



Bulletin

ASSOCIATION FOR CROATIAN STUDIES

Fall 1999

ISSUE No. 33

AAASS 31st NATIONAL CONVENTION NOVEMBER 18-21, 1999 ADAM'S MARK HOTEL ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

The 31st National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) will take place November 18 - 21, 1999 at Adam's Mark Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri.

Adam's Mark Hotel is located in downtown St. Louis, Fourth and Chestnut streets. Direct telephone line is (314) 241-7400. Most probably all rooms in the hotel are already booked for the Convention dates, but in case you are lucky and are able to book a room, mention that you are with Slavic Studies in order to receive the discount room rate of \$108 per night. The hotel is about 20 minutes away from the airport. The hotel runs an airport shuttle at about \$15.00 round trip.

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).

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 Croats attending the Convention.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18
4:15 - 6:15 P. M.
(Session 2, panel 24)
Sarah Anne Kent - discussant

Panel: "Balkan Migrations and Their Impact on Slovene Territory and Population (Seventeenth Century to the Present)"

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19
8:00 - 10:00 A. M.
(Session 3, Panel 6)

Jill Irvine

"Women and War: Ethnic Mobilization and the Political Impact of Women in the Former Yugoslavia."

(Session 3, Panel 12)

Contemporary Music in Slavic Europe
Chair: Hana Breko, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences

Papers:

William A. Everett, U of Missouri, Kansas City. "Embracing the New: Contemporary Music in Croatia."

Maria Anna Harley, U of Southern CA. "Post-Communist and Post-Modern: New Music from Poland."

Margarita Mazo, Ohio State U. "Post-Soviet Music and Musical Life in St. Petersburg."



Dr. S. Meštrovic speaks at the ACS symposium.

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2:00 - 4:00 P. M.

(Session 5, Panel 7)

The Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia,
and Dalmatia Circa 1900: Politics,
Culture, and Economics

Chair: Nicholas John Miller, Boise
State U

Papers:

Elinor Murray Despalatović, Connecticut
College. "Slavonia"

Sarah Anne Kent, U of Wisconsin,
Stevens Point. "Croatia"

Disc: James Paul Krokar, DePaul U

4:15 - 6:15 P.M.

**Association
for Croatian Studies
Annual Meeting and Dinner**

For the meeting room check the
Convention's final program!

We invite all our members and friends
who will be present at the Convention to
join us after the meeting (7:00 P.M.) for
the traditional "Croatian Dinner" at a
well-known restaurant, Kemoll's, No. 1
Metropolitan Square, St. Louis, MO
63102. Tel. (314) 421-0555. There will
be a separate room for our group. The
restaurant is near the Adam's Mark Hotel.
Please let us know by Nov. 15th if you
are joining us for this informal but
important gathering so that we can make
reservations on time.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20

8:00 - 10:00 A.M.

(Session 7, Panel 7)

Melissa Katherine Bokovoy, U of New
Mexico. "Whose Dead? Remembering
the Fallen in Serbia and Croatia, 1919-
1929."

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21

8:00 - 10:00 A. M.

(Session 10, Panel 22)

Music and Drama in Croatia From
the Middle Ages to
the National Revival

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

Papers:

Hana Breko, Croatian Academy of Arts
and Sciences. "Miracle and Mystery
Plays in Medieval Croatia."

Ivano Cavallini, U of Trieste. "The
Pastorale in Sixteenth- Century
Dubrovnik."

Stanislav Tuksar, Academy of Music, U
of Zagreb. "Croatian Theater Music
in the Eighteenth and Early
Nineteenth Centuries."

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

(Session 11, Panel 23)

Croatian Expressionism

Chair: Tatjana Bujas Lorković, Yale U

Papers:

Marijan Despalatović, Connecticut
College. "Bogović."

Giga Gračan, Croatian Radio 3. "Another
Death: Donadini Murders Gogol,
Jelachich Buzhinski Murders
Donadini."

Aida Vidan, Harvard U. "On the
Battleground of Galicia: Krleža and
Babel."

Disc: Gordana Crnković, U of
Washington

CROATIAN BOOK EXHIBIT

At the AAASS Convention, there
will be a Croatian Book Exhibit
sponsored by the Croatian Ethnic
Institute of Chicago and by
HISAK-CSAC (Croatian Schools of
America & Canada) organized by Rev.
Ljubo Krasić.

The 32nd National Convention of the
AAASS, hosted by the Rocky Mountain
Slavic Association and the Western Slavic
Association, will be held in Denver,
Colorado at the Adam's Mark Hotel
November 9-12, 2000.

Deadline for Panel and/or Roundtable
Proposals for next year's Convention is
December 10, 1999.



Dr. Jasna Meyer
with her daughter, Nasja Zdenka, at the
ACS Symposium in Chicago

**ACS PANEL
REJECTED!**

At last year's ACS annual meeting
Boca Raton (September 25, 1998), it w
agreed that the ACS would sponsor a
panel on World War II Victims in
Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The
panel was registered in time. The panel
members were to be Vladimir Zerajvić
(Zagreb), Jure Krišto (Zagreb), Mario
Jareb (Zagreb), Igor Primorac
(Jerusalem), and Ante Cuvalo, Chicago.
Unfortunately, the Convention Program
Committee rejected our proposal without
giving us an explanation. We can only
speculate about their reasoning. We do
hope that the present Program
Committee has not assumed the role of a
censor! The following letter was sent to
the Chair of the Committee. However, we
did not receive any response concerning
this matter.

Association for Croatian Studies

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Dr. Maria Carlson - Chair
AAASS 1999 Convention Program Commit
Center for Russian and E. European Studies
University of Kansas
Lawrence, KS 66045-2128

May 21, 1999

Dear Dr. Carlson:

In a letter dated February 8, 1999, I have been
informed by Ms. Wendy Walker, Convention
Coordinator, that the Association for Croatian
Studies' (ACS) proposed panel for the 1999
AAASS Convention, "World War II Victims in
Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina - Revisited,"
was rejected by your Committee. In a letter sent
to Ms. Walker on February 18, 1999, I asked if
she could inform the ACS about the Committee's
reason(s) for the rejection of the proposed panel.
Apparently, she does not have such information.

I am writing, therefore, to you as the chair of the
1999 Program Committee to request all relevant
information regarding the Committee's rejection
of the proposed ACS panel, including a copy of
the Committee notes dealing with the panel. The
ACS executive board and membership feel that we
have the right to be informed why the proposed
panel was not appropriate for the upcoming
AAASS convention.

Your help and cooperation will be greatly
appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ante Cuvalo, Ph.D.
Secretary

THE ACS SYMPOSIUM "CROATIAN DIASPORA IN THE U. S. A. ON THE EVE OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM"

Prof. Nasja Meyer and Dr. Jasna Meyer, St. Louis, Mo.

Association for Croatian Studies (ACS) held its first symposium on April 17, 1999 in Chicago on the topic "Croatian Diaspora in the U.S.A. on the Eve of the Third Millennium". The symposium took place on the campus of Saint Xavier University, with the help of their departments of history, political science, sociology, and anthropology.

Association for Croatian Studies has been active since 1977. This association is part of the large American Slavic organization, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS). From its very beginning ACS has been participating in all large annual Slavic conventions, which AAASS organizes every fall. This year's Convention will be held in St. Louis, Missouri where a sizable and active Croatian community is present. The April symposium about Croatian diaspora was an exceptional and special meeting of ACS.

ACS was founded by about ten Croatian intellectuals in 1977 in Washington, D.C. during the annual convention of AAASS. Its purpose was to promote Croatian studies in all areas: research, publishing, pedagogy, and everything else that promotes knowledge and truth about Croatia and the Croats. Therefore, the work of ACS was centered from the very beginning on the studies of culture, literature, language, history, economy, and social movements in Croatia and among the Croats. Professor Joseph Bombelles was its first president and professor George J. Prpić its secretary and treasurer. Other members of its executive board were late prof. Ante Kadić and prof. Francis H. Eterović. The current president of the association is Dr. Joseph Bombelles, and Dr. Ante Čuvalo is the secretary and editor of its bulletin.

