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, they are facing major problems. Besides constant difficulties with money and space, even greater obstacles are encountered with the government bureaucracy and a silent resistance on the part of local and state authorities to the idea and growth of such schools. The European Union and the world community, although professing eagerness to promote reconciliation and normalcy in Bosnia and Herzegovina and spending billions of dollars on all kinds of questionable projects, are not willing to give a helping hand to the Schools for Europe, regardless of the fact that these schools are serving students of all religions and nationalities. For this reason, the school in Konjic and Zenica most probably will be closed, and the future of others is not a bright one either. The charities and help from outside are dwindling. These oases of hope might dry soon.

The Schools for Europe deserve strong moral and material help from all institutions and people of goodwill around the world. **If you or your institution can and are willing to help, please contact Msgr. Pero Sudar, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Sarajevo who is in charge of the Schools for Europe. His address is: Kaptol 7, Sarajevo, B&H; Tel. 387-71-664-574; Fax 387-71- 664-416.**

ANTUN BAUER

### **1911-2000 Museologist and Collector**

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the great collector Antun Bauer, who has died aged 88, was the founding of the museum documentation centre in Zagreb in 1955, where the contents of Croatia's museums were recorded. The value of this was proved in the past decade when so many of the country's museums were bombed and had to assess their losses.

Bauer was the founder of modern museology in Croatia. The museums he founded, and sometimes furnished through gifts from his own collections, are now his memorial. His fields included numismatics and the ethnography of his native country, but his most important treasures, the "Bauer Collections" of more than 1,300 works of 19th and 20th century Croatian artists, were donated to the town museum of Vukovar in 1941. During the Balkans conflict these, and the building's other contents, were carried off by the Yugoslav army to Belgrade where, despite interventions from the United Nations's cultural body Unesco, and the Council of Europe, they remain.

Bauer was born in Vukovar, and after a degree in the history of art and archaeology, took a doctorate at Zagreb University. He entered the museum world in 1931 and rose to be the founder/director of Zagreb's Gipsoteka (the museum of casts of works of sculpture and architecture). He also became director of the Croatian school museum, and of his museum documentation centre (1955-78). He founded a postgraduate museology course at Zagreb University, developed the artists archive register and the civic art gallery of Osijek, and helped organise the Croatian academy of arts and sciences' archives.

The professor took part in many archaeological explorations, especially around Osijek, Vukovar and Ilok, and was responsible for the discovery of the prehistoric "Vucedol Dove", a vessel in the emblematic form of a dove, found at Vucedol (Vukovar). He contributed to Croatian and international journals and lectured regularly at European universities.

Bauer will also be remembered with gratitude in Croatia for an act of personal heroism, the rescue and preservation of the Austrian sculptor Anton Dominik Fernkorn's 19th century bronze equestrian portrait statue of Ban Josip Jelacic.

The monument, installed in Zagreb's main square in 1866, was dismantled by the new communist regime in 1947, but under cover of night Bauer took the parts away and concealed them in the Gipsoteka. In 1990, on the brink of Croatia's declaration of independence, the equestrian group was restored to its original site. Anthea Brook

### **Publications by the Croatian Musicological Society Zagreb, Croatia**

#### **Journals *Arti musices***

Published twice yearly since 1969. Articles in Croatian and English. Current issue Vol. 30/2 (1999) Price: US \$46 per year/volume (back issues available). Editor-in-Chief, Vjera Katalinic

#### ***International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music***

Published twice yearly since 1970. Articles in English, French and German. Current issue Vol. 31/1 (2000). Price: US \$46 per year/volume (back issues available). Editor-in-Chief, Stanislav Tuksar

**Musicological Studies Stanislav Tuksar: *Croatian Music Terminology in the Baroque Period*** (in Croatian), 1992.

**Sanja Majer-Bobetko: *Music Criticism in Croatia Between the Two World Wars*** (in Croatian), 1994.

**Miljenko Grgic: *Musical Culture in the Split Cathedral from 1750 till 1940*** (in Croatian), 1997.

## Proceedings

*The Musical Baroque, Western Slavs, and the Spirit of the European Cultural Communion* (English-Croatian), 1993.

*Music, Ideas, and Society. Essays in Honour of Ivan Supicic* (multi-lingual), 1993.

*Off-Mozart. Musical Culture and the "Kleinmeister" of Central Europe 1750-1820* (multi-lingual), 1995.

*Krsto Odak. Life and Work* (multi-lingual), 1997.

*Zagreb and Music 1094-1994* (multi-lingual), 1998.

*Music, Words, and Images. Essays in Honour of Koraljka Kos* (multi-lingual), 1999.

*Music, Folklore, and Culture. Essays in Honour of Jerko Bezic* (multi-lingual), 1999.

*Mediaeval Music Cultures on the Eastern and Western Shores of the Adriatic* (multi-lingual), 2000 (in print).

**Gazophylacium Musicae Croaticae** Dora Pejacevic: *Sonata for Violin and Piano*, op. 26, 1995.

**Indices collectionum musicarum tabulariorumque in Croatia** *Guide Through Music Libraries and Collections in Zagreb* (Croatian-English), compiled by Vedrana Juricic, 1997.

Vedrana Juricic: *Catalogue of Music Manuscripts and Prints in the Benedictine Nunnery in Cres* (in print).

**For any further information please write to: Croatian Musicological Society Opaticka 18 HR-10000 Zagreb Croatia Fax: +385 1 4684701 E-mail:**

**NEW BOOK** Ante Cuvalo. *Removing the Mask - Letters and Statements Concerning Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1989-2000*. Chicago: Croatian Franciscan Press, 2000. 364 pages. \$ 11.00 (postage included). Send your order to: Ante Cuvalo, 19121 Wildwood Ave., Lansing, IL 60438. Tel/Fax 708-895-5531 e-mail: [cuv@netzero.com](mailto:cuv@netzero.com)



**THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE IN COMPARISON TO THE SLOVAK LANGUAGE SITUATION\***

**Vinko Grubišić**

There are a number of languages in the Slavic world that show certain similarities in their evolution and relationship to other languages or to other countries. The Slovak language situation certainly demonstrates the most similarities to “the Croatian language situation,” especially when one discusses the newer phase of formation of these two languages, or more precisely, from 1918 until the present.(1)

Up until 1918 both Croatia and Slovakia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In the last phase of the Dual Monarchy both the Slovak and Croatian languages especially were exposed to the strong pressure of Magyarization. After entering into a union with other Slavic nations-against the will of the Slovak and Croatian peoples-the language situation of the Croats and Slovaks changed significantly. The insistence in Czechoslovakia was that the language of the Czechs and Slovaks be studied emphasizing their common traits. This resulted in the frequent simplistic conclusion that Slovak was the “western dialect of Czech” (and never the opposite: that Czech was the “eastern dialect of Slovak”). In the case of the Croatian language-which from the 11th century was called by its Croatian name and entered our century with a fairly good stabilized norm-several *unsuccessful* linguistic meetings occurred with the result that Croatian was often proclaimed a half-language, “variant”, etc. Besides that, Yugoslavia, like Czechoslovakia, often attempted to force upon the non-Serbian nations the language of the most populated nation as the “common language”-*lingua communis*. In both Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia all such attempts only provoked a negative effect, opposite from the one that was desired.

Prior to the Second World War there appeared in both Croatia and Slovakia a strong demand for the separation and even distancing of Croatian from Serbian and Slovak from Czech, respectively. This process, which some considered a purism, really meant a return to language sources which began in Slovakia with the appearance of the first issue of the journal *Slovanská reč* (*The Slovak language*, 1932), while the same role was filled in Croatia by the journal *Hrvatski jezik* (*The Croatian language*), edited by Stjepan Ivšić (first issue 1938).

During the war, in both Slovakia and Croatia, an intentional distancing occurred from the Czech and Serbian languages respectively.

After World War II important changes on the linguistic level occurred in Czechoslovakia. With the emigration of the Sudeten Germans according to the Potsdam Agreement, Slovaks became the second largest population in Czechoslovakia surpassing all the other minorities together. In this way Slovakia’s position became similar to Croatia’s.

Although after the war the Slovak and Croatian languages were often proclaimed to be the “relics of the petit bourgeoisie”, both languages had official status. Such a situation remained in Croatia until the end of 1953, that is, when a new Croatian orthography was announced in Zagreb.(2)

At the same time in Czechoslovakia, the Slovak language became imperceptibly reduced more and more to the status of a dialect, while the Czech language became more and more the *lingua communis*.

The linguistic symposium held at Smolenice in Slovakia, from December 5 to 7, 1966, became an important date and turning point in the development of the Slovak language. Experts on the synchrony and diachrony of the Slovak language made known their theses, which Jozef Ružička summarized into twelve points. Following this event, one could only treat the Slovak language as a *separate Slavic language*, and the fact that it is similar to another language does not make it any less distinct, nor standard, nor polyfunctional, than any other Slavic language.

Not even half a year later, in March of 1967, there appeared in Zagreb the well-known *Declaration Concerning the Name and the Position of the Croatian Literary Language* (the weekly *Telegram*) which was signed by all the prominent Croatian cultural and educational institutions, as well as all notable authors and writers.(3) This Declaration marks the beginning of the actual emancipation of the Croatian language.

