



Issue No. 41, Fall 2003

AAASS 35th NATIONAL

CONVENTION

NOVEMBER 20 - 23, 2003 TORONTO, CANADA

The 35th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) will take place November 20-23, 2003 at the Fairmont Royal York Hotel in Toronto, Canada.

The Hotel is located at 100 Front Street West, Toronto, Ontario. Tel #: (416) 368-2511; Fax (416) 368-8148. Reservations at: (416) 860-5008 or 1-800-663-7229.

Room rates are from 202.00 to 292.00 CAN \$ per night plus tax (same price for single or double rooms). The convention group code is CAASS. You must indicate the group code in order to get discount rates.

REGISTRATION FEES

AAASS Members \$75.00, Students \$25.00; Non-Members \$85.00, Students \$30.00; On-site registration is \$25.00 higher (for students \$5.00). Reception tickets are \$30.00 (students \$10.00).

For more information concerning the Convention you may access the AAASS website at: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~aaass>

PANELS

The following panels are sponsored by ACS members, or ACS members are participating in them, and/or deal with themes that might be of interest to the Croats attending the Convention.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20

1:30 PM - 3:15 PM

Session 1, Panel 05

Room: Board Room

Panel: Genre and Ethnicity in

Nineteenth-Century Croatian and Czech Music.

Chair: Robin Elliott, U of Toronto

Papers

Ivano Cavallini, U of Trieste (Italy)

“‘La Madre Slava’ (1864) by Nikola Stermich: Between the Croatian Illyrian Movement and the Italian Operatic Tradition.”

William A. Everett, U of Missouri,

Kansas City.

“Opera and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Croatian and Czech Lands.”

Harry White, U College Dublin

(Ireland)

“Art, Music, and the Question of Ethnicity: The Slavic Dimension of Czech Music from an Irish Perspective.”

Discussant

Stanislav Tuksar, U of Zagreb,

Academy of Music (Croatia)

Session 1, Panel 19

Room: Newfoundland

Panel: Role of International

Institutions and Foreign Bureaucratic Elite in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Chair: Ante Cuvalo, Joliet Jr. College

Papers

Stephen Schwartz, Foundation for

the Defense of Democracy

“Nation Building or Destruction of Communities? The Disasters of Humanitarian Imperialism in Bosnia-Herzegovina.”

Gerard Toal, Virginia Tech

“Reversing Ethnic Cleansing? The

International Community and Human Security in Bosnia.”

Discussant

Norman Cigar, Marine Corps

Command & Staff College

Thursday, 3:30 - 5:15 P. M.

Session 2, Panel 34

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Room: York

Panel: Croatian Society since 1995.

Chair: Reneo Lukic, Laval U

(Canada)

Papers

Vjeran Pavlakovic, U of Washington

“Croatia and the Hague.”

Vjekoslav Perica, U of Minnesota

“The Catholic Church in Croatia since 1995: Catholicism in the New Croatia.”

Maple Razsa, Harvard U

“Croatian Anarchists.”

Discussants

Gordana Crnkovic, U of

Washington

Ludwig Steindorff, Christian

Albrechts U, Kiel (Germany)

Thursday, 5:30 PM -7:15 PM

Session 3, Panel 01

Room: Alberta

Panel: Political Challenges in Serbia and Bosnia since 1992.

Chair: Sabrina Petra Ramet,

Norwegian U of Science and Technology (Norway)

Papers

Anette Bastnes, Norwegian U of

Science and Technology (Norway)

“Serbia since Milosevic: A Difficult
Transition.”

Knut Vesterdal, Norwegian U of

Science and Technology (Norway)

“Justifying Humanitarian

Intervention: The Cases of Bosnia and Kosovo.”

Nina Wichman, U of Bremen

(Germany)

“What Went Wrong (and Right) with Dayton Peace Accords.”

Discussants

Robert J. Donia, U of Michigan

Thomas Allan Emmert, Gustavus

Adolphus College

Session 3, Panel 27

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Roundtable: On the Frontline:

Builders of Peace Culture in Southeastern Europe -

Room: Saskatchewan

Chair: Robin Alison Remington,

Peace Haven Intl

Participants

Sarah E. Archer, Hudson Inst

Francine Friedman, Ball State U

Eric D. Gordy, Clark U

Session 3, Panel 31

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Room: Tudor 8

Panel: E-Learning Objects for Slavic

Languages Other Than Russian

Chair: Wayles Browne, Cornell U

Papers

George Mitrevski, Auburn U

“Macedonian E-Learning Objects.”

Danko Sipka, Arizona State U

“Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian E-Learning Objects.”

Oscar Edward Swan, U of Pittsburgh

“Polish E-Learning Objects.”

Discussants

Vlado Keselj, Dalhousie U (Canada)

Ljupco Spasovski, Arizona State U

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21

10:00 A M - 11:45 AM

Session 5, Panel 20

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Room: Nova Scotia

Roundtable: Writing Out of Power

from the States of the Former Yugoslavia

Chair: Ralph B. Bogart, U of Toronto

Participants

Vino Grubisic, U of Waterloo

Aleksander Lukic, York U

Alexander Milinkovic, U of Toronto

Mirna Solic, U of Toronto

Session 5, Panel 23

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Room: Prince Edward Island

Panel: Croatian Foreign and Security

Policy since 1990.

Chair: Ludwig Steindorff, Christian

Albrechts U, Kiel (Germany)

Papers

Konrad Clewing, Sudost Institut

(Germany)

“German Policies on Croatia in the 1990s: Between Special Relationships and Neglect.”