The symposium was organized by Dr. Ante Čuvalo with a great sense for interesting selection of quality papers. There were five panels each with three presentations. Dr. Čuvalo spoke about the current situation of the Croatian diaspora of America, as well as about its relationship towards the U.S.A. and the Homeland. It was a very valuable paper, which also served as the right introduction to the symposium. Dr. Tomislav Sunić, from the Croatian

Embassy in Belgium and former professor in the United States, spoke about emigration, immigration, and migrations of Croats during this decade. He provided the participants with exact statistical information about this topic. The chair of this panel was Dr. Nick Ceh, a young Croat from Chicago and a professor of history.

On the topic of Croatian language in the U.S.A. spoke Dr. Ivanka Sabolić from Kent State University (Kent, Ohio), Fr. Ljubo Kراسić from the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago. Unfortunately prof. Michael Vezilich from the Defense Language Institute (Monterey, California) was not able to be present at this gathering due to the current crisis in

1924, and Rev. Dugandžić spoke about the present and the future of the Croatian ethnic parishes of America.

Mira Radielović Baratta, longtime advisor on foreign policy to Senator Bob Dole had to miss this gathering and fly to Europe because of problems in Kosovo. However, her paper dealing with the Croatian lobby in Washington was presented by Dr. Jasna Meyer, professor and chair of the Communication Dept. at Western Maryland College. Ms. Radielović, among other things, gave concrete suggestions concerning how Croats could be more effective in Washington.

The final panel was dedicated to the topic of Croatian youth and its future outside the Homeland. Its participants were Dr. Jasna Meyer, Maria Jukić, president of the Croatian American Academic and Cultural Society, Cleveland, Ohio, attorney Luka Mišetić from Chicago, and Dr. Stjepan Meštrović, prof. of sociology at Texas A & M University. He is the grandson of the famous sculptor Ivan Meštrović. Dr. Meštrović, by highlighting some of the leading sociological theories and theorists of today, argued that most Croats are tradition-directed or modernist in their social orientations, and that they will need to learn to adapt to a postmodern,

other-directed set of social values that come mostly from the USA and Western Europe. Maria spoke about the enthusiasm and zeal of Croatian youth during the beginning of this decade, and the need that this enthusiasm be revived as soon as possible. Mišetić gave a thorough report about an interesting survey that he and Dr. Čuvalo conducted among Croatian youth in America. He pointed out some important indicators that speak to us about today's situation among Croatian youth in the diaspora and their relationship towards the Homeland. Maria and Luka concluded that it is necessary to know how to attract and keep Croatian youth in societies and clubs and that the young ones need to find their place and role in the life and activities of the Croatian community.

And finally there was a round table discussion on the topic "Present Situation and a Glimpse of the Future". The speakers were Rev. Slavko Soldo, Custos



Dr. Maria Tuškan & Mr. Sean Carter, a Grad Student at Bristol U., at the ACS Symposium in Chicago

Kosovo. His paper was read by prof. Ceh. Fr. Ljubo, who is also the director of Croatian Language Schools in America and Canada, presented a very interesting talk on Croatian language schools in the diaspora for students in elementary and secondary schools. He pointed out that the number of students is in decline but that there is hope that the Croatian language will continue to live among the young.

The participants on the topic of Croatian Catholic parishes in America were Dr. Maria Krockner-Tuškan (Cincinnati, Ohio) the president of the Croatian Academy of America, Maj. Michael Colarusso, prof. of history at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York, and Rev. Nikola Dugandžić, the pastor of Angel Guardian Croatian Parish, Chicago. Major Colarusso talked about the history of Croatian settlements and Croatian parishes in America from 1894-



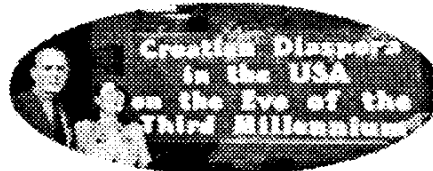
Dr. Tomislav Sunić
at the ACS Symposium

of the Holy Family Croatian Franciscan Custody in Chicago, already mentioned Dr. Maria-Krocker-Tuškan, Melkior Mašina, President of the Croatian Catholic Union of USA and Canada, prof. Nasja Meyer, instructor of Croatian language and culture at St. Louis Community College, and John Segvich, who is employed by the administration of American public schools and is a regular contributor on the Croatian radio program in Chicago. The chair of this panel was Dr. Čuvalo. From the discussion it was evident that it is still necessary for Croats from the diaspora to continue working for the benefit of Croatia, but it is now necessary for them to reexamine the new circumstances. With the end of the aggression on Croatia and the achieved independence of the Croatian state, our work for Croatia does not end, but rather it is a new beginning for the Homeland, for the diaspora, and for their better future together. It's very important that the Croats continue to work hard on spreading the truth about Croatia, its history, culture, and language. Nurturing the usage of the Croatian language within the family in the diaspora is very important because with the loss of language one loses greatly the awareness of belonging to a nation. There was also talk of cases of returning to Croatia for good. And discussion ensued about the representatives of the Croatian government in America, who could help immensely in these circumstances. Or as Nasja Meyer put it, "Croatia should send us capable and likeable diplomats." The Croatian government was represented at the symposium by Dr. Mate Maras from the Croatian Embassy in Washington and Dr. Boro Grubišić with his wife from the

recently opened Croatian Consulate in Chicago.

Unfortunately two of the announced speakers, Dr. Vlado Markovac and Dr. Jim Sadkovich, had to cancel their participation in the symposium at the last minute because of unavoidable reasons. The topics of economy and Croatia's image in the US media, on what they were scheduled to speak, are very urgent and useful. Had this gathering been able to hear these talks, they would have benefitted. But we still hope that we will be able to hear these two speakers on another occasion.

Because many participants of this symposium are also authors and editors, their books were displayed in the entrance hall. There one could browse and purchase many books, such as those brought by Fr. Ljubo Krsić, books authored by Dr. Tomislav Sunić, Dr. Ante Čuvalo, Dr. Stjepan Meštrović, and poetry by Nasja Meyer. The most recent book by Dr. Čuvalo. "Historical Dictionary of Bosnia and Herzegovina" won the important American award given



Dr. Ante & Prof. Ilica Čuvalo
at the ACS Symposium

by the magazine *Choice* for the 1998 Outstanding Academic Books list. Some forthcoming books were announced and their manuscripts given to colleagues for comments, such as the book "Croatia--The Country and The Language" coauthored by Nasja Meyer and Dr. Jasna Meyer. This is a textbook for adults about Croatian language and culture.

There were close to one hundred people who participated in this symposium. They were not passive listeners and viewers, but rather a professional group working on a true academic level. We need more gatherings like this in the future so we can objectively and intelligently discuss and argue about Croatia's present and future. It was especially encouraging to see a good number of young Croats at this symposium, who showed a great interest for all the above mentioned topics.

After the day's work at the symposium, an excellent home-cooked dinner followed at the Sacred Heart Croatian Church Hall. Its pastor, Fr. Pavao Maslač, made it possible that this gathering concluded in a pleasant mood



Maria Jukić
at the ACS Symposium

and true Croatian atmosphere. A Croatian tamburitans group pleasantly entertained guests with music from the Homeland. The great success of this symposium was possible because of the excellent organization of Dr. Ante Čuvalo, who was aided in many and different ways by his wife prof. Ilica, and their two children. Also, great help came from a group of young students and professionals from Chicago who have been recently getting together in order to initiate different activities. Several Croatian businessmen helped cover the symposium's expenses, and in this they helped the success of this important gathering. Their understanding for cultural and academic work is significant and their support so necessary.

It is interesting to mention that on the following day Sunday April 18, the celebration continued in the parish of St. Jerome at the dedication of Cardinal Stepinac Way when a part of Princeton Avenue was named after the Croatian Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac. On this occasion many participants saw each other again. The wish of everyone was that ACS should meet again and more often. The next meeting is scheduled for November of this year at the AAASS convention in St. Louis, Missouri.

ACS SYMPOSIUM PRESENTATIONS

here have been many inquires about the papers presented at the ACS Symposium in Chicago.

They will be published in the *Journal of Croatian Studies* at the beginning of next year.

We are also planning to post of the material on a web site in the near future.