The most important difference between the Slovak and Croatian languages in their respective multinational communities was that after World War II, pressure on the Slovak language was not as strong as it was on Croatian. Fortunately, circumstances for the Slovak language were such that there were no official agreements (which politicians would proscribe, organize and imperceptibly direct), as was the Novi Sad Agreement.(4) From these rather fortunate circumstances arose another one: in world linguistic and especially Slavist circles, as well as certain West European and American Slavic chairs, Slovak was studied and dealt with as a distinct language. On the other hand, the truth about the Croatian language has difficulty, even today, in reaching those places from which it never should have even been expelled, namely, from chairs of Slavic studies.(5)

\* \* \*

Since the Slovak linguistic reality was up until today best and most concisely expressed through Jozef Ružička's twelve theses on Slovak ("*Tezy o slovenčine*"), and the Croatian linguistic reality in Dalibor Brozović's "*Deset teza o hrvatskom jeziku*," we will see that, mutatis mutandis, overall these theses are harmonious.(6) Let us compare them:

	RUŽIČKA (7)	BROZOVIĆ(8)
I.	<i>Thesis 2:</i> Slovak is the national language of the Slovaks and functions as a state language.	<i>Thesis 1:</i> The Croatian language is the language used by the Croatian nation as its main means of expression.
II.	<i>Thesis 3:</i> Slovak is a differentiated national language and its varieties constitute a dialectal unity. <i>Thesis 4:</i> Literary Slovak is the basis and most important variety of the Slovak language.	<i>Thesis 6:</i> The Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialectal basis of the Croatian standard language contains only the Western NeoŠtokavian features of the Ijekavian and Ikavian subdialects. <i>Thesis 8:</i> The dialectal basis of the Croatian standard language is NeoŠtokavian because the majority of Croats speak Štokavian and

		not because, in addition to the Croats, there are others who use the same dialect.
III.	<p><i>Thesis 6:</i> The main characteristic of the development of contemporary literary Slovak is the development in conformity with its own natural laws.</p> <p><i>Thesis 12:</i> Close rapport with literary Slovak is an expression of the Slovaks' patriotic national pride; it is an expression of their membership in a national culture.</p>	<p><i>Thesis 3:</i> The Croatian standard language is the result of an uninterrupted development from the earliest Glagolitic written monuments until today.</p> <p><i>Thesis 5:</i> The Croatian standard language developed its culturo-linguistic structure independently and in its own way.</p>
IV.	<p><i>Thesis 7:</i> Structural congruity, stability, and functionality of the linguistic means are the essential criteria for determining the literary status of the linguistic means.</p> <p><i>Thesis 9:</i> Codification of literary Slovak is a scholarly description of the linguistic means and norms that have been sanctioned by a representative national institution.</p> <p><i>Thesis 11:</i> Language education is a socially necessary and progressive activity and consequently merits increased attention.</p> <p><i>Thesis 1:</i> Slovak is a genetically and typologically distinct Slavic language.</p>	<p><i>Thesis 2:</i> Among all the manifestations of the Croatian language the most important one is the Croatian standard language, with its specific dialectal basis, which is characterized by its history and superstructure.</p> <p><i>Thesis 9:</i> The rights of the Croatian standard language are determined by the functions it performs for the Croatian nation, and not by the degree of similarity or dissimilarity it may have with other languages.</p>
V.	<p><i>Thesis 5:</i> The contemporary stage of development of the Slovak literary language comprises the period between the 1940s and the present.</p>	
VI.	<p><i>Thesis 8:</i> The following are the sources for the study of contemporary literary Slovak: selected usage, good linguistic consciousness, and the results of contemporary research.</p> <p><i>Thesis 10:</i> The quality of linguistic practice depends on the cultural level of the users of the literary language: it is measured by linguistic correctness, stylistic adequacy and social appropriateness of the means used.</p>	<p><i>Thesis 10:</i> Laws and regulations for the Croatian standard language have their source in that very language and in its service to the Croatian nation and society.</p>
VII.		<p><i>Thesis 4:</i> The Croatian standard language, formed in the middle of the 18th century, is also in our time open to the Kajkavian and Èakavian dialects.</p>
VIII.		<p><i>Thesis 7:</i> Slavic comparative and dialectological criteria are valid only for the science of Slavic studies.</p>

*Ad I:* Since there are no reasons that either the Slovaks or Croats would change their language, ipso facto, all possible combinations for the name of the languages except for “Slovak” or “Croatian”, are rejected. As stated by Radoslav Katièić in his article “Historical scope of the Croatian language”: “*If the Croatian nation, Croatian culture and Croatian literature exist, then necessarily, without regards to any linguistic facts, there exists from this point of view, the Croatian language as their expression.*” (9) The same assertion could also be applied to the Slovak language. The statement “*without regards to any linguistic facts*” does not exclude the linguistic fact that Croatian and Slovak must be regarded as individual languages. Nonetheless, Katièić correctly considers them less important than ethnolinguistic realities.

*Ad II:* Although the dialectal basis is different between the Slovaks and the Croats, it is important to mention that both nations have chosen for their standard literary language *their own* dialect, regardless of the fact that the dialect was used by other nations for their standard languages (Croatian case). This general statement requires a more studious and more detailed approach, that would require another separate work.

*Ad III:* In spite of political pressures-which were especially strong throughout this century-both the Slovak and Croatian languages succeeded in preserving their continuity.(10) The following was written by Stjepan Ivšić about the Croatian language: “*Today’s Croatian Štokavian literary language is only the organic continuation of our literary language which we had even before Vuk\* (...)*”.(11) Among the Slovaks the centralistic tendencies resulted in purism and firm norms, on the basis of the developmental law of the Slovak language. This development might not have occurred without this pressure.

*Ad IV:* This is by far the most important section for both the Slovak and Croatian languages, as Ružička’s numbers 1, 7, 9, 11 and Brozović’s 2 and 9 contain the most essential questions for both languages: the right of the nation to its language and the functioning of that language.

*Ad V:* Ružička’s fifth thesis deals exclusively with Slovak, as its situation is completely different from Croatian. While the Slovak language passed without any major disturbances after the Second World War, the Novi Sad Agreement-which Croatian cultural and educational institutions rejected in the early 1970s-brought into question the very existence and name of the Croatian language.

*Ad VI:* This section could also be classified under section IV.

*Ad VII:* The centrifugal political forces in which Croatia was passing through from the 15th century to the present, were specific to Croatia alone. Brozović justifiably holds that the Croatian

linguistic standard originated in the 18th century, but already during the Renaissance-and even earlier (*Petris' Codex*, for instance)-writers such as Marko Marulić (Split), Petar Zoranić (Zadar), Hanibal Lucić (Hvar), Marin Držić (Dubrovnik), and others, wrote in a language which greatly surpassed their immediate native regions. The first Croatian encyclopedic dictionary written by Ivan Belostenac under the title *Gazophylacium*, appeared in the 17th century and was based on all three Croatian dialects. By the 17th century, several Croatian writers considered Croatian Štokavian (sometimes called “Bosnian”) to be the “most beautiful” Croatian dialect. All this illustrates that, logically, Croatian linguistic development should have resulted in the linguistic standard in the 18th century, that is, during the time of Andrija Kačić Miošić and Matija Reljković.

The Slovaks, who mainly resisted Magyarization, passed through a different, although no less painful development. What was probably the most significant for both nations during the last two and a half centuries, were the pan-Slavic ideas which are understandable when we keep in mind that Slavdom was in practice never experienced by either nation. These ideas promising Slavic mutuality, friendship, and understanding have not yet been sufficiently studied. Naturally, in that respect, both the Croats and Czechs experienced profound disillusionment.

*Ad VIII:* Brozović's seventh thesis is not all that important even for Croatian linguistic reality. Namely, the artificial terms “Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian” have a certain importance, only if one speaks “about language as a diasystem”, that is, as “a pure abstraction”. Therefore, it is just as important to talk about the East Slavic linguistic diasystem (or about East Slavic language diasystems), “West Slavic linguistic diasystem” (diasystems), and so on.

Brozović himself stated: “*A common diasystem means only that Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, and Croatian dialects, from the Slavist point of view, as a whole, oppose Slovenian, and Macedonian and Bulgarian, and nothing more.*”(12)

One of the worst things that occurred to the Croatian language was the “double standard”, that is, that one “truth” about the language ruled throughout the world, more or less everywhere outside of Croatia, while another separate truth ruled inside Croatia itself, where the Croatian language was sanctioned by the constitution. I believe that one of the main tasks of Slavic studies, especially Croatistics, is to remove this anomaly.

At the same time, “Czechoslovakian” as a diasystem was never even mentioned, nor would it even have made any sense, as both Czech and Slovak belong to the group of West Slavic languages, just as Serbian and Croatian-if we rid them of all political machinations-belong to the group of South Slavic languages. What is common to both-and this is important to mention-is that “Czechoslovakian” was used by those who truly did not understand the linguistic situation of the Czechs and Slovaks, as well as by those who were more concerned about assimilating the

Slovaks, than about any scientific explanations. The same is true with the term “Serbocroatian”. Never has anyone ever spoken that language, nor written in it, but it was favored by all those whose minds were burdened not only with the wish that one day that language might exist, but that it should exist, as well as by those for whom the thousand year old Croatian culture, and the fact that Croats always called their language by its own name, were just unimportant details.(13)

Ružička, Milan Fryšček, and other linguists, who were engaged in the study of the Slovak language emphasized how one of the greatest mistakes was that the linguistic dynamism of the Slovak language was always seen through the degree of differentiation in its relation to the Czech language.