Reneo Lukic, Laval U (Canada)

“Civil-Military Relations in Croatia, from 1991 to the Present.”

Jean-Fraancois Morel, Laval U

(Canada)

“Croatian-American Relations, 1991-1995.”

Discussants

**Sabrina Petra Ramet, Norwegian U
of Science and Technology (Norway**

**James J. Sadkovich, Texas A&M U
Press**

Friday, 2:00 PM - 3:45 PM

Session 6 - Panel 28

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Room: Territories

**Roundtable: Library Exchanges in
the New Millennium.**

**Chair: Janet Irene Crayne, U of
Michigan**

Participants

Murlin Croucher, Indiana U

Ronald Hogg, British Library (UK)

Sandra Levy, U of Chicago

Tatjana Bujas Lorkovic, Yale U

**Murray G. Walpole, Library of
Congress**

Friday, 4:00 PM - 5:45 PM

Session 7 - Panel 26

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Room: Salon B

Panel: Nationalism and Economic

Development: Bohemia, Croatia, and Greece in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

Chair: Charles Jelavich, Indiana U

Papers

Catherine Albrecht, U of Baltimore

“Does Nationalism Promote Economic Development: The Case of the Zivnostenska Banka in Prague.”

Gerasimos Augustinos, U of South

Carolina

“Developing the Nation: Defining Greece’s Path in the Post-Civil War Era.”

Sara Anne Kent, U of Wisconsin,

Stevens Point

“Does Nationalism Promote Economic Development: Croatia under Count Karl Khuch-Hedervary.”

Discussants

John David Treadway, U of

Richmond

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22

2:00 PM - 3:45 PM

Session 10, Panel 15

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Room: Library

Panel: Closing the Frontier: New

Borders and Administrations in the Balkans after Carlowitz, 1699-1740.

Chair: Victor Ostapchuk, U of

Toronto

Papers

Virginia H. Aksan, McMaster U

“Ottoman Authority and Sovereignty on the Carlowitz Border.”

Borna Furst-Bjelis, U of Zagreb

(Croatia)

“The New Eighteenth-Century Venetian Border in Croatia and Its Spatial and Demographic Implications.”

Brian Hodson, Purdue U

“Habsburg Administration on the Neo Acquistica Frontier in Hungary and Transylvania after Carlowitz.”

Discussant

Michael Khodarkovsky, Loyola U

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23

8:00 AM - 9:45 AM

Session 11 - Panel 30

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Room: Tudor 7

Panel: Teaching Croatian Abroad

and School Manuals Following the Post-Communist Era.

Chair: Ivo Soljan, Grand Valley

State U

Papers

Ana Bacic, Independent Scholar

“Publishing Activities in Croatia and
Manuals Abroad.”

Anita Mikulic-Kovacevic, U of

Toronto

“Language Manuals in Croatian Secondary Schools.”

Kathy Smidt, U of Waterloo

“Croatian Online/Distance Education.”

Discussant

Vinko Grubisic, U of Waterloo

Sunday 10:00 AM-11:45 AM

Session 12 - Panel 28

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Room: Territories

Panel: Historiography since

Yugoslavia’s Breakup in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia

Chair: Carole R. Rogel, The Ohio

State U

Papers

Neven Budak, U of Zagreb (Croatia)

“Croatian Historiography.”

Dubravka Stojanovic, U of Belgrade

(Serbia)

“Serbian Historiography.”

Peter Vodopivec, U of Ljubljana

(Slovenia)

“Slovenian Historiography.”

Discussants

Christian Nielsen, Columbia U

Dennison I. Rusinow, U of Pittsburgh

OTHER PANELS

Thursday 3:30 PM - 5:15 PM

Session 2 - Panel 12

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Room: Imperial

Political Kitsch in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe.

Sara Anne Kent (ACS member) is a discussant on the panel.

Friday, 10:00AM -11:45AM

Session 5 - Panel 01

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Room: Alberta

Italy and the Balkans during the Great War: New Research and Perspectives

Session 5 - Panel 05

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Room: Board Room

Brigitte Le Normand, UC, Los Angeles

“Confronting the Past? Teaching World War II in Schools in Croatia and Serbia.”

Friday, 4:00 PM - 5:45 PM

Session 7 - Panel24

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Room: Quebec

Mark Biondich, Justice Dept (Canada)

“‘There Is Only Christ and Marx’: Catholic Intellectuals in Croatia, 1918-1945.”

Saturday, 10:00 AM - 11:45 AM

Session 9 - Panel 17

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Room: Montibello

Grant H. Lundberg, Brigham

Young U

“Tonemic Oppositions on the Slovene and Croatian National Border.”

ACS ANNUAL

MEETING

AND ELECTION

The ACS annual meeting has been scheduled by the Program Committee for **Friday, November 21, 2003 at 2:00 P. M., Room: Toronto**. We do urge ACS members and friends to attend this important annual meeting.

Furthermore, bi-annual elections of ACS Executive Officers will take place at this meeting. If you are not going to be present at the meeting, you may vote by proxy, or if you would like to serve as an ACS officer, please let us know before the above mentioned date.

CROATIAN DINNER

Keeping with the ACS tradition, ACS members and their friends will meet for the annual “Croatian Dinner” on **Friday, November 21, 2003 at 7:30 PM**. This friendly gathering will take place at “**Croatia**” Restaurant, 1989A Dundas Street East, Mississauga, ONT. Phone: (905)624-4111. For a better orientation please see the map above. For those who will not have their own means of transportation, local ACS members and friends will provide transportation from the hotel to the restaurant and back.