THANK YOU

To St. Xavier University, especially Dr. John Gutowski, all the ACS symposium presenters and participants, Croatian Youth (Chicago), Sacred Heart and St. Jerome Croatian Parishes (Chicago,) and the following patrons who helped us financially: Steve and Louise Bubalo (Los Angeles), Marilyn Wright (Chicago), Franjo and Rada Perković (New York), Phil and Lou Ann Picket (Joliet), Križa Ostojić (Chicago) Josip Trutin (Chicago) John Crnković (Chicago), Pam Budeslich, (Chicago), and Marija Erkapić (Chicago).

Thanks to all who made the symposium a succesful event!

ZDENKA GREDEL-MANUELE

Zdenka Gredel-Manuele is A Professor of European History at Niagara University, New York. She received her B.A. in History from D'Youville College in 1962 and her M. A. in History from the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1964. During 1964-65, she attended the University of Munich on a German Government Grant (DAAD) where she specialized in German history. She received her Ph. D. in 1969 from the State University of New York at Buffalo. Her dissertation was on post-war German historiography. She has taught at Niagara University since 1969 and has held the rank of full professor since 1981. Her services to the university earned her the College of Arts and Sciences "Excellence in Service" award and recently the Berboyre Medal which was awarded for work on global awareness and community service. She had been cited in *Who's Who Among America's Teachers* and the

Marquis' Who's Who in the East. She has been active in the Buffalo community as President of the Niagara Frontier Folk Art Council, a non-profit organization which promoted ethnic culture among the diverse groups of the area. For her work she was cited by the County Legislature, the City of Buffalo and local ethnic community groups. She was also the founder and co-chair of the Ethnic Heritage Festival in Buffalo for many years.

Dr. Gredel-Manuele's field of expertise are 20th century European and American ethnic history. She has given numerous papers in those areas and has written articles which range from German history to American ethnic history, and now Croatian history. She has served in 1997-98 as President of the New York State Association of European Historians. She has received numerous NU research grants, a DAAD faculty research grant and recently a grant from the Taiwanese Government to present her research on German historiography after the *Wende* at Fu-Jen Catholic University in Taipei and Ethnic Cleansing in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina at the National Cheng-Kung University in Tainan. The latter presentation was published in the journal *The Contemporary* (July 1999) which is widely read in the Chinese speaking world.

Dr. Gredel-Manuele is a member of numerous professional organizations, such as the AHA, the NYSAEH, the German Studies Association and the Phi Alpha Theta and Phi Sigma Iota honor societies.

WILLIAM "BILL" EVERETT

Dr. Everett is assistant professor of music history at the Conservatory of Music, University of Missouri--Kansas City. His areas of research include 19th-century Croatian music, particularly the work of Ivan Zajc. He has published numerous articles on Croatian music and has given conference papers on aspects of Croatian music at conferences in the U.S., Germany, and Croatia. He is also interested in the music of operetta composer Sigmund Romberg, who spent his youth in Belisce and Osijek.

MIKE CACIC

Mike Cacic attend the United States Military Academy and graduated in 1987. He spent nine years in the Infantry

serving with the 101st Airborne in Desert Shield/Desert Storm from Aug 1990 - Apr 1991, the 24th Mechanized Infantry in Somalia Oct 1993 - Jan 1994 and Haiti Sep 1994 - Nov 1994. . He left the Army in 1996 to pursue a civilian career in manufacturing. Currently, he is a Regional Sales Manager for a precision metal stamping company. Mike was pleasantly surprised to find out that there are six more Croatians working at his current job. He lives in Long Island, New York with his wife Kristen and their one year old son Cameron Michael. He said: "I joined the Association for Croatian Studies in order to learn more about Croatia and other Croatians. I look forward to growing with your organization." Mike, we hope that we can fulfill your expectations!

Mr. Cacic shared with us the interesting history of his family. We are sure that our members and friends will read it with a great interest. Mike, wrote:

"My grandfather, Mike Cacic, was born in Mali Lošinj in 1894. He left home around 1904 with his grandfather, Paul Cacic, who owned and operated a Clipper sailing ship. He sailed with Paul until arrangements were made for him to immigrate to the US around 1912. A relative in Brooklyn sponsored him, and he worked in the Brooklyn Shipyard for a short period. From Brooklyn he made his way to Chicago working on the railroad. He settled in Lyons, IL working for the Delease and Shepherd quarry. In 1917 he married Joann Sebri who had immigrated from Kiev to escape WW I. They remained in Lyons, IL raising a family of six boys and one girl: Joseph, Steven, Nicholas, Walter, Donald, Irene, and Vincent. They went to school at St. Barbara's and Morton High School. Steve, Nick and Wally went to the South Pacific in WW II and upon return the family moved to a dairy farm in Montello, WI in 1946. In 1951 Donald went to the newly formed Air Force for Korea and Vincent went with the Marines. Joseph passed away on the farm in 1952 from leukemia and Irene passed away in 1953 from cancer.

My father, Don, married Rita Cacic from Montello, WI in 1954. They remained on the family farm and raised four daughters and one son: Kathryn, Donna, Linda, Carol and myself. My grandfather was killed in a farming accident in 1959 and my grandmother died in 1970.

My parents are still on the farm in Wisconsin with all of my sisters nearby.

The land is rented, so it is still cultivated and we still maintain equipment to work the farm if we desire. My father has many talents and interests which include heavy equipment, private aircraft, antique cars and agriculture. He maintains a grass air strip on the farm and is currently a flight base operator out of Wisconsin Rapids Municipal Airport. My mother is a retired Postmaster and enjoys her grandchildren at the farm. I share my father's interests but am currently focused on what I am able to do based on where I currently live. I am restoring a 1941 Packard and a 1967 MGB in my garage."

DAPHNE N. WINLAND

Dr. Winland is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at York University, Toronto, Canada. She has conducted research in the Croatian diaspora community in Toronto (1992-96) and in Croatia (since 1997). Her current project investigates contemporary Croatian struggles to reinvent themselves in the changing political, social and cultural landscape of post-communist Eastern Europe. This research reflects broadly focussed interests in nationalism, diaspora, and the cultural politics of representation, transnationalism, memory and discourse analysis. She is presently conducting a collaborative research project on the impact of homeland ties on levels of civic participation in Canada for Croats in Toronto. She is also currently completing a book titled *Cartographies of Desire: the Cultural Politics of Croatian Diaspora Identity* which focuses on the impact of Croatian independence from the former Yugoslavia on Croatian discourses of national belonging. Recent articles on Croatia include, "Croats 'Here' and 'There': Diaspora and the Politics of Desire" (*Revija za Sociologiju* 29#1-2, 1998), "Project Mitteleuropa": Croats and the Politics of Recognition in the "New Europe" (forthcoming,

1999), and "We are Now an Actual Nation": The Impact of National Independence on the Croatian Diaspora in Canada" (*Diaspora* 4#1, 1995).



Lilli Zakarija,

a biomedical engineer,
at the ACS Symposium

NICK CEH

Dr. Ceh is a lecturer in the history department of the University of Wisconsin in Oshkosh. He received a Ph. D. in history from the University of Illinois at Chicago. Major field: Russian/Soviet history. Minor fields: Balkan and American Diplomatic history. He is a co-editor of two books, *The Golden Apple: War and Democracy in Croatia and Bosnia* (1996) and *Essays in Russian and East European History: Festschrift in Honor of Edward C. Thaden* (1955). Both books published by East European Monographs, Boulder, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. Dr. Ceh is Co-Producer of a 60 minute documentary film: *War and Democracy in Croatia and Bosnia*. Screened at the 9th annual Black Berlin Film Festival in Chicago, New York and Berlin. His article "The War in the Former Yugoslavia and Mass Media Analysis" was published in *Mediations*, Spring 1997, Vol. 20, 112-19. His review of Barbara Jelavich's Book, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914* was published in *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, Vol. 20, 1-2 (1993): 147-48. He is also the editor of the forthcoming book, *Harry S. Truman and Dwight E. Eisenhower Presidential Documents on Relations with Yugoslavia, 1948-1956*. Tentative publication date, fall 1999.

ED KESICH

Ed Kesich is a second generation Croatian-American who received his MA in Linguistics from New York University. He recently spent a year in Bosnia and Herzegovina working as a civilian interpreter for the US Army in the Posavina region. He has also worked as a staff volunteer with the Croatian Information Center of New York, writer/US liaison for *Klokán*, an Australian based English-language magazine, and he has written for the *American Croatian Review*.