Those who speak Czech, can understand quite well those who speak Slovak, but it does not cross anyone’s mind to speak about one and the same language, reducing it to understanding. Language is much more than understanding, even in the eyes of those who have reduced understanding to two hundred words.

The situation is similar to the Croatian and Serbian languages. Croats and Serbs can understand each other, but the more they are forced “to understand each other”, it seems that they understand each other less and less and that they have very little to say to each other.

The question arises: And what did the Czech’s lose when the Slovak language was accepted throughout the world (after the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovakia sanctioned it in 1968)? We ask ourselves, what did the Serbs really lose when the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia in the same year recognized the Croatian literary language as a distinct language? Did the Serbian language become “less Serbian” by this act?

In his ninth thesis Brozović stated:

The Croatian standard language is for the Croatian nation, from the functional point of view, its standard language, just as other standard languages are for other nations. The Croatian nation does not have any other standard language. The rights of an individual language cannot be determined by the fact that it is more or less similar, completely dissimilar or very similar to some other language. That would be just as senseless and unacceptable as if in human society we would deny civil rights to fraternal or identical twins.(14)

Another well-known Croatian linguist, Stjepan Babić, noted:

The Croatian standard language was standardized independently of Serbian. The activities of the Croatian followers of Vuk Karadžić certainly meant an approach closer to the Serbian

standard language, but from a normative perspective there remained an independent manner for the standardization of the Croatian language for Croats. In addition, it is necessary to stress, that due to the strong individuality of the Croatian standard language, Croatian followers of Vuk did not succeed in the degree to which they wished. The attempt at complete abolishment of Croatian linguistic norms with the Novi Sad Agreement and some later linguistic works did not succeed and in the life of the Croatian literary language will only be a very short period of time.

Here it is also important to emphasize that the Croats were able to enter into contemporary international cultural life with their present-day standard language independently of and before the Serbs, and this is not without influence on the very norms of the standard language.<sup>(15)</sup> A very similar statement could also be made for Slovak, that is, about its relationship towards Czech.

In the end, there is a significant difference between the paths of development of the Croatian language and the Slovak language from the Second World War until the present. While the truth about the Slovak language has been accepted by Western Slavists (outside of Slovakia) as it received the status that belonged to it according to its diachronical and synchronical development, the Croatian language situation is different. Only in recent times, namely from 1980, has the Croatian language been recognized in schools and in the state administration of some European countries, as well as in Australia and Canada. In the administration and schools of other countries however, the truth is becoming slowly, but certainly, evident.

**Translated by Stan Granic**

## NOTES

\*The Croatian original is entitled “Hrvatski jezik u usporedbi sa slovaèkom jeziènom situacijom” and appeared in the journal *Hrvatska revija*, 41, nos. 3-4 (1991), 376-382. The translator wishes to express his gratitude to Jim Hartling for reading the manuscript and providing his editorial comments-trans.

<sup>1</sup> For the Croatian language I have primarily consulted these works: Dalibor Brozoviè, “Deset teza o hrvatskom jeziku,” *Hrvatska revija*, 25 (1975), 209-215; id., “Hrvatski jezik, njegovo mjesto unutar južnoslavenskih i drugih slavenskih jezika, njegove povijesne mijene kao jezika hrvatske književnosti,” in *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, eds. Aleksander Flaker and Krunoslav Pranjiè (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveuèilišta u Zagrebu and Sveuèilišna naklada Liber, 1978), pp. 9-83; Stjepan Babiè, “Lingvistièko određenje hrvatskoga književnog jezika,” *Jezik*, 18 (1970-1971), 129-137. For the Slovak language: Robert Auty, “The Evolution of Literary Slovak,” *Transactions of the Philological Society, London* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 143-160; J. Belie et al., *Slovenština*.

*Vysokoškolská učebnice pro studující českého jazyka*, 4th ed. (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1972); Milan Fryšák, "The Two Official Languages of Czechoslovakia," in *Sociolinguistic Problems in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia*, eds. William R. Schmalstieg and Thomas F. Magner (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers Inc., 1978), pp. 343-352, published as part of *Folia Slavica*, vol. 1, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> It is unclear what exactly happened to this *Orthography of the Croatian Literary Language*. What is known is that it was compiled by several Croatian linguists of the Croatian Philological Society and completed in 1954; however its publication was banned by the educational authorities. For more information see: Ljudevit Jonke, *Hrvatski jezik danas* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971), p. 115-trans.

<sup>3</sup> "Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika," *Telegram*, VIII, no. 359, p. 1. The text was submitted to the parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the parliament of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and to the public. Among the signers was the famous writer Miroslav Krleža. An English translation of the Declaration, by Karlo Mirth, first appeared in *Croatia Press*, vol. 21, nos. 253-254 (1967), 12-16. This version, with minor changes, can also be found in: Christopher Spalatin, "Serbo-Croatian or Serbian and Croatian? Considerations on the Croatian Declaration and Serbian Proposal of March 1967," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 7-8 (1966-1967), 6-9 and in vols. 25-26 (1984-1985), pp. 9-12 of the same journal. Among the results of the Declaration was *Matica hrvatska*'s withdrawal (in 1971) from its joint publishing venture with *Matica srpska* of the *Rječnik hrvatskosrpskog književnog jezika* (Dictionary of the Croatoserbian literary language). Although only two volumes of this dictionary were published in Zagreb, *Matica srpska* completed the publication of its six volume Serbocroatian dictionary in 1976. Branko Franolić, *Language Policy in Yugoslavia with Special Reference to Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1988), p. 18-trans.

<sup>4</sup>From December 8 to 10, 1954, twenty-five Serbian, Montenegrin, and Croatian linguists and writers held a series of meetings and drew up ten points called the Novi Sad Resolutions. This accord was conducted in a climate of fear and came about through political pressure. The agreement provided a blueprint for the publication of a common orthography and dictionary, as well as the creation of common scientific terminology. See: Ivo Banac, "Main Trends in the Croat Language Question," in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, eds. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, Yale Russian and East European Publications, no. 4-a (New Haven, CT: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1984), I, 247-248-trans.

<sup>5</sup> After the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia recognized the existence of the Croatian standard language, as a distinct language, the situation concerning that language has improved.

<sup>6</sup> Brozović's theses were partially published in *Školske novine*, in December, 1971, after which they were pronounced, discussed and accepted by the Croatian Philological Society in Zagreb. The text from *Školske novine* has unfortunately until today remained, inaccessible.

<sup>7</sup>The English translations of Ružička's theses are taken, with minor changes, from Fryšček, pp. 349-350-trans.

<sup>8</sup> Professor Brozović prepared these ten theses for a conference dealing with the following theme: "Foundations for the Curriculum of the Croatian Language and Literature in Secondary Schools". This conference was held from November 22 to 24, 1971, in Šibenik. At that time mimeographed copies of the theses were provided to the several hundred teachers of the Croatian language in attendance. See: Christopher Spalatin, "The Rise of the Croatian Standard Language," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 16 (1975), 9-10. The complete publication of Brozović's ten theses are found in the 1975 issue of *Hrvatska revija* [Dalibor Brozović, "Deset teza o hrvatskom jeziku," *Hrvatska revija*, 25 (1975), 209-215]. They were also reprinted in a 1986 publication: Dalibor Brozović, "O ključnim pitanjima hrvatskoga književnog jezika," in *Susreti. Zbornik radova Susretâ hrvatskih studenata u tuđini (1981- 1986)*, ed. Branko Šimović, 6 (Zagreb-Bochum: Kršćanska sadašnjost and Hrvatska katolička misija Bochum, 1986), pp. 136-145. The translator employed, with minor changes, professor Spalatin's English translation of Brozović's theses found in the above mentioned article "The Rise..."-trans.

<sup>9</sup> R. Katičić, "Opseg povijesti hrvatskoga jezika," in *Hrvatski znanstveni zbornik*, ed. Danilo Pejović, 1 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1971), p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> With regards to the Croatian language see: Zlatko Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnoga jezika* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1978) and Branko Franolić, *An Historical Survey of Literary Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1984). For the Slovak language: V. Blanař, E. Jóna and J. Ružička, *Dejiny spisovnej slovenšiny*, 2 vols. (Bratislava: Slovenske pedagogicke nakladateljstvo, 1974).

\*Refers to the language reformer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864) who rebelled against Serbian literary tradition and pressed for the use of the peasants' speech as the basis of the Serbian literary language. As a result, he chose Neo-Štokavian as the dialectal basis of the Serbian language. Karadžić's ideas also influenced a number of Croats who began to cultivate the Croatian literary language solely on the basis of the Neo-Štokavian dialect. When formulating their linguistic principles these followers of Karadžić tended not to take into account the development of Croatian literature which also boasted highly refined literary traditions in both the Šakavian and Kajkavian dialects. Franolić, *An Historical*, pp. 31-47-trans.

<sup>11</sup> Stjepan Ivšić, "Hrvatski književni jezik," *Hrvatski jezik*, 1, nos. 2-3 (Zagreb, 1938), 35.

<sup>12</sup>Brozović, "Deset teza," p. 213.