It is a good restaurant, serves Croatian food, and the prices are reasonable. We urge all our members who will be at the Convention to come to this friendly gathering and invite your friends too.

In order to make proper reservations at the restaurant, please let Ante Cuvalo know by November 20 if you are coming.

AAASS CONVENTION 2004

The AAASS 36th National Convention will be in Boston, Massachusetts, Marriott Copley Place, December 3 - 6, 2004.

Those who are interested in organizing a panel and/or presenting a paper dealing with Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Croats at the next AAASS convention, please let us know **before November 20, 2003**.

As you are well aware, panel proposals for next year's AAASS Convention have to be submitted soon after this year's Convention. Start planning for next year!

IN MEMORIAM

JURAJ SUTIJA

Juraj (George) Sutija, a well known personality among the Croatian Americans, died on July 2, 2003. His academic degrees include an M. A., M. P. A., and M. B. A. He belonged to various Croatian and American organizations, among them to the Croatian Academy of America and the ACS. For a number of years, he was a professor at the College of Business Administration, Florida International University, Miami, Florida.

Sutija was born in Lika 78 years ago and was laid to rest at Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb.

Our condolences to his wife Vesna, son Davor, and to the rest of his family.

OUR SYMPATHIES

Nevenka Mitra's husband, Arun K. Mitra, died of a heart attack on January 16, 2003. He was born in India. After obtaining a university degree in his native land, he immigrated to the USA and settled in St. Louis where he obtained two MA degrees, one in industrial pharmacy and the other in business administration. While at Washington University, he met a Croatian student Nevenka Evelyn Zvolanek and the two were married in 1951. Besides being very successful in his profession, Mr. Mitra was an active promoter of peace in the world, serving as a long-time president of Lentz Peace Research Laboratory.

Norman Cigar's father, Slavko Cigar, died recently in Vienna, VA. He was 88 years old.

Our sincere condolences to Nevenka and her family, and to Norman and his mother Amalija.

NEW MEMBERS

DUSKO SAM CONDIC

Dusko Sam Condic received his BA from Teachers College, Chicago, MA in English from the University of Illinois at Chicago and MA in Library Science from Dominican University. He taught at T. Kelly High School for many years. He is retired but some of us keep him very busy with various projects, especially with translations. He has translated several books and many articles from Croatian into English.

ACS MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

MIRJANA DEDAIC

ACS member Mirjana Dedaic and her husband Daniel Nelson have co-edited a newly published book, *At War with Words*. The book deals with Linguistics, Communications, Applied Linguistics, Sociolinguistics. See more about the book in the section on New Books in this issue of the Bulletin.

SARA KENT

& JAMES SADKOVICH

Sara Kent and James Sadkovich have become members of the international editorial board for the *Casopis za suvremenu povijest*, published since 1962 by Hrvatski institut za povijest in Zagreb

MARKO PULJIC

ACS young member, Marko Puljic, who married last year and moved from Chicago to St. Louis, MO, has enrolled in Graduate School (Marketing and Advertising) at Webster University.

FRANK JERBICH

A long time president of the CFU "Hrvatska sloboda" Lodge 32, a retiree from the City of Chicago, Department of Police, a Veteran and recipient of many awards for his fraternal and community activism, Frank Jerbich has been recently re-elected to serve for four more years on the CFU National Board of Trustees.

IVAN MILETIC

This summer, Ivan Miletic and his family have returned permanently from Cleveland to Zagreb, Croatia. Their address in Zagreb is: Vlaska 86. Tel. 4641-215.

Furthermore, Congressman Dennis J. Kucinich has honored Mr. Miletic, George Prpic, and Ivan Cizmic for their

recently published book about Croatians in Cleveland (*From the Adriatic to Lake Erie: A History of Croatians in Greater Cleveland*) by inserting in the Congressional Record the following statement about the book.

"Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition of esteemed author Ivan Miletic, who co-authored: *From the Adriatic to Lake Erie: A History of Croatians in Greater Cleveland*. Through the research and writings of Mr. Miletic, an accomplished historian, and equally esteemed historians

and educators — Dr. Ivan Cizmic and Dr. George J. Prpic — the public now has permanent access to understanding the significant impact that Croatian Americans have had upon the Cleveland community.

This important book chronicles the history and evolution of Croatian immigrants, and their individual and collective influence on the Northeast Ohio region — from the first wave of Croatian immigrants seeking opportunity and freedom, to modern-day Americans of Croatian descent.— all of whom have added to the rich cultural fabric of Cleveland. Croatian Americans have positively defined, and greatly contributed to, all aspects of our community — from religion, culture, and the arts, to politics and law, to education and the sciences.

Mr. Speaker, please join me in honor and tribute of author Ivan Miletic, who, along with authors Dr. Ivan Cizmic and Dr. George J. Prpic, have succeeded in the eloquent and adept historical account of Croatian immigrants, and their profound collective impact on all aspects of the Cleveland community. Moreover, as an American whose grandfather emigrated from Croatia, I am honored that my family, and my own public service, was noted in this book. The struggles, hardships and injustices that many immigrants have experienced, and overcome, are significant aspects of American history, that deserve an accurate and permanent historical account — to be learned from for generations to come — as is *From the Adriatic to Lake Erie: A History of Croatians in Greater Cleveland.*”

(Congressional Record - Proceedings and Debates of the 107th Congress, First Session.
June 2002, Vol. 147)

The book can be ordered from American Croatian Lodge Kardinal Stepinac, P.O.Box 1060, Willoughby, OH 44094. Price is \$25.00 plus \$3.00 shipping. Make checks payable to Croatian American Heritage Foundation.