OTHER NEW MEMBERS

Ana Gajski - Irvine, California

Maria Pesha - Chicago

Diana Pesha

Lisa Pesha

Diana and Lisa are Maria Pesha's daughters. Both of them are college students. Good luck in their studies!

CONGRATULATIONS

SANDRA PALAICH M. A. DEGREE

Sandra Palaich graduated from University of Zagreb in 1993 with major in the Italian and English languages and literatures. After working as a translator and interpreter for three years, she came to Detroit in the summer of 1996, and enrolled in the graduate program in Italian Literature at Wayne State University in Detroit. She obtained her M.A. in Italian Literature in the summer of 1998, graduating summa cum laude (GPA 4.0) with a thesis on the Italian Resistance Literature.

In the course of her studies she received an award for "academic excellence in the field of Italian studies" from the Italian American Cultural Society in Detroit, and a \$1,000.00 scholarship in "recognition for excellent work in the Italian language and superior scholarly pursuits" from the Dante Alighieri society in Detroit.

During four semester of classes, she worked as a part-time instructor and teaching assistant at Wayne State University. A few days after graduation, she was employed by the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where she currently holds a full-time lecturer position at the Romance Language Department. Congratulations!

WILLIAM B. TOMLJANOVICH PH. D. DEGREE

A young American of Croatian descent, William Brooks Tomljanovich, received a Ph. D. in history from Yale University in 1998. He was born in St. Paul, MN. His paternal grandparents came from Krivi Put, Lika. Bill received a B.A. in History from Columbia University and continued on at Yale University under the mentorship of Dr. Ivo Banac.

The title of his dissertation is *Josip Juraj Strossmayer and the Crisis of the Nineteenth Century: Nationalism, Catholicism and Modernism*. Although belatedly, we congratulate Dr. Tomljanovich on his successes and bring herewith an abstract of his dissertation.

Dr. Tomljanovich's dissertation examines the ideas and activities of Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815-1900). Strossmayer was the Bishop of Djakovo from 1850 to his death, and led the Croatian Liberal National Party in the

1860s and early 1870s. He was well known both as one of the leading figures in the Roman Catholic Church in Europe as well as a guiding force in the development of Croatian nationalism. Moreover, his extensive patronage of Croatian cultural and educational institutions laid much of the intellectual infrastructure for nineteenth and twentieth century Croatia. In this work, Strossmayer's activities in all of these fields are treated in the context of the whole of his thought. Special attention is paid to the way in which he attempted to reach a synthesis of Catholic tradition with modern nationalism and political liberalism.

This examination begins with an exposition of how Strossmayer has been treated in historiography in the decades after his death. The primary focus of this is on how he had become regarded as an ideological precursor to the twentieth century Yugoslav state, as well as to the detractors of this notion. The intellectual influences upon Strossmayer, and the atmosphere of early nineteenth century Croatia are provided in order to understand the basis of his political and religious activities. The first large section of this work deals with Strossmayer's role as the leader of the Croatian National Party in the years of constitutional uncertainty from 1860 to 1873. Special focus is placed on his active defense of the integrity and independence of the Croatian Kingdom, and his plans for the federalization of the Austrian state. His long struggle against centralist and dualist schemes originating from Vienna and Budapest, leading to the Croat-Hungarian *Nagodba* of 1868, and his final political defeat and withdrawal from politics in 1873 following the final revision of this agreement, is examined with an eye towards how his political actions revealed his broader outlook. Strossmayer's contacts with South Slavs outside of Croatia, as well as his promotion of various journalistic endeavors are also examined.

The second half of this dissertation looks at Strossmayer's activities in the fields of religion and culture during the pontificate of Pius IX. Of particular interest are his ideas regarding the union of the Catholic and Orthodox faiths, and his stand against the dogma of papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council. His promotion of cultural and religious institutions is

IN MEMORIAM

DR. ANICA MARKOVAC n. PRPIĆ

1929-1999

Dr. Anica Markovac, an ACS member, died on July 21, 1999 in Troy, near Detroit, Michigan.

She was born in Sisak, Croatia on September 13, 1929, where she finished her grade school. In Zagreb she finished her secondary and university education. She graduated from the University of Zagreb in 1953 and received her Ph. D. in the field of Organic Chemistry in 1960. From 1952 to 1963, she worked at Pliva, a world-renowned pharmaceutical company in Croatia. In 1963, both she and her husband Vlado, also a doctor in Chemistry, received a two-year post-graduate scholarship from the Canadian government, and they went to Canada with their little daughter, Jasna. The two were the first married couple to receive such a scholarship at the same time. They lived in Ottawa and worked at the National Research Center.

In 1996, Anica and her family moved to the U.S. A., and, from then till her retirement in 1994, she worked at Ash-Stevens, Inc. as a researcher, mainly in the area of new medicine - from antibiotics to new anti-cancer substances. In her scientific work, she published over 100 scientific works and has several patents of her own. She was the project leader in many research undertakings that were sponsored by various American institutions, including the National Health Institute, National Cancer Institute, Walter Reed Hospital, etc. She has received many awards and citations from her employer for her accomplishments and she was well-respected as a professional by her colleagues.

Anica was also a very active member of the Croatian community in Detroit, ever since she and her family moved to the U.S.A. She was involved in all the activities of the community, always ready to help but never seeking any personal recognition. The qualities admired by all those who knew her were her firm principles and humbleness, regardless of her high professional achievements.

Anica was buried at Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb. May she rest in peace and our condolences to her husband Vlado and daughter Jasna.

larger monograph in preparation.

Dr. Schrunk chaired a panel entitled "Viewing the Other and Onself" and she was the prime mover in preparing an exhibit of photographs by George Vass, entitled "Bosnians in the Wake of War," displayed during the symposium. And our new member, Dr. Daphne Winland (York Univ.) presented a paper titled *Project Mitteleuropa: Croats and the Politics of Recognition in the 'New Europe'*. A number of other presentations dealt directly or

tied to his larger plan of subordinating such activities to the interests of nationalism and Catholic traditions.

CREATING THE OTHER

A symposium entitled "Creating the Other: The Causes and Dynamics of Nationalism, Ethnic Enmity, and Racism in Central and Eastern Europe" was held at the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis), May 6-8, 1999. The gathering was international and multidisciplinary in scope. There were 17 panels with over 40 presenters of various scholarly backgrounds from more than 10 countries. Two ACS members were active participants at the symposium. Dr. Sally Kent, Univ. of Wisconsin, and Dr. Ivančica Dvorzak Schrunk, Univ. of St. Thomas. Dr. Kent presented the paper *Forging the Croatian Nation: The Ambiguity of Croatian Cultural Identity at the End of the Nineteenth Century* and she also chaired a session, entitled "Creating Perceptions of Muslims." Dr. Kent's paper discussed the role that Stjepan Miletić, who was appointed the director of the Croatian Provincial Theater (Hrvatsko Zemaljsko Kazalište) in 1894, played in defining Croatian national identity through the artistic program offered at the inauguration of the new theater on October 14, 1895. Opening night consisted of the allegory *Slava umjetnosti* (Celebration of the Arts) that Miletić himself composed and the final scene of Zajc's opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinski*. Intervention by the civil service damaged the purity of Miletić's message in the allegory and thereby transformed the celebration of a specifically Croatian national identity into one compatible with a failing imperial identity. The paper is part of a



Željko Kegljević
at the ACS Symposium

indirectly with Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the following:
Pamela Ballinger (Bowdoin College): *The Mobile Frontier: Symbolic Boundary Construction at the Borders of the Balkans*.
Meghan Hays (Univ. of Michigan): *From the Hearth to the Workplace: Nationalist Strategies of Female Teachers in Croatia, 1860-1914*.
Dr. Vanessa Pupavac (Univ. of Nottingham): *Nationalism and the Yugoslav Conflict in European Context*.
Valeria Heuberger (Institute for Southeast Europe, Vienna): *Islam in the Balkans 1989-1997*.
Karl Kaser (Univ. of Graz): *Peoples of the Mountains, Peoples of the Plains: Space and Ethnographic Representation in the Balkans*.

Many of the presentations can be found on the CAS website: <http://www.socsci.umn.edu/cas>

I attended the symposium and was present at many of the panels. At the end of the gathering my impressions were mixed. True, this was an excellent opportunity to meet and hear many scholars whose research is relevant to many of us as individuals and to the ACS. Many views and ideas were presented and discussed.