<sup>13</sup>There is no question that Croats no longer wish under any circumstances to abandon their Croatian language and the Croatian name for that language. The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (Paragraph 173) stated: *The same rights are guaranteed to all nations which live in the Socialist Republic of Croatia: Croats, Serbs, Hungarians, Czechs, Italians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, and other nations and nationalities. In order to ensure the equality of nations and nationalities and the freedom of citizens to express their national characteristics every nation and nationality is guaranteed the right in accordance with the needs of common life...to use their language and alphabet, to call their language by its own name, to develop their own culture and education in their own language, and to enjoy other rights ensured by this constitution.*" *Ustav Socijalističke republike Hrvatske*, 3rd ed. (Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1976), p. 294. It would be truly absurd that in Croatia, the right to use one's language, is recognized even to those whose population does not exceed a few thousand, while the same right is denied to Croats in their own country.

<sup>14</sup>Brozović, "Deset teza," p. 214. [The English translation of Brozović's comments were taken, with some modification, from Spalatin's article "The Rise," p. 15-trans.]

<sup>15</sup>Babić, pp. 134-135.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Misha Glenny.** *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804-1999*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2000, 726 pp. \$34.95.

**Tim Judah.** *Kosovo: War and Revenge*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, 336 pp. \$40.00.

**Michale Ignatieff.** *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*. New York: Henry Holt, 2000, 249 PP. \$23.00.

Reviewed by **Ivo Banac**, Yale University. Published in *Foreign affairs*. 79, no. 3, (2000): 152

Western policy toward eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has been a vast improvisation since communism's collapse. Nowhere has this been more evident than in the Balkans. In the 1995 Dayton Accord, the West ratified the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina by failing to commit resources to Dayton's most important civilian mandate, the return of

refugees. The very negotiations at Dayton depended on the promotion, enhancement, and legitimization of the Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic, the primary engineer of the Bosnian war. The results were a divided Bosnia and inevitable turmoil in Kosovo. In spring 1999 NATO fought a war in Kosovo without any plan to budge Milosevic from power, thereby ensuring that his grip over Serbia became stronger than ever. Meanwhile, the West continues to hold Montenegro and Kosovo back from independence, even though both will likely be future battlegrounds.

Given the West's inability-or unwillingness-to grasp the realities of the current Balkan scene, fresh accounts on Balkan history, including reevaluations of the most recent Kosovo developments, should be welcomed. Now three writers have tackled the subject in different ways, with mixed results. Misha Glenny provides an account of the last two centuries of Balkan history but in a highly contemporary key, Tim Judah continues his study of Serbian politics with a judicious account of the Kosovo issue, and Michael Ignatieff offers his own version of what the NATO action in Kosovo meant in the annals of modern warfare.

#### ENTER GLENNY

Glenny's work is lowbrow history on a grand scale. A master scriptwriter, Glenny has produced a book that could easily be broken into a series of Hollywood romances. As befits the genre, the narrative has little original interpretation. Instead, in a show of directorial fancy, he carefully blocks out the entrances and exits of the notable names of Balkan history: Karadjordje Petrovic, the leader of the first Serbian uprising against the Turks in 1804; the great nineteenth-century statebuilders (Nikola Pagic, Stefan Stambolov, and Eleutherios Venizelos but, curiously, not Ion BrAtianu); the royal dictators of the interwar period (King Zog, Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, Boris III, and Carol II); and finally the communist dictators (Enver Hoxha, Tito, and Nicolae Ceausescu).

Glenny's views are not as Serbocentric as some critics have charged. Were he Serbocentric in earnest, he would have given some prominence to such anti-hegemonist Serbs as Svetozar Markovic and Dimitrije Tucovic, or perhaps to such uncompromising anti-Milosevic figures as Latinka Perovic, the leader of Serbia's liberal Communists who was purged in 1972, or Bogdan Bogdanovic, the former mayor of Belgrade. He would have said something about the Serbian Orthodox church, including its seminal figures of the twentieth century: Nikolaj Velimirovic and Justin Popovic. But that would have meant a focus on ideas-and one cannot make a movie out of ideas.

It would be exhausting to cite everything missing in Glenny. Definitions are missing, including the most crucial one: What are the Balkans—an area of the Ottoman Empire's legacy? If so, what is the legacy? Ideologies and social thought are missing. The first noun in the

subtitle– “nationalism”-is never defined or analyzed; it is merely assumed. The same can be said of liberalism, socialism, communism, and fascism. This history of the modern Balkans does not even discuss the nature of partisan conflict, other than in terms of foreign patronage. Glenny deems Yugoslavia’s King Aleksandar important, but he never mentions his political decisions, like the creation of the banovinas in 1929 that redrew the borders of the country’s historical provinces. Religion, politics, society, and culture are missing. Whole nations (Slovenia) and movements (Nationalist Youth, Orthodoxism) are missing. Glenny has produced a history of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Balkans with no reference to Petar II Petrovic-Njegos, Montenegro’s great poet and prince– bishop. Indeed, there are hardly any references to Montenegro itself.

Despite a few references in the bibliography, Glenny also fails to refer to some of the most notable contemporary scholars of the Balkan countries, including those writing in Western languages. He discusses Macedonia-one of his favorite subjects-without referring to the works of such specialists as Fikret Adanir, John D. Bell, Anastasia Karakasidou, Andrew Rossos, or Stefan Troebst. This cannot be a result of ignorance; Glenny uses many more obscure texts by lesser-known authors. Rather, it is a result of choice. Glenny’s favorite sources are travelers, soldiers, diplomats, and journalists like himself-colorful and quotable types.

But this approach is no excuse for sloppiness. Take the case of the revolution of 1848 in Croatia. Here Glenny draws on the wonderfully literary synthesis by the writer Josip Horvath, written before World War II. There is nothing wrong with that, even though Glenny seems to be aware of the far more authoritative postwar works by the Croat historian Jaroslav Sidak. But Glenny’s use of Horvath is quite creative. He first quotes Horvath’s own citation from the diary of Baron Josip Neustadter, a Croatian general and a friend of Josip Jelacic, the loyalist Hapsburg viceroy of Croatia. He follows by throwing a Horvath sentence into the supposed Neustadter quote. The next sentence is Glenny’s paraphrase of the following Horvath sentence. And then he quotes Jelacic from Horvath-without attribution.

Indeed, the entire text is marred by geographical errors, misspellings, and biographical inaccuracies. Ivan Pernar, a Croat Peasant Party deputy whom this reviewer met in 1960, is recorded as having been assassinated in 1928; the central Turkish city of Kayseri becomes a district of Istanbul; the son of the Comintern leader Georgi Dimitrov is noted as having been killed in World War II when in fact he died of diphtheria in 1943. The examples run on.

What remain in the book are mostly descriptions of wars, massacres, and great-power meddling. Glenny claims that “consistently and conspicuously absent from Western reflections on the Balkans since the latter half of the nineteenth century has been any consideration of the impact of the West itself on the region.” He evidently aims to correct this mistake, as he sees it. But little in this enormous book, except for occasional homilies, suggests an original account of

the relationship between the great powers and the Balkans. Glenny's recounting of the great powers' maneuvering before World War I, for example, adds nothing fresh to the literature. Nor is it news that Soviet diplomats-like Grigory Popov, Stalin's military mission chief in Athens-could be as cold-blooded as any other imperialist.

Glenny's central argument is that the Balkans have constantly suffered from great-power interference. He cites the 1878 Congress of Berlin, World War I and its aftermath, and World War II as particularly egregious examples of how Western intervention can backfire. Exactly how these events went wrong is not spelled out-except in the last instance, in reference to the Nazi-sponsored genocide throughout the Balkans. Was the 1878 Congress of Berlin wrong because it upset the rise of Greater Bulgaria? Was it wrong that Serbia and Romania expanded after 1918? If so, what was the alternative? Was the 1912 establishment of Albania a mistake? Should one assume that the imperialisms of the Balkan states are innately wiser than those of western Europe? Glenny has in fact broadened his criticism of Western intervention in the Balkans of the 1990s to make a case against *all* outside interference in the last two centuries. But his historical research is too limited to back up his sweeping claim.

Although reputedly a Yugoslav specialist, Glenny is weakest on the history of Yugoslavia. His account becomes less substantial as it discusses the 1960s, but it is the least adequate on the post-Tito 1980s and the rise of Milosevic. This enormously important and complicated period is reduced to a handful of events: the Pristina demonstrations of 1981 (although the larger issue of Kosovo's status is ignored); a paragraph on the economic difficulties of the mid-1980s; two promising but bland paragraphs on the Serbian Academy's Memorandum, which presaged the rise of new Serb nationalism; and finally, war's outbreak in 1991. In fact, Glenny offers no analysis of how the Titoist system contributed to the making and the unmaking of Yugoslavia. Likewise, he reduces the series of wars after 1991 to their Bosnian part, notably to the movement around the Milosevic-Tudjman vortex and the reactive (and inadequate) actions of the great powers. *Bosni*79, no. 3 (May/June 2000): p. 152-157a was indeed the most important aspect of these wars, but Glenny overlooks the fact that the wars were driven by the ideological determination to build ethnically homogenous states and create a firm border between Serbia and Croatia. To accomplish this, Bosnia had to be destroyed.

Glenny is right to challenge NATO's claims to morality in the most recent Kosovo intervention-and to argue that NATO's moral victory will ultimately depend on postintervention reconstruction and recovery. But he never addresses the more important issue: whether the West can be expected to protect the Balkans' unique traditions of religious pluralism if the West itself has lost its premodern, religious moorings. Nor does he ask whether this is a Western problem at all.