JOHN PETER KRALJIC

John Peter Kraljic completed his requirements for a Master of Arts Degree in History in May 2003 from Hunter College of the City University of New York. Mr. Kraljic previously received his B.P.S. from C.W. Post Campus of Long Island University and his J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center.

Mr. Kraljic’s thesis, “The Croatian Community in North America and the Spanish Civil War,” was awarded the George Watt Memorial Essay Prize by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives for best graduate student paper in 2002.

Mr. Kraljic’s thesis essentially examines the influence of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) and the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) within the Croatian immigrant community during the second half of the 1930s. Croats formed one of the largest ethnic groups in both the CPUSA and CPC. From the Croatian perspective, the importance of these emigrant Communists cannot be ignored in light of the fact that the Communist movement in Croatia and former Yugoslavia remained an emigrant movement, with the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in exile for most of the 1930s.

Mr. Kraljic's thesis opens with an overview of the activities of the CPUSA and CPC in the Croatian community in the mid-1930s. These activities were overshadowed by two concurrent changes in Communist tactics: the adoption of the "United Front" and the forcible implementation of the Comintern's and CPY's views regarding Yugoslavia on Croatian Communist organizations in North America. Since the CPY at the time advocated the break-up of Yugoslavia into its component parts, CPY emissaries forced Croatian Communists to discard their "Yugoslavism" as part of their tactics, leading to the renaming of such entities as the CPUSA's Yugoslav Section into the Croatian Section.

These changes forced the Communists to try to work with non-Communist groups, such as the Croatian Fraternal Union, Hrvatsko kolo, and the Croatian Peasant Party, to establish a "United Front" within the Croatian community. These overtures dismissed (with some minor exceptions) as a result of the distrust these organizations had toward the Communists.

The Spanish Civil War formed one of the most important aspects of the "United Front" period. The Party tried to generate support for the cause of the Spanish Republic by, among other things, pointing to the threats that Italy's expansion into Spain posed toward Croatia. In this, the Communists succeeded in generating much support for the Republic from non-Communist Croatian groups. Still, such support was not enough for any structural links to be built between the two sides.

Croatian Communists pressed ahead in organizing volunteers to join the International Brigades which were under Communist leadership. Mr. Kraljic identifies approximately 150 individuals from former Yugoslavia who came to fight in the International Brigades from the US and Canada. Mr. Kraljic determined the ethnic identity for 116 of these men, 73 of whom were Croats. A substantial number of those whose ethnicity was not identified were also likely Croats. Mr. Kraljic further analyzes their Party membership, occupations and other relevant data concerning them.

Mr. Kraljic discusses the organizational structure to which these volunteers were subjected to in Spain, their participation in major battles and their role in various Party disputes which took place in Spain. Among the Croatian volunteers, Mr. Kraljic notes the activities of Steve Nelson (born Stjepan Mesaros) who became commissar of the XVth International Brigade (which had been previously commanded by Croatian Vladimir Copic), Eduard Jardas of Canada, who went on to become a prominent Communist in Rijeka, as well as John Gerlach and Daniel Lepo, both of whom studied in Moscow in the mid-1930s and are among the last surviving Croatian and American members of the International Brigades.

Mr. Kraljic writes of the role played by the volunteers after their return to the United States. In addition to obtaining senior positions in the Party (Nelson became a member of the CPUSA Central Committee and, in later life, after breaking with the Party, the Commander of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade), others were recruited by the OSS and SOE (even though all were known to be Communists) to serve as Allied emissaries and interpreters to the Partisans. Those sent to the Partisans included the following former veterans: Arsen Bartl (born in Split), Blaz Sabic (born in Trogir) Petar Erdeljic (from Karlovac), Anton Simic (from Drvenik) and Stevan Serdar and George Diklic, Serbs from Lika. Tomo Babin (from Preko,

Zadar), the head of the Yugoslav Seaman's Club in New York, remained in the US where he has recently been identified in declassified documents as being a Soviet spy.

The unity displayed by these veterans in Spain was shattered as a result of the 1948 Stalin-Tito break. Most who had remained in the United States, such as Nelson, initially retained their loyalty to Stalin. Some who had returned to Yugoslavia (such as Jardas) supported Tito.

In the conclusion to his work, Mr. Kraljic notes that despite the fact most immigrants came from a peasant background, many Croatian immigrants became attached to Communism, an urban phenomena. Croatia was so rural at that time, that more Croats lived in cities in the US than did in all of Croatia! As a result, Communism was, to some extent, a means of "Americanization."

In that regard, the Communists played an important role in unionization drives. Nevertheless, the results of Communist influence in the community were generally negative. Communism offered no real solution to the problems faced by their agricultural homeland. Further, the increase in Communist influence in the community during World War II as a result of the growing support for Tito, the ultimate capture of the CFU's leadership by Communist allies in 1947, the Tito-Stalin break and the repression brought by the McCarthy period all had the effect of causing great divisiveness within the community as a result of the hold posed by this ideology.

These divisions were only multiplied by the differing political outlooks offered by recent refugees from Communist Yugoslavia. Only the 1991 war against Croatia was able to bridge these differences.