However, I felt a certain condescending elitism and a sense of "otherness" on the part of some presenters and/or discussion participants when dealing with the "other side" of their own perceptions and/or the "other Europe." Also, a number of presentations analyzed how some majority populations construct the "other" of the minority in their midst, the Muslims in Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina or Roma, for example. But interestingly none of the presenters looked at how various types of minorities construct and perceive the majority as "the other."

On a personal note, although I grew up in a mixed community in Bosnia and Herzegovina my experiences of "the other" were not even closely reflected in the related papers. There is always a danger that people come to a certain place to do research with already preconceived

images of the reality (or of the "other") which they often try to fit into a certain theoretical model and/or into their own preconceptions.

Furthermore, although many of the discussions were about Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, there were no scholars from those two countries. One wonders, is the omission a reflection of the "creating the other" mentality?

Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Ivančica Dvorzak Schrunck and Mr. Louis Novak for their hospitality during my stay in Minneapolis. Also thanks to Halyna Myroniuk, Assistant Curator, of the Immigration History Research Center, for her courtesy and for taking the time to guide me through the Center's archives.

A. Čuvalo

THE CROATIAN ACADEMY OF AMERICA (CAA) NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ELECTED

At the CAA's Forty-Fifth General Assembly in New York City on May 22, 1999, the following were elected to the Executive Council:

Vedran Joseph Nazor - President
Dr. Ante Čuvalo - Vice President
Vinko Kužina - Vice President
Mladen Lolić - Executive Secretary
Suzan Bugarija-Grimm - Treasurer
John P. Kraljić Esq. - Recorder

Executive Council Members:

Ana T. Bifulco
Dr. Marijan A. Bošković
Marta Meštrović Deyrup
Felix Duhović
Stan Granić
Dr. Jerome Jareb
Bruno Kolega, MD
Tomislav Z. Kuzmanović, Esq.
Dunja Lacković
Karlo Mirth
Vlado Petranović
Stanislava Rotković, MD
Barbara Šešelj
Dr. George Štambuk
Maria K. Tuškan, MD
Ivo Vučićević

Committee of Control:

Margie K.B. Brajdić
Denis M. Butković
Marija D. Žic

THE JOURNAL OF CROATIAN STUDIES

The Croatian Academy of America which publishes the *Journal of Croatian Studies* since 1960, will publish in the next few months two single volumes (38 and 39) of this well known scholarly publication listed in major American bibliographies such as ABC-CLIO, Historical Abstracts, MLA International Bibliography, Public Affairs Information Service and others. The Volumes which are in preparation include subjects from Croatian history during World War I and II, and an analysis of the sources of biased misrepresentations during 1990's, articles on Croatian cultural and literary history, book reviews, and information of the Academy's activities. Work for volume 39 also is in progress. This volume will include the papers on Croatian diaspora presented at the ACS Symposium held in Chicago in April 1999. Prospective contributors are invited to contact the editors. For *Journal's* subscription and price list of available back issues contact THE CROATIAN ACADEMY OF AMERICA, P. O. Box 1767; Grand Central Station; New York, NY 10163-1767; Fax (516) 935-0019; E-mail: CROATACAD@aol.com.

THE DONALD W. TREADGOLD PAPERS

A publication series *The Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies*, created in honor of Prof. D.W. Treadgold, is published by the School of International Studies at the University of Washington. Sabrina P. Ramet is the Editor. Twenty one issues have been published up to date, and three new issues are forthcoming soon. Several of them deal directly about Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslavia. Subscription for 10 issues is \$45 US. Back issues can be ordered. For further information contact the editorial office: (206) 543-4852 Fax (206) 685-0668 e-mail: treadgld@u.washington.edu or visit the *Treadgold Papers* at: <http://webber.u.washington.edu/~reecasl/treadgol/html>

**SOMEONE YOU
SHOULD KNOW
JASNA MARKOVAC,
PH. D.**

**Associate Editorial Director
Editor-in-Chief
Life and Biomedical Sciences,
Academic Press**

Dr. Jasna Markovac, received a B.S. in Zoology in 1977 from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, M.S. and Ph.D. in Human Genetics in 1979 and 1983 respectively, from the University of Michigan Medical School. From 1983 to 1985, she worked as a postdoctoral fellow in Molecular Biology at the University of California Los Angeles. In 1985, she moved back to the University of Michigan Medical School as Assistant Research Professor with joint appointments in Pediatrics and Neurology. In 1988, she accepted an Assistant Professor position in Medicine at Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, New York. In January 1989, Dr. Markovac began working at Raven Press, New York, as Science Acquisitions Editor. She was promoted to Senior Acquisitions Editor in 1991, and to Executive Editor in 1993. She moved to Academic Press, San Diego, California, in November 1993 as Editor-in-Chief, Biomedical Sciences.

She was born in Zagreb, Croatia (1957), lived in Canada (1963-1966), and then moved to the Detroit area when her parents, Dr. Vlado Markovac and late Dr. Anica Markvoac, accepted a position at the Ford Motor Co. Although she left her homeland as a child she is proficient in Croatian and during her high school years she was one of the teachers at the Croatian language school affiliated with the Croatian Catholic parish in Detroit.

Best wishes to Dr. Markovac in

**INSTITUTE OF
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The Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics was founded on the 1st of February 1948. It was called the Department of Language and it was a unit of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. For political reasons the real name of the language could not be mentioned. Its main task was the completion of the Academy's Dictionary. Two fifths of the dictionary were compiled in the Institute. The dictionary consists of 97 volumes. From that time the Institute has changed its name and affiliation more than once.

The main works compiled in the Institute are: Etymological Dictionary, Dictionary of Family Names, Language Adviser, Dictionary of the Kajkavian Literary Language (8 volumes were published so far and the 9th volume is in print), The Croatian Grammar which gives attested examples from Croatian writers and introduces some methodological innovations, Burgenland Croatian- German - Croatian Dictionary and German-Burgenland Croatian - Croatian Dictionary. Croatian Language Adviser (a book which tries to solve all possible language problems on all language levels - orthographic, morphological, lexical, syntactic) is in print, and a German - Croatian Desk Dictionary compiled in collaboration with the Slavistic Seminar in Mannheim is almost completed and hopefully it will appear this year. The Institute publishes once a year a scholarly journal called *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje*, which includes papers dealing with various aspects of the Croatian language. The members of the Institute have also written a number of books.

At the present, the work in the Institute of the Croatian Language and Linguistics is organized in four projects: *The Dictionary of the Croatian Language*, *Dictionary of the Kajkavian Literary Language*, *Onomastic Research and Dialectological Atlases*. There are plans and ideas for new projects and departments within the Institute. The Institute has 51 employees, 44 of them scholars working on these projects. The most important problems are financial



Ana Mišetić, a Ph. D. Candidate in Chemistry, and Marijana Mlikotić, Public Prosecutor, at the ACS Symposium

and spatial. Namely, the Institute is now situated on four different locations and in some rooms there are as many as 15 scholars.

At the end, we can say that for more than 50 years the Institute has changed its name and affiliation more than once but it has always continued as an institution which did research in all aspects and levels (phonological, morphological, syntactical, etc.) of the Croatian language regardless of its official name at a given time.

Recent Publications

Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje 23-24. Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje. 1997.-1998. 392 pp. Order at the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics (10 DM)



This issue of the journal *Rasprave* was published in the honour of the 80th birthday of Dr. Valentin Putanec, a well-known Croatian linguist who spent his working years in the Institute of the Croatian Language. This number consists of 22 papers dealing with various subjects. First two papers deal with Prof. Putanec's professional life and list his long bibliography of works (works dealing with Croatian lexicography, etymology, Old French language and literature, onomastics, etc). Other 20 papers deal with dialectology (the speech of Peroj, Lijevo Sredičko), onomastics (last names, antonymy in Croatian place names), history of the Croatian language (historical principles of language standardization, oldest Croatian prayer books), morphological, syntactic, lexicologic, lexicographic, semantic and terminological problems (chemical terminology, terminology of prayer books) of the Croatian language.