KOSOVO OR DEMOCRACY?

Tim Judah's graceful book is less ambitious but more analytical and better researched than Glenny's. He concentrates on Kosovo from 1912, when it was incorporated into Serbia, to the present: the Milosevic era, Ibrahim Rugova's "phantom state" of the 1990s (and corresponding developments in the other ex-Yugoslav lands), the rise of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), and the new wave of Milosevic terror ending with NATO's intervention last year. Everything worth knowing about contemporary Kosovo is included in this evenhanded book. Judah even discusses the emerging monopolistic policies of the KLA chieftain Hashim Thaci-a trend that began with anti-Serb revanchism and will probably end with the repression of liberal Kosovar Albanians, perhaps under the noses of NATO peacekeeping troops.

Judah also clearly defines the meaning of Kosovo for the Serbs. Because compromise with the Kosovar Albanians was never an option before the war and force emerged as the only solution, Serbia had to choose between "Kosovo or democracy." The failure to find a solution to this dilemma, especially after the NATO bombing campaign, means that Serbia now has neither. The equivalent failure of Kosovar Albanians could mean that they will have Kosovo but no democracy-or security.

Michael Ignatieff has written a book on the Kosovo war that is as engaging as Judah's but not as discerning. Ignatieff was there, and his reporting is as vivid and moving as his portraits of the leading figures-U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke, Judge Louise Arbour of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and others. The victims are not forgotten, and neither are the voices with opposing views, like the Serb writer Aleksa Djilas. Ignatieff favored the NATO intervention, but he uses his book to reexamine its merits.

Ignatieff investigates the Kosovo war using the concept of "virtuality"-the generated appearance of reality when something is invented and appears in three dimensions but does not really exist. In this case, Ignatieff is interested in the opposite process: making something real appear less so. A virtual war is fought so that as few people as possible actually notice its reality. Such a war presupposes several things: that new kinds of weapons are used, that casualties on "our" side must be avoided, and that the cause must be presented as just-without having to mobilize or even interest the whole nation. In this "postmodern war," communications are not cut off. A New Yorker can easily keep in touch with friends in Belgrade, the population in the targeted country indulges in elaborate spectacles for CNN, and so on. The eponymous chapter of the book is couched in the language of political and military decisions, ignoring the contributions to the virtuality debate previously introduced by the Paris-based theorists Jean Baudillard and Paul Virilio. Ignatieff also ignores the real issue-what this type of armed intervention actually achieved. Milosevic, like Saddam Hussein, remains in power and perhaps has not yet played his last Kosovo card.

All three authors are British-based journalists. Some are better, some are worse, but none is really involved. In his first chapter, Judah notes that “these parts of the Balkans were well covered by journalists and travelers from Britain” a century ago. Today all three seem to carry on this same spectator sport in which the natives are observed and analyzed. But at the beginning of a new century, this wounded region requires more than detached analysis.

What most observers ignore is that the reconstruction of Bosnia holds the key for overall regional recovery. While Kosovo gets attention in the headlines, the press overlooks the nuts and bolts of economic development in Bosnia and the daily battles against the ruling ethnic cleansers who continue to frustrate refugee return and the most elementary legal reforms. Last year’s Stability Pact has been nothing but a photo opportunity, without any teeth or credibility, despite its promises of security and economic aid.

On an even larger scale, the whole area desperately needs a new vision after Western intervention. Such a vision would require the independence of all the former federal units of Yugoslavia but it would also require cohesion within a larger regional scheme that includes a customs union, a multilateral security system, and freedom of travel and information. This is impossible as long as Milosevic is in power. His regime caps two centuries of ethnic forest fires that have destroyed the Balkans’ complex multiethnicity. Indeed, this task is impossible as long as the general Balkan national-revolutionary model, which seeks to establish nationally homogeneous states, remains credible. That model started with the Serbian uprisings of the early nineteenth century and has now nearly run its bloody course, destabilizing and undoing the complex structures of old Bosnia, old Croatia, and old Kosovo. Western leaders and many Balkan experts have no sense of loss over this. In that sense, they are truly “modern.” Hence the emptiness of debates against “essentializing” the Balkans and the spurious arguments of those who argue that the region’s woes stem from “ancient ethnic hatreds.” Still, the dearth of hope—which is evident in all these books—is the greatest loss.

\* \* \* \* **Stipo Susic, *Road to Hell and Back***. Croatian Franciscan Press, 137 p. \$10.00.  
Reviewed by **Janusz Bugajski**. Published in *The Washington Times*, Sunday, March 19, 2000, page B7.

Janusz Bugajski’s review of two books (*Making Peace Prevail: Preventing Violent Conflict in Macedonia* by Alice Ackerman, Syracuse University Press, 217 p. \$ 45 and *The Road to Hell and Back* by Stipo Susic, Croatian Franciscan Press, 137 p. \$ 10 not \$15, as in Mr. Bugajski’s review.) was published in *The Washington Times*, Sunday, March 19, 2000, page B7. We bring here excerpts from the review that relate to Susic’s book: “Stipo Susic’s book provides a personal account to his traumas during the anti-civilian war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.... The consequences of international failures and domestic radicalism were most apparent in Bosnia, a conflict engineered by Belgrade. Mr. Susic, a Croatian Catholic parish priest from northern

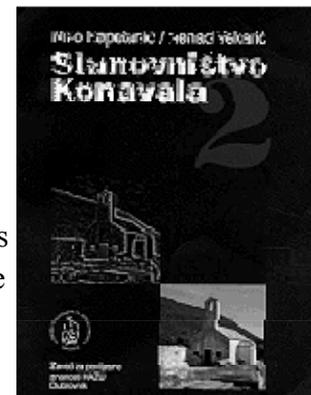
Bosnia provides a harrowing account of his experiences in 1992 at the hands of Serb militants and militaries. He was a witness to the torture and mass execution of unarmed Croatian and Muslim civilians and spent several agonizing week in the Serb-run concentration camps of Keraterm, Omarska, and Manjaca. His story underscores how easily violence can be unleashed where state leaders are committed to ethnic division and conflict.” **Sosic’s book can be ordered from Ante Cuvalo: Tel/fax 708-895-5531 or e-mail: [cuv@netzero.com](mailto:cuv@netzero.com)**

## BOOK SUMMARIES

**Niko Kapetanac and Nenad Vekarić. *Stanovništvo Konavala. (The Population of Konavle) Vol. 2.*** Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1999. 440 pp.

The primary constant that is valid of Konavle, regardless of which period of the region’s history one discusses, is its borderline position. Konavle has been a point of contact or collision between the Western and Eastern Roman Empires; between Dubrovnik and Duklja, Serbia, and Bosnia; between the Dubrovnik Republic and Turkey; and between Croatia and Montenegro. Konavle has served as field of battle between Romans and Illyrians, and between Slavs and Romans. For centuries Konavle Catholics (*Latini*) waged battles against the Vlach and Montenegrin population of the Dubrovnik hinterland. Even with the creation of nations nothing changed but the names of the participants. In Konavle there has been conflict between Christians and Pagans, Catholicism and Orthodoxy, and contact with the Church of Bosnia and Islam. Konavle formed the border between wealthy bourgeois Dubrovnik and the poor herdsmen in the hinterland. It was a borderland in the fullest sense of the word: a boundary between civilizations, cultures, religions, nations, states.

In order for us to be able to understand the political turmoils, religious conversions, and stormy history of Konavle before it came under the rule of the Dubrovnik Republic, it will be necessary to distance ourselves from contemporary categories of thought. Many details from Konavle’s past are incomprehensible when looked at from today’s point of view; many occurrences and moves simply could not possibly happen today. For example, the people’s attitude toward religion was weaker than today. Then it was more like being a member of a political party, something which a person accepted sometimes out of faith, sometimes out of necessity, but most often for opportunistic reasons, and not something that is acquired at birth and considered given and unchangeable (as it is today). At that time faith was bargained for. Had the Dubrovnik authorities given 1,000 perper to the Serbian ruler Nemanja, the bishops in his state would have recognized the Dubrovnik metropolitan. If Dubrovnik had been less stingy and given Miroslav (also a Serbian ruler) 300 perper, Bishop Donat would have returned to Ston, and the religious history of the Peljesac peninsula would have taken a different course. In fact, only



the clergy was religiously determined, while states and landholders were left to calculate. Through membership in a particular church it was easier for them to protect their interests or the position they had attained. But the common people, which comprised the enormous majority of the overall population, was detached, particularly in such borderlands, where changes were frequent. In the feudal system of that period they accepted religious labels as a condition of survival and would change them according to the particular ruler in power. Contrary to what we might imagine from our first impression, the mixing of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and the Church of Bosnia in the Konavle region was not caused by mass migrations. It was certainly difficult for vulnerable strata of the population to go through such changes. Many gave in to change when necessary, but some fought, died, or emigrated. Still, the great majority of the population, the amorphous masses, remained and adapted to new conditions.

If it had not been for the Romans, Konavlians today would probably be descendants of some surviving Illyrian tribe and certainly would not be called Konavlians. If it had not been for the Slavs, Konavlians today might be Italians or members of some non-existent nation descended from the Romans who settled the area. If it had not been for the Nemanjic dynasty they probably would be what they are today: Catholics and Croats. If it had not been for the Ragusans, perhaps today they would be Orthodox Serbs or more probably Bosnian Muslims, because in that case the Turks would have most likely invaded that region as well.