DONATIONS

Lakos, Nela - \$110.00

Helen Blagdan \$100.00

Maslac, Rev. Paul \$70.00

Knezovic, Marko & Marija \$40.00

Rotkvic, Stanislava \$40.00

Dusko Condic \$35.00

Strmski, Vlado \$20.00

Brentar, Jerome \$10.00

THE CROATIAN ACADEMY OF AMERICA

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

The Croatian Academy of America (CAA), founded in New York City in 1953 observed its 50th anniversary on May 17 at the New York Hilton Hotel. A special documentary forty-page publication *The Croatian Academy of America: Highlights 1953-2003* was published for the occasion and distributed to an audience of 140 people. An exhibit included all volumes of the *Journal of Croatian Studies* published by the Academy since 1960. The President of the Academy, Vedran Joseph Nazor, introduced professor Esad Prohic, personal envoy of Stjepan Mesic, President of the Republic of Croatia who delivered the President's congratulatory message. The program included an address by Helena Jasna Mencer, Rector of the University of Zagreb, presented by President Emeritus of the Academy Maria K. Tuskan and a review of the Academy's highlights by Karlo Mirth, Honorary President for life and Managing Editor of the *Journal* since its first issue. A selected program included Miroslav Cigoj, a tenor from Zagreb, and soprano Tanja Simic, New York. The Academy website is: www.croatianacademy.org.

The 50th anniversary of the CAA is remarkable not only for the Academy itself but for Croatians in America and the Croatian people in general. The prime movers of the Academy (Professors Clement Mihanovich, Walter Reeve, Antun Nizeteo and others) not only had a sense of mission but worked tirelessly so that

their ideals and ideas may turn into reality. They established an institution so that Croatian and other scholars interested in Croatian studies might share their findings, ideas, and views - not only among themselves but also with other scholars in America and around the world.

The founders' calling was to educate new generations, to enlighten, to seek higher cultural and intellectual horizons. Being of Croatian descent or Croatian by birth, it was natural for them to make every effort to share their Croatian history and culture with others. The *Journal of Croatian Studies* (founded in 1960) became a gathering point and an instrument for transmitting views that were considered subversive by the Yugo-regime and also were often unpopular in the eyes of those whose dogmatic opinions, often based on personal fascination with Yugo-socialism, became substitutions for genuine scholarly work.

The Academy has been a rare phenomenon among the Croatians outside the homeland. It is an institution that has made an attempt to lift the activities of our American Croatian community to a higher level. Our traditional activities have been centered around churches, the Croatian Fraternal Union and Croatian Catholic Union lodges and halls, folklore groups, bowling, golf and soccer tournaments, and various activities for children. There are not, however, among the Croatians in America institutions of higher learning. It seems that our more established organizations and well-to-do individuals have no appreciation for such institutions.

The Academy has made a difference. It was a beacon of light in often topsy-turvy situations among the Croatians in diaspora and unsympathetic academic sentiment in America.

To talk about the 50th anniversary of the Academy is to remember the hard work of relatively few individuals. With all due respect to the founding visionaries, to the many members of the Board through 50 years, and to the Journal contributors, but two people stand out among us. They have been firm pillars of this institution for decades. They are Karlo Mirth and Maria Tuskan. Their dedication, tireless work, and service to the Academy has been remarkable. They are an example of giving and working out of love and not of interest and self-promotion. We are thankful to them and to all who made a difference.

The Association for Croatian Studies, as a younger sister organization, expresses heartfelt congratulations to the Croatian Academy of America on this significant occasion. May the new generations build an even greater edifice on the existing firm foundations.

These are new times. There are new opportunities and new needs. May the future of the Academy, of the Croatian people, and of the world be bright! Congratulations!

NEW BOOKS

AND

BOOK REVIEWS

Charles R. Shrader. *The Muslim-Croat Civil War in Central Bosnia: A Military History, 1992-1994*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003; pp. xxi, 223.

At a time when sexed-up reports and Paris advocacy for the Islamic world are commonplace concepts, Charles R. Shrader's book about the Muslim-Croat conflict in Bosnia may be extremely well timed. Even though the book was written much before the recent Iraq crisis, his conclusions suggest that both notions, however recent, are applicable in explaining this highly controversial war-within-a-war that took place a decade ago in Europe's own back yard.

Formerly a US Army logistics officer, Shrader is now a noted military historian and instructor at the US military academies. He works mainly from the ICTY trial transcripts in Blaskic, Kordic, and other central Bosnia cases, and concludes quite explicitly that anyone who knows anything about military issues (and evidence) could never deduce that Croats initiated the conflict in central Bosnia. Moreover, there was no grand scheme to ethnically cleanse the Muslims from the area, as the International Criminal Tribunal at The Hague (ICTY) incorrectly found. Quite the contrary, says Shrader.

He makes a case that Sarajevo made an early strategic decision in the Fall 92 to fight the Croats because they were weaker than the Serbs; because it wanted to resettle the Muslim refugees from eastern Bosnia and Posavina into the Lasva Valley; and, because it wanted to seize military production facilities under Croat control in Busovaca, Vitez and Novi Travnik.

Gen. Sefer Halilovic, the first ABiH chief operations officer wrote along the same lines in his book the "Cunning Strategy" ("Lukava Strategija," S. Halilovic, Marsal, Sarajevo, 1997.) The

key element of that strategy was to seize military plants in Gorazde, Konjic, Bugojno, and Novi Travnik. The last three were under the Croat control.

What is striking in the Halilovic book is the underlining theme that the Croats were as dangerous to the future of the BiH state as the Serbs, and thus, equally a target. Tellingly, as Belgrade-trained officer, he often referred to the Croats with derogatory term Ustashe. To add, he wrote about close relations between Izetbegovic associates and Milosevic envoys throughout 1992-93, including discussions about territorial swaps and the division of BiH.