Milica Mihaljević. *Terminološki Priručnik/Terminology Manual*, Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1998. str. 204. Order at Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Ulica grada Vukovara 68, Zagreb. Tel 611-3639 or 611-3325. (150kn)



In the book the author analyzes all aspects of terminology: theoretical (what is terminology, how a terminological system can be built, relationships between concepts and terms, etc.), lexicographic (how to write a terminological dictionary), normative (how to select the best Croatian term). It includes a dictionary of terminological terminology and a list of terminology dictionaries and lexicons, terminology organizations and bibliographic references to various works dealing with the problems of terminology. This book is invaluable for linguists, terminologists and the general public.

Antun Šojat, Vida Barac-Grum, Ivan Kalinski, Mijo Lončarić, Vesna Zečević. *Zagrebački kaj - Govor grada i prigradskih naselja*. Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje. 1998. 217 pp. Order at Institute za hrvatski jezik. (Price 100 kn)



The book consists of two basic parts: 1. *The Urban Zagreb Kajkavian in the Present and in the Past* (A. The Zagreb kajkavian speech in the past, B. The central kajkavian Zagreb speech in the sixties of this century, C. Zagreb kajkavian speeches in the suburbs around the middle of this century, D. The present urban Zagreb colloquial speech - kajkavian and "štokavian" as a variant of the literary language) 2. *The Speech of Zagreb Suburban Settlements*. The authors show the important characteristics of the urban Zagreb speech and analyse dialectological and sociolinguistic questions as well as problems connected with the history of language. This research includes these settlements: Borčec, Gornje Vrapče, Donje Vrapče, Mikulići, Šestine, Gračani, Bliznac, Remete, Bukovec, Gornji Bukovec, Granešina, Gornji Miroševac, Markuševac, Markuševačka Trnava, Bidrovec,

Markuševački Popovec, Vidovec, Čučerje, Čulinec, Resnik, Resnički Gaj, Resnička Trnava, Retkovec, Vukomerec, Petruševac, Remetinec, Blato, Jarun, Prečko, Savska Opatovina, Špansko. The speech of these suburban settlements are in the intersection area of the four kajkavian dialectal types: Samobor, Bednja and Zagorje, Vukomerec and Pokuplje, and Turopolje.

Tafra, Branka. *Jezikoslovnja razdvojbja/Linguistic Differentiations*, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb 1995. 199 pp. Order at Matica Hrvatska, Matičina 2, Zagreb. Tel. 385-1-481-9310 or 481-9325. (70 kn)

Branka Tafra

Jezikoslovnja
razdvojbja



The book contains eight papers which in an original way shed light on some linguistic differentiations. First five papers treat lexicographic and grammatical themes from the point of view of lexicographic theory. In these papers the author draws the borderlines between lexical variants and synonyms which is at the same time the borderline of lexical synonymy, then the difference between homonymy and politely, descriptive adjectives and relative adjectives, numbers and other word classes, new and old metalexigraphy. Other three papers discuss the questions of standardization of the Croatian literary language in the 19th century and distinguish between grammar and orthography, ideology and linguistics and two grammatical models of Croatian grammatical school and Vuk-Daničić's philological school.

Price List of other publications that can be ordered from the Institute:

- Group of Authors. *Gradišćansko-hrvatsko-hrvatsko-nimaški*. Zagreb-Eisenstadt, 1991 (45DM)
- Andrija Jambrešić. *Lexicon Latium*. Zagreb, 1992 (80DM)
- Vesna Zečević. *Fonološke neutralizacije u kajkavskom vokalizmu*. Zagreb, 1993 (25DM)
- Ivan Večenaj - Mijo Lončarić. *Rječnik govora Gole*. Zagreb, 1997 (280 kn)
- Mijo Lončarević (red.). *Hrvatski jezik*. Opole, 1998 (200 kn)
- Dante. *Nauk o pučkom jeziku*. Zagreb, 1998 (100 kn)



Fr. Paul Maslač hosted a dinner after the ACS Symposium

BOOK REVIEWS

Warren Zimmerman, *Origins of a Catastrophe. Yugoslavia and its Destroyers. America's Last Ambassador Tells What Happened and Why* (New York: Time Books/Random House, 1996)

In his introduction, America's last ambassador to Yugoslavia says that he will tell the story of the "villains" who destroyed Yugoslavia — those "nationalist leaders who coopted, intimidated, circumvented, or eliminated all opposition to their demagogic designs." (vii) Instead, he weaves a disingenuous tale of anecdote and assertion that continually 1 Tudjman and Milošević -- "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" destructive nationalism" -- and inculcate them, as proponents of "communist nationalism, for the slaughter that took place in the former Yugoslavia. (40, 153). He exonerates the United States and NATO of all responsibility, noting that the mistakes he and his colleagues made, "never seem(ed) like mistakes when we (made) them." (viii) In effect, Zimmerman uses denial and demonology to preserve the myths of American innocence and Balkan perfidy. (142) In many ways, his is a classic example of what William Blanchard called "the cynical pretense of inadvertence," (x) a tendency to self-deception that justifies unjustifiable actions by admitting the reality, but denying their significance and finding fault in the application of technique, not in its practitioners.¹

¹William H. Blanchard, *Aggression American Style* (Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear Publishing Cpy., 1978). pp. x, 1-11, dubbed this tendency "aggression American style" and saw toward the use of such methods of coercion and persuasion in Europe and the USSR.

Like Rebecca West, who "beautifully written classic" he admires, Zimmerman approaches Yugoslavia as a tourist. Before 1991, rugs were a bargain and the atmosphere "enchanting." (3-4, 9-10, 168) Yugoslavia "stood for civility and tolerance" and provided ex Soviet satellites a "model." But it was "caught between the poles of Serbian and Croatian nationalist extremism," so "dwarfs" could lead gullible masses "susceptible to ethnically based appeals" though "a landscape of monsters and midgets" into the slaughterhouse of ethnic cleansing. (9-10, 42, 68-9, 78, 111) Zimmerman condemns the 1974 Constitution - perhaps the most liberal in Yugoslavia's sad history - for having "stimulated nationalism." (40-1)

Zimmerman's opinion of Yugoslavia's leaders is low. (138) Kučan was "squat," a "human AK-47 whose lack of responsibility triggered the crisis in 1991. (30-32, 142) Janež Janša was "ascetic" and "driven." (144) Their party was an "extreme faction in a coalition that had itself won only 54 percent of the popular vote," "provoked a war by stealth," and then made a deal with Belgrade. (144-5)

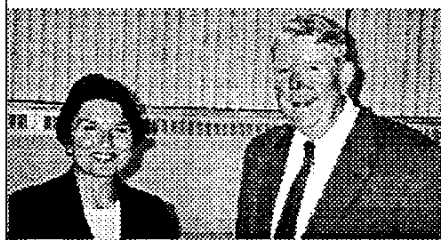
Sympathetic to Bosnians, Zimmerman was singularly unimpressed with their leaders. "Mild-mannered to a fault," Metbegović, was overly deferential and perpetually anxious. Like Tudjman and Selj, he was also a nationalist who had been "convicted of sowing ethnic hatred." (39, 114-115)

Zimmerman disliked most Serbian leaders. Borislav Jović was a "small man," a "pit bull," but better than Vojislav Šešelj, a "psychopathic racist," or Karadžić, a Serbian Himmler with a "friendly manner" who oversaw "the massacres in the Muslim villages." (97-9, 119, 175-6) The baby-faced Milošević impressed Zimmerman with his "competent" English, forceful speech, "steady" eye contact, attentiveness, and "clubby" vices (small faults that would appeal to an Ivy Leaguer like Zimmerman). But despite his "cherubic" cheeks, the Serbian leader was a cold "master of media manipulation," dominated by his "dark side" and vaguely "schizoid" -- an opportunistic "bully on a grand scale," but at least not an "ethnic exclusivist," like Tudjman and Karadžić. (20-7)

Yet Zimmerman's book is essentially Serbo-centric. He was stationed in Belgrade, his driver was Serbian, and his circle of "Yugoslav" friends seems to have been largely Serbian. He was particularly fond of Serbian journalists - Slobodan Lović, "Borba's first-rate DC correspondent"; the "western" Srdja Popović, editor of Vreme, "the most

distinguishing" magazine in Yugoslavia; and Saša Nenadović of Politika (18-19, 38, 108). His list of heroes and heroines included few Croats or Bosnians, but was replete with Serbians from Popović and Vesna Pešić (a wise professor and peace activist) to Vuk Drašković. (105-6, 108)