But let us put all guesswork aside. Things happened the way they happened. These processes, the numerous currents that coexisted along the border, at the crossroads of various influences and interests, brought forth no winner for centuries. For centuries the history of Konavle was periodically interrupted; the scales would lean for a moment on one side, a moment on the other, but no side succeeded in tipping the balance. This state of affairs yielded a Konavlian conglomerate, in which traces of many ethnic layers were visible - Illyrian, Roman, and Slavic - a conglomerate which had grown out of conflicts: that between Christians and Pagans, and that between the Western, Eastern, and (momentarily) Bosnian churches. This conglomerate was eventually inherited by Dubrovnik, the decisive victors. The arrival of the Ragusans brought this centuries-long process to a halt, and defined the Konavlians just as they are today in terms of religion and ethnicity: as Catholics and Croats.

To be sure, things did not unravel this way simply by chance. For, if there is another Konavlian constant that we can place beside "borderline", then that would be Dubrovnik. Konavle and Dubrovnik enjoy a long-standing mutual relationship. Perhaps Epidaurus (Cavtat) even gave Dubrovnik its name, but the legend of the origin of Dubrovnik demonstrated at an early stage the intensity of this relationship, which was obviously powerful even when the center of today's southern Croatian region was Epidaurus, while Dubrovnik was a small village or, perhaps, a transit port. Even when, by chance of fate, Konavle and Dubrovnik found themselves on opposite sides of the border, that relationship was not broken. Konavlians relied constantly

upon Dubrovnik for sources of existence. At the same time, Dubrovnik continuously looked upon Konavle as a constant source of food, and so the Ragusans were the primary organizers of agricultural production there regardless of who had sovereignty over the territory. Dubrovnik and Konavle formed one natural economic whole. This cannot be said for any of the other rulers of Konavle, and this fact was probably decisive in the region's eventual fate. All other rulers had a particular interest in Konavle, but not a decisive one. Neither the survival of Rome or that of Serbia depended upon Konavle. It was, however, a necessity for Dubrovnik's survival. Konavle was Dubrovnik's strongest bulwark. If Dubrovnik had not succeeded in acquiring Konavle, it would have experienced the fate of Epidaurus, or the fate of Kotor.

Life under these two constants - the border and the desirable but vulnerable Dubrovnik - was a life of high risk. No State in that range of forcefully balanced faction-ridden subjects, where changes in public law were a common occurrence, was capable of offering the kind of protection that would allow Konavlians to live in continuous security. Not even Dubrovnik was capable of offering Konavle such protection, even in the first half of the fifteenth century, when international borders were finally defined. For this reason the population took refuge by the most effective, and probably the only possible, means of survival: creating a system of protection based upon self-organization, autonomy, closedness, and intense internal cohesion. This inward orientation would constantly come into conflict with the opposite tendencies of central State governments, which with greater or lesser resistance or attacks (e.g. the 15th-century landholders' uprising, the so-called Konavle Revolt in the late 18th century) would end in compromise - simultaneous integration and autonomy. Dubrovnik's influence upon Konavle became especially noticeable in the class structure ("great houses" - middle class - poor - orphans, or the Cavtat shipowners' class, which was an extension of Dubrovnik's urban middle class), and was also revealed during the period of redemption of the peasantry, when new local landowners fervently assumed the function of the former landed nobility.

Konavle's long-lasting life of self-sufficiency was the cause of great inertness. Few processes were started in Konavle, but many came to an end there. Konavle in times of war differed tremendously from Konavle in times of peace. War brought about changes, and in peaceful times these processes were simply finalized and turned into inertia, conservatism, and resistance to any form of change. Due to this fact, Konavlians to this day have preserved their identity better than any other micro-unity in the Dubrovnik region; also due to this fact, however, Konavlians have done the least to influence the course of their own history.

Konavle's autonomy can be seen in the uniqueness of practically all elements that make up its population. Konavle is a micro-unity that differs fundamentally even in micro-relations, in the relations of the small state of Dubrovnik or the Dubrovnik region of today, where Konavlians exhibit completely different characteristics from the inhabitants of similar agrarian zones such as the Dubrovacko primorje or the peninsula of Peljesac. Konavle's uniqueness is also exhibited in

the system of customs, the goal of which was to ensure the prosperity of the family (e.g. customs that strive to prevent the division of property), and the organization of the household (promoting large extended families in which the head of household had great authority). The importance of the collective and its precedence over the individual is revealed in the understanding of the “homeland” as the bearer of identity. A man who moved into the household of his wife’s family traditionally gave up his surname and adopted the name of the household. The closeness of this society, as typical characteristic of agrarian region, was even more pronounced in Konavle: it was especially difficult for newcomers to gain acceptance, and just as difficult to adapt to their new surroundings. The intensity of migration was insignificant, so that the Population generally varied according to transitional processes that would change depending upon the overall situation. The periods of “hope” in Konavle (and in the Dubrovnik Republic) were the fifteenth century, the second half of the sixteenth century, the mid-eighteenth century, the mid-nineteenth century, and to some degree the third quarter of the twentieth century. The periods of “hopelessness”, brought on by a variety of causes, covered the first half of the sixteenth century (epidemics, great selection of the population as a result of overpopulation caused by the wave of refugees that followed the fall of Bosnia and Herzegovina), the entire seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Ottoman wars, Hajduk activities, earthquake), the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Napoleon’s assault on the European equilibrium), the late nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century (economic crisis), as well as the end of the twentieth century (the fall of communism and the Yugoslav military offensive).

Economically, Konavle was generally oriented towards agriculture and to a lesser degree towards the raising of livestock. The exception to this was Cavtat, which exhibited characteristics of an urban way of life, where from the late sixteenth century there developed an intensive shipbuilding tradition. This was actually the result of a constructive method of elimination of the surplus in manpower that grew after a likely flow of refugees fleeing Bosnia and Herzegovina after its fall at the end of the fifteenth century. Cavtat’s success in shipbuilding grew with time and with the intensity of migration to Cavtat. A somewhat greater influx of population, which has lasted until today, began in the nineteenth century when the amount of resources broadened with the establishment of local administrative centers (first in Cavtat, and then in Gruda), the construction of the railroad, the development of tourist industries, and the building of the airport. But Cavtat only partially absorbed the population surplus that developed in Konavle during demographically desirable periods. The remainder of that surplus were forced to leave and find their way elsewhere. The main absorbent of “surplus” Konavlians was the city of Dubrovnik, and during greater crises they moved out of the Dubrovnik region entirely (to America and, in the second half of the twentieth century, Zagreb). Emigration always surpassed immigration. Therefore, Konavle has tended towards poverty more than it has towards prosperity.

Konavlians’ particular attachment to the earth and agricultural production, in addition to their

stress on the patriarchate, has effected a great number of indicators: the extremely predictable seasonal variation in the number of conceptions (which reaches its low point during the period of heaviest fieldwork), the great amount of attention given to ensuring that men are married, the tendency toward early marriage in times of negative demographic trends, the putting off of marriage in times of population surplus, and the difficulty that widows have in remarrying, which became less harsh after the adoption of the institution of levirate.

Typical migrations to Konavle were individual, final, economic, voluntary, and most commonly occurred as a result of marriage. These moves were of low intensity, but they constantly occurred, and in that continuity their influence was powerful enough to gradually change customs, habits, language, and other cultural, social, and economic characteristics. Of particular importance to these migrations were women, who in this patriarchal context moved more frequently than men. It was these women, in fact, who were the main ties between different cultural complexes as well as the carriers of migrational “viruses”. Migratory currents were also influenced by the change in state boundaries (upon the fall of the Dubrovnik Republic, the number of immigrants from Dalmatia rose dramatically), as well as changes in lifestyle, especially the valorization of the sea in economic life, which was the cause of a new tendency in which inhabitants of mountain villages moved down to settlements adjacent to the sea.

In opposition to this type of economic migration, many migrations were motivated by non-economic, most frequently political, factors. These were most commonly temporary flights during dangerous periods of change (fifteenth century, Herzegovinian uprising in the second half of the nineteenth century). There were also the non-voluntary migrations of criminals forced to flee across the border in order to avoid punishment or revenge after having committed murder. Just as Konavlian criminals regularly fled to Herzegovina and Boka Kotorska, criminals from those regions sometimes took refuge in Konavle. Elements of force were often related as well to the movements of peasants from one landholder’s property to another (relocation of the peasantry), although such transfers most commonly were carried out according to a mutual agreement between lord and peasant.

Besides permanent migrations, temporary migrations were also important, because temporary arrivals often were members of the elite strata of the population and continuously worked to educate the local people. During the Dubrovnik Republic administrative officials came from the families of the nobility. Members of those houses also served as priests, physicians, military officers, etc. Under the Austrian government, which had a highly developed administrative system, many judges, clerks, teachers, physicians, and other government employees from all regions of the Austro-Hungarian empire passed through Konavle, in addition to members of the clergy and the military, who mainly came from Croatian lands.