Similarly, a senior Muslim official told this writer in Spring 1993 that the Muslims would not seek negotiations with the Croats because the thinking in Sarajevo was that they can be defeated. The going logic was, he said, that the Croats were much weaker than the Serbs; that Croatia would not help them much because it has its own problems; that BiH Croats are settled in the most economically viable parts of the country, in the Lasva and Neretva valleys; that they control the access to the sea; and, that eventually, there will be a big war between Serbia and Croatia, where the HVO would be forced to retreat south, and to the flanks, to help the HV around Dubrovnik in the east and Split in the west, thus making it even easier for the Muslims to push southward.

Back in December 1992, at the Extraordinary Session of the Organization of Islamic Conference in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, this writer participated in a meeting between the Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo and Alija Izetbegovic, where Skrabalo appealed to Izetbegovic to accept Tudjman's offer to form joint military headquarters, either in Zagreb or Bugojno, and take on the Serb extremists jointly. Skrabalo brought with him the Zagreb Mufti Sefko Omerbasic, who argued that the Tudjman offer was genuine, and consistent with Zagreb's assistance in arming of the ABiH. But Izetbegovic refused, saying that such a public alliance would further provoke the Serbs. However, it is more likely that he said no because the Halilovic strategy was already well in place.

Shrader says that in January 1993 the ABiH carried out what he calls in military jargon a probing attack, to gauge the HVO defenses, and in April 1993, the first major attack. The Croats were largely surprised by the probing attack, but not by the main attack. After January 1993 they began collecting intelligence on the ABiH, and rightly anticipated that the main attack would come on April 15th. Central Bosnia HVO commander Tihomir Blaskic prepared and practiced, what Shrader calls "active defense," a common NATO pre-emptive tactic. This first ABiH operation to fragment the Lasva Valley into isolated pockets failed, but was repeated two more times in the Fall. He adds that the Lasva Valley would have been overtaken if it were not for the early 1994 Washington Accords, as the Croats were substantially under-manned, under-gunned, and completely encircled.

The situation of the Croat community in central Bosnia is likened to the misfortune of the French Union camp at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. Like the French troops that were in great tactical and numerical disadvantage sitting in the Nam Yum valley against Vietminh soldiers on the surrounding hills, the Croat community was squeezed into an even smaller area in the lowlands of Lasva valley against the Muslim forces on the mountainside. Unlike the Union troops, the

Croats managed to survive until the Washington Accords due to Blaskic's active defense strategy.

Shrader writes that there is not slightest evidence that HV troops or advisers operated in central Bosnia. He does add in a footnote that there is evidence of HV troops in the Gornji Vakuf area to the south in Dec 1993-Jan 1994, but that they were not active in the fighting in central Bosnia. The presence of these troops was used by the Security Council in February 1994 as evidence of Croatia's interference in BiH.

The massing of HV troops in Gornji Vakuf in December 1993 is consistent with other reports that the troops were moved in because Zagreb feared that Lasva Valley would fall, and wanted to manage the resultant refugee flows that would destabilize Dalmatia, as well as to prevent further ABiH advances south that could have isolated Dubrovnik once again.

Shrader relies extensively on UNPROFOR and ECMM reports on the events in Lasva Valley, and concludes that UNPROFOR was largely balanced in its reporting, and actually became very good after being initially surprised by the developments in central Bosnia. But he goes on and says that ECMM monitors were consistently misinterpreting events to the detriment of Croats and downplaying atrocities against the Croats (which appear to have been more numerous and widespread).

In the "Sources" section at the end he goes on and points a finger at the French head of the ECMM, Jean-Pierre Thebault, as the reason for such ECMM reporting. Shrader speculates that Thebault was acting under national instructions, consistent with the Paris policy to advocate Arab interests in the West. To add to this point of view, Shrader notes that the ECMM reporting improved once Sir Martin Garrod took over the mission in October 1993.

Another reason for Thebault's biased reporting may have been the EC plan for BiH at the time, which looked to assign 33% of BiH territory to the Muslim republic. The EC lead negotiator Lord Owen wanted to achieve this percentage by assigning the largest part of the Lasva Valley to the Muslim republic. As a Brussels civil servant, Thebault would have then understood his role as needing to craft his reports to advance the policy goals of the negotiators, i.e., to support the ABiH offensive. In turn, Sir Martin would have been motivated to change the reporting direction when Brussels began pressuring the Muslim side to accept the three-republic Owen-Stoltenberg plan in the Fall 1993, after the Croats accepted it in the Summer.

Taking cue from the Iraq crisis, one simply cannot overlook the concept of sexing up. But Thebault clearly went to the extreme. In fact, he was not sexing up, but perverting down. As a result, the mainstream view of this conflict is so convoluted and yet embedded in stone, that it compelled the Blaskic defense to, in effect, accept the main premise of the Prosecution about the Croat grand scheme to ethnically cleanse the Muslims, and argue naively that Blaskic, despite being the chief military officer in the area, was innocent because he personally did not partake in such a campaign.

Thus, in some way, the book comes too late for the central Bosnia cases at the ICTY, but its high academic quality and current concepts in international relations, might make it a powerful

document in the future. Blaskic and others just may be able to introduce it eventually as new evidence in national courts in the countries where they will be serving their unjust sentences.

V.M. Raguz was Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the E.U. and NATO in 1998-2000. He occasionally comments on Balkan affairs in the *Wall Street Journal* and other media.