Zimmerman sees Serbs as a "normal people" -- "a product of their history, as we all are." (10) He depicts the Serbs as "heirs to a great medieval civilization" and the "only people I know who celebrate a defeat." (11-14) Like the U.S. media, he sees Croats and Bosnians as blindly following their leaders, while "many Serbs" opposed Milošević. (108) He claims that "Serbs in Bosnia had an understandable grievance" in Bosnia, and feared a "Muslim-dominated" state. (196) He laments human rights violations in Kosovo, but he considers the region "the heartland of Serbian statehood and culture," its Jerusalem, delivered to the Albanians by the 1974 constitution. (8, 11-14, 130) So he criticizes both Albanians and Slovenes for



Prof. Nasja Meyer & Dr. Marijan Bošković
at the ACS Symposium

shattering the League of Communists in 1990 by their rigid insistence on human rights in the region. (54-6)

Zimmerman implies that all South Slavs -- not merely a handful of prewar politicians -- wanted a Yugoslav state in 1918, and he insists that the JNA had "won" territory for the Slovenes in 1945. (5-6, 28) So he did not think the Slovenes, as "an original party to the voluntary compact creating Yugoslavia," had a right to leave and "bring a firestorm of violence down on the rest of Yugoslavia." (146) He claimed that Yugoslavia's constitution was first rewritten in 1991 by the Croats and Slovenes, even though he knows that the Serbians had earlier destroyed the constitution by their takeovers of Kosovo and Vojvodina. (70)

Zimmerman had little use for most Croats. Budimir Lončar was "a canny Croatian veteran of the Tito era" with a "catlike tread" and a "feline smile." (15-

16) Josip Manolić had links to the secret police, Gojko Šušak ("a Darth-Vader-like individual") to the Ustaše, and Martin Špegelj to arms dealers. (154, 181) Glavaš was a Croatian Arkan. (152)

Tudjman was intolerant, impulsive, and dim -- an authoritarian "martinet" with the characteristics of "an inflexible schoolteacher" who could manage only "a nervous chuckle or a mirthless laugh." (71-5) Zimmerman chides Tudjman for ignoring his advice to apologize to the Serbs at Jasenovac, and he blames the war on the Croatian leader's rejection of "any gesture that smacked of reconciliation, cooperation, or healing," his "precipitate declaration of independence," and his failure to "assure Croatia's Serbian citizens that they would be safe in an independent Croatia." (71-7, 151-2)

Zimmerman also dislikes Croatia -- "a republic of lackluster politicians" run by the "emigrant-financed HDZ." (44, 71-5) Listing firings, personal attacks, and an oath of loyalty, he concluded that in "Croatia, unlike Bosnia, Serbs were in fact being abused." (75, 139-40) By creating an army and defending itself from the JNA, Croatia had become a "national security state" with an armed force "larger than the armies of Belgium, Canada, the Netherlands, Portugal, Austria, or Sweden." (132, 151, 154)

Zimmerman uses the passive voice to describe the Serbian assault on Croatia, and ignores events before 1991, "a time of growing violence" in Croatia until 7 July, when "fighting broke out" in the Krajina, "a rebellion within a rebellion." (94-5, 122, 148-9) Of course, he knows that the JNA and Milošević had armed and incited the Serb "militants" there, but he focused on Tudjman's efforts to "install Croatian police" as triggering the war. Yet he claims that it was "nearly impossible" to assign responsibility "for each instance of violence" in Croatia, because reports from Zagreb and Belgrade were diametrically opposed. But "it didn't matter," because Tudjman and Milošević wanted violence. (120)

For Zimmerman, the war in Croatia was a tawdry affair, "a throwback to the ancient bandit tradition of the Balkans." While the JNA "secured all areas in Croatia that had significant Serbian populations," the "dregs of society...rose from the slime to become...national heroes, exalted by their respective propaganda machines." (160, 152) Even-handed and fair -- unlike the pro-Serbian UN commanders, Rose and MacKenzie -- Zimmerman was careful to note that both Serbs and Croats suffered in Vukovar, and if the Serbs shelled Dubrovnik "both

sides" "breached the rules of war." (154-8)

Zimmerman disapproves of Croatia's "blitzkrieg" in the Krajina, although it preceded NATO air strikes and effectively ended the war, because it was illegal and ruthless (231-2), not comparable to the "master stroke" mounted in Bosnia by the JNA in 1992. (196) It says a good deal about Zimmerman that he criticized the JNA's leaders, Veljko Kadijević and Blagoje Adžić, but saw the Yugoslav army as a conflicted institution with a "proud" and "heroic military tradition that Croatians and Slovenes had tried to "humiliate" by adopting a "not very heroic tactic" of besieging the army in its barracks. (85-9, 100-102, 142, 158-60, 186)

Yet Zimmerman notes that the "Serbian strategy" in Croatia was repeated in Bosnia – first the creation of Serbian "autonomous regions," then the arming of local Serbs by the JNA, and finally JNA military action to "protect" the Serbs and secure their hold on towns throughout Croatia and Bosnia. (174) He also cites Izetbegović on the Serbian strategy in Bosnia, "They're creating a new situation by force, then they're trying to negotiate on the basis of that situation." (197) He even saw "a Croatian pattern emerging" in Bosnia. (198) But he ties none of this together, so his treatment of the war in Croatia is accusatory – the Croats had it coming – while his depiction of the war in Bosnia is sympathetic – the Serbs were to blame.

Zimmerman's dislikes extend beyond Yugoslav leaders. He is not fond of intellectuals and their "crackpot" ideas, and censures Dobriša Cosić for "a frequent failing of intellectuals" – self-confident messianism. (17, 93-4) He disliked TV, which, like Tito, was to blame for everything. (120, 138) He dismissed EC monitors in 1991 as too "timid" and "pro-Croatian." (158-9) He disliked the CIA's fatalistic, 1990 report, and he was dismayed with ignorant US Congressmen, swayed by a "strong and active Croatian lobby" and oblivious to "the fate of the Serbian minority," despite his efforts to convince them to pursue a "rational" policy. (84, 126-7, 130-1)

Zimmerman also dislikes democratic elections that do not elect candidates he favors. He was particularly distressed at the lack of "curbs on the potentially nondemocratic behavior of those elected" in the 1990 elections, which swept nationalists to power. (68, 130) In general, Zimmerman finds nationalism, self-determination, and sovereignty

dangerous concepts. (277-78) Not even "bestial crimes" justify secessions for Chechnyans or Kurds, because that would break up existing states. So Zimmerman insists that self-determination be allowed only when it "won't adversely affect the interests of other states [sic] or peoples." (278) He praises Spain, whose confederal system he confuses with democracy, the US, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Austria, and Malaysia as models of ethnic "power-sharing." (240)

Although he seemed to embrace sovereignty in his rejection of self-determination, Zimmerman dismisses it as "the last refuge of dictators." (238-9) He ridicules Yugoslavia's successor states as "unstable ministates" and advocates using human rights "more intrusively" to promote democracy, preferably by an "international enforcer" that can only be the United States, because we are a repository of virtue, owing to our optimistic striving toward the future and our ability to put the past behind us. (4, 241-2, 229)

Zimmerman does have heroes. Ante Marković – the most ineffectual of all Yugoslav politicians – struck the ambassador as "admirable," if "too liberal and Western" for his underserving countrymen, who gave him high approval ratings, but hated his policies and dumped him in 1991. (42-4, 66, 112-113) He also liked Marković's economic adviser, Kiro Gligorov, "a wise old communist." (116) Milovan Đilas impressed him as a saint, and Vuk Drašković as "an electrifying speaker" whose comments were "perceptive and interesting." (104-105, 119, 171) Stipe Mesić and Janež Drnovšek were good tennis partners (33, 123-4), and Vasil Tupurkovski and Ibrahim Rugova "came through the Yugoslav crisis with honor." (81, 126) Zimmerman even liked Croatia's Chief of Staff, Antun Tus, "an outstanding officer with democratic views." (141) In short, Zimmerman liked those "courtly, articulate, generous, and wise" Yugoslavs who represented "the best of the Central European tradition." (33)

Zimmerman insists that the U.S. made honest mistakes, but its goals were noble – "unity, independence, and territorial integrity," with "progress toward democracy" and "a straight line toward capitalism." (8, 51) But peace, unity, and democracy were merely instrumental – the real goal was a "straight line toward capitalism." Marković's economic reforms, not the man, counted, and

Zimmerman favored "shock therapy" that would force the spoiled Yugoslavs to take that "straight line to capitalism." (17, 50-51) Unity and democracy were tactics to avoid violence during a tricky transition. What really counted was converting the dinar and finding "reasonable solutions short of war." (41-2, 46-9, 62, 64, 111) Washington was indifferent to the form a Yugoslav state might adopt (centralized or confederated), although it insisted that Serbia maintain control of Kosovo. (64-5, 78-81).