In spite of all these migrational processes, the population of Konavle, thanks to its dominating

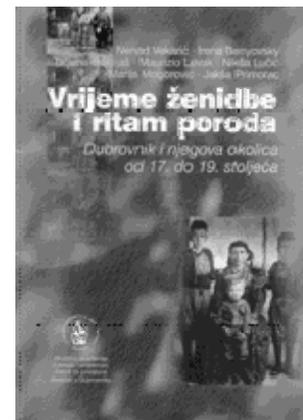
characteristics, remained remarkably stable and static - more so than any other region of the Dubrovnik mainland, more so than any of Dubrovnik's closer islands. Even today there are many autochthonous inhabitants of Konavle (more than 80 % in areas other than Cavtat). Today's population basically comprises five strata: people whose ancestors lived there before the Dubrovnik era (the majority of families from the interior of Konavle); the second stratum are those whose ancestors arrived after the fall of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the third is small in number and comprises people whose ancestors came during the period of the Dubrovnik Republic; the fourth, somewhat larger, stratum consists of descendants of nineteenth-century immigrants, who came mainly from the north, and the fifth is the youngest, which includes immigrants from various regions who settled in Konavle after 1918.

**Nenad Vekarić et al. *Marriage Patterns and the Family Reproduction process (Dubrovnik and Vicinity from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century)*. Zagreb- Dubrovnik: HAZU, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2000. 174 p.**

The system of family relations and its strategy towards the environment is being governed by a vital goal: biological and social reproduction. Each family pursues its own strategy which, due to a number of specific factors, determines the time of marriage, mate selection, number of births, and birth spacing. The fusion of these individual family strategies produces a pattern of the social survival strategy, which is recognizable on both the micro- and macrolevels.

The factors that have a profound impact on the family strategy, in addition to biological variables (i.e., the beginning and end of the fertility period, infertility, twinning rate), are the family's means of earning a living (type of economic activity), and a number of external factors to which the family is exposed. These determinants range from catastrophic occurrences, such as war, large-scale epidemics, and famine, to less observable but continuous processes that affect the change in mortality (for instance, a decline in mortality due to the emergence of a vaccine). 'The influence of the external factors is best exhibited through demographic trends. Negative demographic trends stimulate various defensive family strategies (early marriage, short-term remarriage, more births, birth intervals being shorter), whilst the positive trends facilitate reproductive behavior by introducing higher living standards and a more solid basis for family planning (a lower total death rate, especially among mothers at birth and infants, will have impact upon the delay of marriage, longer birth intervals, and a reduced number of births).

Each family works out a domestic response to the factors it is exposed to at a particular moment. Apart from making its own choice and taking steps with the aim of attaining the main goal (early or late marriage, birth control), the family has certain measures at its disposal which,



because of their great importance, have become incorporated into the overall social strategy of survival, and as such, have either been institutionalized (e.g., marriage, marriage barriers), or shaped into a custom as a form of intuitive defensive measure (e.g., levirate, trial marriage).

The effect of economic activity sometimes prove to be the most direct. In the rural settings, for instance, there exists a sharper distinction between work and leisure, so that the seasonal distribution of conception and marriage tends to oscillate more than in urban families. Nevertheless, this impact is best displayed through the type of family structure: usually the most convenient type develops according to the family's economic circumstances. Furthermore, tradition has a profound impact upon the type of family structure, its effect being secondary in chronological terms, as tradition develops according to the very needs that result from economic activity. In the hilly rural areas, whose economy is primarily agrarian, there is a tendency to form and maintain multiple-family households, providing sufficient labor power for the household to survive. On the islands where, in addition to the cultivation of land, fishing and sea-faring mark the economic profile of the area, the joint family household (zadruga) fails to be economically stimulating to its members, as the income stems from sources other than the corporate entity. This fact will act divergently, and the necessity to divide the family estate will arise; with time this becomes a more acceptable form of family continuity. The urban family tends to follow a similar pattern when the family income lies primarily in the hands of one individual (part-time jobs, craftsmanship, seafaring), being the result of his work and not his holdings. In the range from the nuclear family to the joint household, a number of blended types of family structure will appear, most commonly representing a compromise that bridges needs and tradition (migrants from rural areas, for example, tended to form multiple family households, even though there was no actual need for such a form in the new environment).

Reproduction patterns are determined by the type of family structure. In areas where the nuclear family prevails, there is an accentuated need for early marriage, since the death of parents limits any family's economic abilities. The death of a spouse has a similar effect in that of prompting remarriage. In complex family households, however, the loss of a member and his position is compensated by the rest of the family. In such families, the custom of levirate (and to a lesser extent, sororate) takes upon itself the care of offspring and prevents the disintegration of property. In the nuclear family this institution proves unnecessary, and no interest is shown for consanguineous marriage either.

Distinctions in social status become apparent in both the seasonal distribution of marriage and birth intervals. The patriciate's marriages were not seasonally determined. Its in-group orientation and limited marriage pool were to increase the risk of extinction. This also resulted in a sizeable number of consanguineous marriages. The woman's reproductive period was the most significant determinant underlying the matrimonial strategies of the patrician family. Although this goal, however, was not exclusively pursued by the nobility, this group certainly proved to

have been the only one capable of achieving it. The woman's position in a noble family was practically reduced to the reproductive level, whilst among the commonalty, rural or urban, the role of the family's women in contributing to the household was equal to that of men, irrespective of the great difference between the sexes in terms of power and influence. A noblewoman was destined for very early marriage, short confinement intervals, and numerous births. The nobility showed the utmost respect for religious prohibitions and the institution of marriage. In contrast, this ideal concept of marriage and bending to strict moral norms in wedlock usually followed a wild and reckless premarital period that was reserved for males only. The marginal groups, city paupers, however, were subject to high mortality caused by malnutrition and inadequate living conditions. Therefore, among foundlings the number of births and birth spacing also proved to be high, which counterbalanced the group's high infant mortality.

Marriage and birth seasonality were also under the impact of customs and tradition. The emergence of a host of family customs is directly correlated with the reproduction process. Customs originate as defensive measures designed to protect and neutralize the negative effects of external variables upon reproduction. A custom is a reaction to something that has been lived through; it results from experience. As it requires time to establish, a custom is late as a means of enforcement and is future bound, recurring with the situation. Established usage being its main feature, the custom is marked as vital but non-adaptable and anachronistic in altered circumstances. Therefore, instead of the custom serving a cause (reproduction), the cause is subjected to the custom. The reason for the pronounced marital age gap in Konavle should be sought in the region's typical form of the family household, the *zadruga*, this type of marriage pattern being compatible with the aforementioned type of family structure and organization. Nevertheless, the established practice of late marriage also prevailed among the Konavlian migrants to Dubrovnik, even when the greater marital age difference failed to contribute to the family's economic welfare or to the urban type of family structure.

The impact of custom proved limited. The power of the reproductive urge has been recognized as a predominant factor in the entire system of family organization, except for Thanatos, before which it stands helpless. An anachronistic custom tends to prevail in stable periods when, in spite of disturbances, its role is not decisive. If, however, the custom is endangered by an external factor to a critical degree, it will be rejected irrespective of the general reaction. In a time of crisis, the number of marriages involving extreme marital age difference will rise, the bride considerably exceeding the groom in years. The established pattern tends to display frequent atypical occurrences.

One feature that prevails among all types of family structure in Dubrovnik and its surroundings is that the husband is generally older than his wife. Men tend to remarry far more often and more quickly than women. The parents' death prompts the marriage of children. The

mother's death generally speeds up the marriage of children more than does the death of the father. The parents' death tends to accelerate the marriage of a daughter more than that of a son. Among all the family types in Dubrovnik, the marriage age falls at a time of crisis, and rises in the periods of economic prosperity. The number of births are proportional to the mortality rate. Therefore, during a time of crisis, it rises, and during a period of positive demographic trends, it falls. In all family types confinement intervals tend to be shorter in marriages with higher marital age (making up for lost time) than in those in which the couple married young (balancing with the time of conception).

Either as a result of intuition or a well-considered plan, every family enforces its own strategy. Reproduction is a means of overcoming death. The basic social unit, however, is far too small to be able to protect itself and ensure continuity. Therefore, a great many families die out due to diseases, accidental death, or failure in biological reproduction as a result of misfortune or lack of strategy. Families grouped into a larger unit gain in strength and act as a system - a system that is imbued with exceptions and differences, and which is remarkably adaptable. Population fluctuates constantly. Being subject to outside influences, it takes blows and always rises renewed. It reacts to every social change, resuming balance through a defensive system of chain reactions. Population never fails to attain the balance in some new form, readjusted to the moment of its being.

### **ZIRAL - 30<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY**

ZIRAL, a Croatian publishing house, was founded in 1970 by the late Croatian Franciscans living outside the homeland: Rev. Dionizije Lasic, Rev. Bazilije Pandzic, and Rev. Lucijan Kordic, in the town of Frohnleiten Austria. Its intent was to publish the works of Croatian writers and scholars living outside the homeland. After the demise of Communism in Europe and the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia, ZIRAL's headquarters were transferred from Chicago to Mostar. On the occasion of ZIRAL'S 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary, we bring here the list of books it has published during the last three decades and wish its new leadership much success in the future. Send your orders to: ZIRAL, Hrvatske mladezi bb, 88000 Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina; Tel. 387-88-328-411; Fax 387-88-320-239.



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Z. Cilic. *Srednjobosanske teme*.

## **JOURNAL OF CROATIAN STUDIES**

The Croatian Academy of America issued volume 39 of its annual interdisciplinary review, the Journal of Croatian Studies. The 176-page issue contains scholarly articles and reviews in English on a wide range of topics and includes contributions from Croatia.