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Josip Novakovich . *Plum Brandy: Croatian Journeys*. Buffalo, NY: White Pine Press, 2003;

pp. 181. (\$16 paper)

Josip Novakovich grew up in Tito's Yugoslavia. His father was a clogmaker, and his mother's American-born mother had returned to her native Cleveland after World War II. In "Sawdust Memories," a section of six essays in his collection "Plum Brandy: Croatian Journeys," Novakovich makes it clear that the tension between the Croatian and American lineage has been for him, more significantly, a tug of war between two languages.

From the earliest age, English was the winner. He fed his linguistic enchantment by scrutinizing a dollar bill with a magnifying glass; it was "as clean as a starched bedsheet." He studied American maps—gifts from his grandmother—and memorized the English names for countries. Everything that was detestable in his communist youth—the rhetoric, the work projects, the spying and boredom—could be left behind by immigrating, he was sure. At 17 he visited Cleveland; at 20 he moved to the U.S. for good.

Nothing is so simple, Novakovich lets us know. Not the high-minded reasons his grandmother left, later contradicted by a "low interpretation" of dalliance with an uncle. Not his childhood language, now "ethnically cleansed" to an archaic form. English has turned out to be his true language (You need only read him to know that), but his stories are still rooted in the old country, and the country it is now, and what happened to people of all sorts in the most recent Balkan war.

Novakovich has returned every few years since he left, and recently, for longer periods, and more frequently. The sections "Croatian Journal" and "Writing Home" comprise 10 essays about his visits. He was there in 1995 when Croatia finally was armed and felt able to "undertake measures to restore order" against the Serbs. This was announced on national TV after a man played the piano and sang "Stop the War in Croatia." The author's ability to parse the politics and the human effects of the conflict is extraordinary for the most obvious reasons: He knows the

region and the people; he has been there; he cares; he isn't depending on information handed down from news bureaus. There is nothing dry about his discussion, because everything is about people, and because his bittersweet voice is that of a man whose sense of irony has not fallen into arch detachment. This is a family man, a father who imagines his gifted young son playing the cello in the ruins of the World Trade Center.

As the Croatian forces advance toward Krajina, from which 100,000 Croats had been expelled in 1991, and where thousands more had been slaughtered, a friend tells him about the Croat draftees who go to the Bosnian border taking fishing line and fishhooks to trade with the Serbs for looted VCRs and jewelry. This they do by day; by night they fight. Everyone has

a comic story, and Novakovich has traveled to Croatia to hear them. (The stories in his third collection, "Salvation and Other Disasters," are replete with comic incident—and sadness—about the Serbo-Croatian conflict.) But his brother-in-law is dying of stomach cancer, and other family members have been hurt, and war, poverty, illness are not jokes.

Novakovich is a collector, with his ear to the ground. He misses nothing, and these essays are, line by line, so rich with dialogue and description, with perceptiveness and character, you can only wonder how he will ever manage to tell all the stories. It is a kind of genius, this gift for gathering, this ability to grasp the essential elements of situation, story and person. And

it is, too, a weight for a man who must always be something of a stranger somewhere. His Croatian hasn't caught up fully with the linguistic changes. Although he is published in Croatia, and has even won a prize there, his writer acquaintances say of his work, "It's readable." They don't understand how he can write for love of story, with no defined mass audience, no hope of getting rich.

Who cares, they must think, that Novakovich's father became too successful a clogmaker for the communist regime and had to fire his assistants and descend into poverty, working to within hours of his death? Who cares about a poor old immigrant, deaf and nearly blind, living in a Cleveland slum, operating the only Croatian bookstore on the North American continent? Or about the Muslim Sarajevan who says that now his nationality is Buddhist? Or about the Muslim refugee woman who sleeps beneath a canary's cage, droppings falling on her head?

Josip Novakovich makes you care, because you feel love—for the English language, for the human comedy, for the ways that families and tribes are tangled, for the poignant, funny, humble voice of the writer. He has bridged two cultures' sensibilities by illustrating that each person is singular, though we come to ourselves over and over again.

Sandra Scofield.

Sandra Scofield is the author of "Plain Seeing" and other novels.

***Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 2003; p. 3**

* * *

Ante Cuvalo. *Removing the Mask: Letters and Statements Concerning Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina 1989-2000*. Chicago: Croatian Franciscan Press, 2000; pp. 352. (Price \$10.00)

his book consists of a collection of letters and political memoranda which Ante Cuvalo wrote over more than a decade in connection with events in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Cuvalo is easily one of the most active Croatian-American academics, and this anthology highlights his remarkable energy and ability to apply his scholarly skills to the practical arena of policy. Beginning with a salvo in reply to an article by Serb intellectual Momcilo Selic in 1989, Cuvalo wrote letters to newspapers and magazines in response to news reports or opinion pieces which he felt presented misleading or downright biased positions. In doing so, Cuvalo crossed swords with such personages as David Binder, Srdja Trifkovic, Bogdan Denitch, Robert Hayden, and Helen Delich Bentley. Many of his letters were published in such newspapers as *The New York Times*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The International Herald Tribune*, and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Even those of his letters to the press which were not published often elicited responses from the editors (which are also published here), and his efforts probably had at least some effect in changing how the news was covered.

In addition, Cuvalo sent other letters, also published here, to prominent public figures with the intent of providing criticisms or suggestions, including to Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton, their Secretaries of State, Lady Margaret Thatcher, Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and to numerous U.S. Senators and Congressmen. Often, Cuvalo would send along an analysis of political events when writing to policymakers, as well as copies of his *Historical Dictionary of Bosnia- Herzegovina*, and often received replies thanking him for his think- pieces.

There are also letters which Cuvalo sent to publishers of new educational textbooks and maps, seeking to correct traditional and new errors which recent reference works, if left unchallenged, would only reinforce. Particularly interesting is an exchange between Cuvalo and the organizers of a roundtable discussion at DePaul University in 1992, with Cuvalo focusing on the background and views of one of the sponsors, Bogdan Denitch, and the questionable framework for the proposed roundtable. This elicited a heated response from the sponsors which, as much as anything, probably characterized the extreme and rather naive outlook of this apparently ephemeral group called "DiYUlog for Peace" (pp. 77-80).

There was probably no one as active in letter-writing on behalf of the Croatian cause during this period, something which must have required a significant amount of time and effort.

The themes in the letters reflect the topical issues over the span of decade, beginning with the need to clarify to foreign observers the reasons for and implications of the impending and then actual disintegration of Yugoslavia, followed by the need to elicit action the International Community (and specifically the United States) in dealing with the onslaught of Serb military actions in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and ending with the need to craft and support viable post-war solution. Future historians one day may well use such letters to gain an understanding of how the various diasporas in the United States reacted to events in the former Yugoslavia, and Cuvalo anthology provides what may turn out to be one of the richest samplers of such primary material. In the meantime, this book provides a very readable and personal overview of one

diaspora intellectual perspectives and activities during an entire decade of momentous change in the region, as well as valuable insights into the views of other opinion-makers and policymakers, who engaged Cuvalo either in agreement or disagreement. In many ways, Cuvalo has set the standard for making available his correspondence to the public, and hopefully others will follow suit.

Norman Cigar

US Marine Corps Command & Staff College

Reprinted from Journal of Croatian Studies, Vol. XLII, 2001, 149-151

* * *

Dedaic, Mirjana N. / Daniel N. Nelson, Eds. *At War with Words*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003; pp. xxiv, 479. Cloth \$94.00; Paperback \$32.95.

In a new era of global conflict involving non-state actors, *At War with Words* offers provocative perspective on the role of language in the genesis, conduct and consequence of mass violence. Sociolinguistics meets political science and communication studies in order to examine interdependence between armed conflict and language. As phenomena attributed only to humans, both armed conflict and language are visible on two axes: language as war discourse, and language as a social policy subject to change by the victorious.

In this unique volume, internationally known contributors provide original data and new insights that illuminate roles of text and talk in creating identities of enemies, justifications for violence, and accompanying propaganda. Incorporating contexts from around the world, this collection's topics range from a radio talk show host's inflammatory rhetoric to the semantic poverty of the lexicon of mass destruction. The first eight chapters discuss war texts. How does language serve as a vehicle to incite, justify, and resolve an armed conflict? Case studies from the US to China, and from Austria to Ghana detail such a progression to, through, and from war. The book's second part reflects the understanding of language as a symbol of power achieved by a victorious side in war. Five chapters discuss cases from Okinawa, Croatia, Cyprus, Palau, and Northern Ireland.

Edited by a sociolinguist and a political scientist, *At War with Words* includes chapters by Michael Billig, Paul Chilton, Ruth Wodak and a dozen other prominent linguists and communications scholars. This book will be of interest to linguists, media scholars and political scientists, but is also accessible to any reader interested in language and war. Teachers will find particular chapters useful as course material in discourse analysis, language policy, war and peace studies, conflict resolution, mass communication, and other related disciplines.

* * *

Fabijancic, Tony. *Croatia: Travels in Undiscovered Country*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003; pp. xxi, 186, ill.

here is, in old Croatia, an undiscovered country that is passing away, a world of peasants, shepherds and fishermen irrevocably surrendering before the reality of a modern European state.

When Tony Fabijancic traveled to Croatia he was returning to his own undiscovered country. With the tongue of a native but the eyes of an outsider, he journeyed the old country of his father. He sought out the hidden corners where he could hear the earthy stories of country people. With thoughtful portraits, he throws open a personal window into a labyrinthine world of character and identity.

Outside a church in Pag, the author experienced a flash of eternity, an epiphany into his own mortality. Tapping into a newfound strength, he traveled the expanse of Croatia, conducting a personal investigation into its extraordinary regionality while commenting on the complex history of a deeply layered landscape. In fine style, he transports the reader to the Adriatic in the summer: the blast of heat, the smell of dust, bountiful kitchen gardens, and the impromptu ritual of sljivovica at out door tables. Most of all, we are introduced to rural men and women who, along with their hospitality, openly share their views on their lot in the new Croatia.

Written with sensitivity and balance, *Croatia: Travels in Undiscovered Country* is smart, literate, travel writing that takes us to the heart of a fascinating land.

Tony Fabijancic was born and raised in Edmonton, Alberta. From an early age he accompanied his father to Croatia where he experienced the lives of its peasants first hand. He is Associate Professor of Contemporary Literature at the Sir Wilfred Grenfell College campus of Memorial University in Newfoundland. He lives in Corner Brook with his wife and two children.

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Munevera Hadzisehovic. *A Muslim Woman in Tito's Yugoslavia*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003; pp. xxxii 253. Cloth \$50.00; paper \$27.00

This is a book about injustice, the injustice of Serbs toward Muslims, and the injustice of the Communist Party toward honest people, rewarding informers regardless of competence and punishing integrity. It is also a record of how one woman coped with injustice and survived—without seeking revenge and without allowing herself to be crushed by bitterness.

Sabrina P. Ramet

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