In the opening piece “Representations of the Other: The Ustaše and the Demonization of the Croats,” Stan Granic examines the portrayal of Croats as Ustaše and its connection to the manipulation of the magnitude of Ustaše crimes. Following a discussion of representational practice and negative perceptions of Croats in many Western media publications and even scholarly literature, he details the confusion surrounding the scope of Ustaša crimes and the manipulations of the number of victims. The most reliable statistical studies of demographic and real losses, including those by Serbian scholars, reveal that approximately one million people (all

nationalities and including those killed in fighting) died in all of Yugoslavia during World War II. The consequences of the exaggeration of the number of victims of Ustaša terror and the association of Ustašism to Croatianism are explored.

Zvonimir Jakobovic's "Books Published by Matica Hrvatska in the Fields of Natural Sciences and Technology" offers a documentary overview of the publishing successes in natural sciences and technology by Croatia's leading cultural institution, established in 1839. A considerable number of these books were published from 1860 to 1930. The article highlights Croatia's tradition in publishing popular technical literature and shows that it is on a par with works in languages of larger nations and more developed milieus.

Juraj Padjen contributes "The Special Position of Istra," a paper presented at the 1998 American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies conference in Florida. The author analyzes Istra's "spatial entity" which is at the same time distinct in terms of social, economic, ethnic and cultural characteristics, resulting from its geographical location and the conditions under which it lived for centuries.

In "Character Representation for Slavic Digital Libraries: The Case of Croatian," Marta Meštrovic Deyrup and Delphine Khana describe how to create Croatian language Web sites in a U.S. environment. The article is geared towards university faculty who have minimal experience with digital libraries. It provides step-by-step information on how to take a project from conception to finish. Character set issues, software compatibility, and hosting a Web site are some of the topics addressed.

In her article "Prvislav Grisogono and His Apocryphal Letter to Archbishop Stepinac," Vivian Grisogono presents the text of a letter her grandfather, a politician and former diplomat, sent to Stepinac in January 1942. In his authentic letter, Grisogono states that he has nothing to do with a typewritten letter, circulated in Belgrade, bearing his signature. The forged letter implied that the Catholic Church was aiding the Ustaša regime in perpetrating crimes against the Serb community. "This letter, which is completely apocryphical, has been in circulation for almost sixty years," stated the author.

Richard L. Major's piece "The Memoirs of Gjuro A. Skrivanic, Editor and Publisher of Napredak, American's First Croatian Newspaper" contains selected segments, translated from Croatian, of Skrivanic's hand-written manuscript on the history of American Croats, which is preserved in Washington University, Seattle. Several parts of this significant contribution to the history of American Croats were previously published in *Zajednicar*, a weekly publication of the Croatian Fraternal Union.

Well known author of two recent history books on Bosnia and Kosovo, and political

columnist with The Daily Telegraph, Noel Malcolm provides an important and highly critical review article on Sir Michael Rose's book: *Fighting for Peace in Bosnia*.

Several book reviews are featured including: James J. Sadkovich's *The U.S. Media and Yugoslavia* by Brad K. Blitz; Meho Visocak and Bejdo Sovica's *Jasenovac: War Victims According to the Data of Yugoslavia's Bureau of Statistics*, Branko Franolic's *Books on Croatia and Croats Recorded in the British Library General Catalogue* and *Polemos: Journal of Interdisciplinary Research on War and Peace* all by Norman Cigar; Benedikta Zelic-Bucan's *Language and Script of the Croats* and Marko Japundzic's *The Croatian Glagolitic Heritage* by Stan Granic; Branko Franolic's *Works of Croatian Latinists Recorded in the British Library General Catalogue* by Brian Cardell; and Rusmir Mahmutcehajic's *Wrong Politics: A Reading of History and Faith in Bosnia* by Branimir Anzulovic.

The issue also includes reports on the General Assembly and other activities.

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.

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#### **FORTHCOMING PUBLICATION**

Dr. Ivan Cizmici; Ivan Miletic; Dr. George J. Prpic. *From the Adriatic to Lake Erie: A History of Croatians in Greater Cleveland*. Cleveland: American Croatian Lodge, Inc. "Cardinal Stepinac," Eastlake, Ohio & Institute of Social Sciences "Ivo Pilar," Zagreb, Croatia. 560 p. : ill. ; 24 cm. Bibliography, footnotes and index. This book will be finished by early November 2000. To order (after Oct. 30, 2000), write to American Croatian Lodge, Inc. "Cardinal Stepinac," P.O. Box 1060, Willoughby, Ohio 44094.

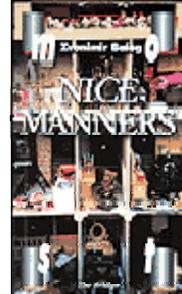
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Engelsfeld, Neda et al. *Hrvatska Drzavnost - Drzavopravni, povijesni i knjizevni dokumenti*.

Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveucilisna knjiznica, 2000. p 96. An exhibit on legal, historical and literary documents dealing with Croatian statehood was held at the National and University Library in Zagreb from May 25 to June 26, 2000. The above volume is the exhibit's catalog. It contains valuable bibliographical and other information.

**Cucic, Ljubomir**, ed. *A New Croatia: Fast Forward into Europe*. Zagreb. Europe House Zagreb, 1999. 72 pages.

**Zvonimir Balog**. *Nice Manners or How I Can Avoid Growing Up to Be a Twit*. Translated by Graham McMaster. Zagreb: The Croatian Writers' Association. 2000. 276 pages. The Bridge Collection. Classical and Contemporary Croatian Writers 2/2000. Order from: The Croatian Writers' Association. Trg Bana Jelacica 7, Zagreb, Croatia. e-mail: bridge@dhkt.tel.hr



Zvonimir Balog lives and works in Zagreb. He wrote screenplays and TV series and edited anthologies: *Zlatna knjiga svjetskog pjesništva za djecu* (*The Golden Book of world Poetry for Children*) and *Antologija hrvatskog humorističkog pjesništva* (*The Anthology of Croatian Humorous Poetry*). His work was translated into foreign languages. He won numerous prizes for his literary and artistic work. Balog published more than forty books. Based on his book “Nice Manners or How I Can Avoid to Be a Twit”, a theater performance was staged, while a series of cartoons by the well known “Zagrebacka skola crtalog filma” (The Zagreb School of Animated Film), as well as a TV series are presently being made.

**Tafra, Robert**, ed. *Hrvati i drugi neprijatelji SFR Jugoslavije*. Prozor; Split: Bonitas; Laus, 2000. 687 pages. (Documents from the UDBA files.)

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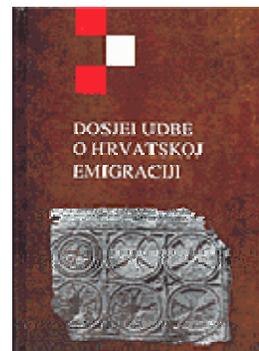
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***Osvit*.** Casopis za knjizevnost, kulturu i drustvene teme. Issue 1-2, 2000. 471 pages. ***Mnogoglasje - Suvremeno hrvatsko pjesnistvo u Bosni i Hercegovini*.** Eds of the issue Zdravko Kordic and Kresimir Sego. E-mail: dhkhhb@int.tel.hr

**Ivan Rattkay. *Izvjescia iz Tarahumare*.** Izvjescia iz Meksika misionara, putopisca i istrazivaca Ivana Rattkaya (1647.-1683.) Te spise u vezi s njegovim zivotom za tisak priredio i uvodnu raspravu napisao Mijo Korade. Zagreb: ArTresor: 1998. 312 pages.



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**Nove knjige iz Hrvatske - New Books from Croatia.** No. 1, January - April 2000. Books Trade & Services (BTS), international supplier of books, journals, nautical charts and electronic documents. BTS - Knjiga trgovina, Donji precac 19, 10000 Zagreb. Tel. 385-1-455-4921 fax 385-1-455-4924; e-mail: info@btsltd.com <http://www.btsltd.com>

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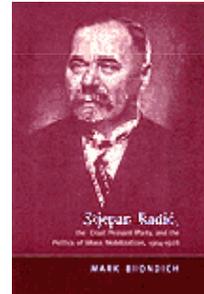
Presidency of BiH. Office of the Croat Member. ***Response from the Croat Leadership on the Process of Deconstituization of the Croats in BiH*.** Sarajevo, May 2000. Croatian and English. 80 pages.

**NEW BOOK**



Mark Biondich. *Stjepan Radic, the Croat Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization, 1904-1928*, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2000. 345 pages.

Many important questions pertaining to Radic and his 'peasantism' still remain unresolved. How was the Croat Peasant Party able to establish the basis of a national movement? What were the concepts that Stjepan Radic and his brother Antun articulated to win peasants over to the national cause? What role did the Yugoslav state, which denied the national identity of the Croats, play in strengthening Croat national integration? What was and remains Stjepan Radic's legacy in Yugoslav politics and Croatian history? One can legitimately say that we still lack a comprehensive understanding of Radic's peasantist ideology, its relation to the modernization process in Croatia, and his political tactics and role in Yugoslav politics. Nor has the issue of the troubled relationship between Radic and the intelligentsia been sufficiently addressed in the historiography. (From the Preface)



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