But Washington did not act, ostensibly because policymakers feared repeating the mistakes of Vietnam and Lebanon and were paralyzed by Powell's cautious doctrine. (214-215, 219) Instead, Americans talked. Bush twice told Marković he wanted democracy and reforms, Zimmerman told Kadijević not to use of force, and Eagleburger promoted "reconciliation," as Washington took a "clear public line" blaming the JNA for events in Croatia and urging the JNA and Tudjman "to settle their differences." (164, 122-3) Baker's mistake was not to "deal with the irascible and complex protagonists of the Yugoslav drama" before 21 June 1991. But only Izetbegović and Gligorov were "sensible" then, and the American's warnings to Milošević in March 1992 were ineffectual. So, at worst, Baker was six months too late. (133-7, 193)

A year later, Washington informed Belgrade that it would only work for Serbia's "political and economic isolation," urged Karadžić to be democratic, and warned both Milošević and Tudjman not to interfere in Bosnia. (174-6, 194, 198) But Clinton lacked resolve, determination, and consistency, so Washington merely recalled Zimmerman after Serbia's attack on Bosnia, a "modest" action, but "the right thing to do." (204, 223)

While generally exonerating American diplomacy, Zimmerman condemns European diplomacy as "cynical theater, a pretense of useful activity...disguising a lack of will." He thought the Germans rushed recognition and the EC encouraged partition, and he regretted the arms embargo in Bosnia. But he praises Cyrus Vance for his success in securing a cease-fire in Croatia, even though it benefitted the Serbs, and he thought the Vance-Owen plan "acceptable," even though it gave 43% of Bosnia to the Serbs. He credits NATO with ending the war, and he effectively exonerates the West of all blame, because Yugoslavia's "congenital effects" (it was a state, not a nation^{3w}) Orthodox and Catholic churches, and

selfish Slovenes, insensitive Croats, greedy Serbs, ideologically rigid army, and nationalists condemned it to death. (xii, 155, 161-2, 177, 181, 184, 189-90, 192, 209-212, 222, 231-3)

Unhappy with Rose and MacKenzie for not condemning all sides for the atrocities they committed, Zimmerman admires Carrington's defense of Serbian rights. (161-2, 224) He considers humanitarian relief a "triumph," especially since lifting the arms embargo and Western military intervention were not options. (140, 219-20, 225) He defends Eagleburger against charges of conflict of interest, and blames the Slovenes for misunderstanding him when he said that Washington could live with a fragmented Yugoslavia. (5, 58, 219). He praises all Foreign Service Officers, especially Charles Redman, who created the Croat-Bosnian federation in 1994 (49, 165-6, 231).

Zimmerman is a bit upset with Dayton, not because the Serbs in Bosnia, who made up 30% of the population, got 49% of the territory, but because Tudjman was the "big winner." He saw the inequitable distribution of territory as a Western success, because the Serbs did not get the 64% they had demanded. (232-3) He claims, rather disingenuously, that sanctions on Serbia were intended to "Saddamize" Milosevic and serve as a bargaining chip at Dayton. (213-4)

Zimmerman's views reflect his reading and his admiration for George Kennan, the father of containment. (53) His list of basic sources includes West's travelogue; the journalistic, Serbo-centric account by Laura Silber and Allen Little (and its BBC adaptation); the book by the Serbian diplomat, Mihailo Crnobrnja; the tendentious work by Susan Woodward, one-time adviser to Akashi, dubbed the Mitsubishi Chetnik by the Bosnians; and the outdated and poorly researched study by Lenard J. Cohen. (255-7) Zimmerman completed his memoirs at RAND, with help from Dennison Rusinow, whose writing is marked by sympathy for Serbia and hostility to Croatia, and David Calleo of Johns Hopkins. So this is not an insider's memoir; it is a work by an insider whose circle has repeatedly rationalized the West's failures, excused Serbian excesses, condemned Croat and Slovene actions, and preferred humanitarian aid to military action. Perhaps it is not surprising that so many people in Yugoslavia hated Zimmerman. What is surprising is that this made him proud. (110)

JAMES SADKOVICH

The U.S. Media and

Yugoslavia,
1991-1995

James J. Sadkovich

The U.S. Media and Yugoslavia, 1991-1995. By James J. Sadkovich. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998. xx, 272 pp. Notes.

PRAGER

Bibliography. Index. Tables. \$69.50, hard bound

This self-proclaimed "eclectic, a little bit improvised" (xii) and "incomplete" account of "why U.S. media did the job it did covering Yugoslavia's dissolution (ix) is not eclectic at all. This book is rather like an artfully created mosaic of U.S. media coverage of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, with each piece of the mosaic carefully chosen, polished, and put into just the right place. In contrast to many similar works on the Yugoslav crisis and the subsequent war in Croatia and Bosnia, this book does an excellent job in locating and identifying sources that shaped the knowledge and opinion of the American public immediately before and during the war.

Of particular value is the author's discussion of the large body of media and mass communication theories, together with a skillful application of the same, in order to address systematically the most important issues and to highlight the ways in which "media short circuited the ethical and moral sensibilities of audiences" (xv). The author not only shows craftsmanship in manipulating the intellectual tools at his disposal to create his own map, but does so by supporting his arguments with superbly rich interdisciplinary scholarly, academic, and media sources. In this way he manages to lay before the reader the completely exposed "body" of the media as it is today, while also writing an "alternative history" of the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

Although the first chapter reveals to us the power structure within the media, in chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 Sadkovich addresses such diverse issues as stereotyping and visual association and the dehumanization of polemical discourse. At the same time he shows how electronic news sources and news services homogenize news editorial style, tending to circulate some meanings and exclude others. In chapters 2, 3, and 8 the author points to the elusive nature of the media, depicting the work of journalists as routinized, stylized, and bureaucratic. He also argues that, in their desire to shock, journalists often promote a superficial and conformist view of what is otherwise

a legitimate human interest story. In this way, the constant profusion of messages that incite, instead of messages that question, can easily lead us to accept the unacceptable and to consider violence as a matter of course, just as the constant portrayal of atrocities, detention camps, and interviews with rape victims led the audience to accept that kind of violence as "natural" to the war in Croatia and Bosnia. By treating this naturalization of violence as acceptable (because of long tribal hatred), the media does not allow the war to be portrayed within its sociohistorical and political context.

For an "outsider," who "consumes news and is consumed and confused by it" (xii), Sadkovich achieves exactly what he intended (especially in chapters 9 and 10): to expose the role of the U.S. media in the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the war in Croatia and Bosnia, and to counterargue every point where Croatia and Bosnia were treated unjustly by those who reported or wrote about it. It is a justified and well-supported critique of some media, academic, and scholarly sources, a critique that manages to show clearly the bias of U.S. media toward Serbian sources. For a long time before and after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Serbian sources were favored as reliable—not because they were, but rather because of a legacy of skillfully executed propaganda from former Yugoslavia and the art of political public relations that was coming from Belgrade. The author, through numerous examples, fulfills his intention of showing that the Serbs were for a long time given the benefit of the doubt, while the Croats were ascribed the position of fascists and Nazis, with the added disadvantage of Catholicism, and the Bosnians were not to be trusted because of the danger of Islamic fundamentalism. He also argues that U.S. official spokesmen and media alike obfuscated the question of genocide, and that by making Slobodan Milošević its agent and Serbia its base for peace in the Balkans, the west has precluded any serious effort to identify and bring to justice those who were ultimately guilty of "crimes against humanity," and that in all of the above "no medium and no publication passed the ethical tests of fairness and completeness" (72).

By partially chronicling the U.S. media accounts of the dissolution of Yugoslavia and by noting the books published on the same subject, together with an extensive bibliography, this book provides a precious source of information, but its dense style makes it at times difficult to read. As nearly every page offers extensive documentation based on years of research

and is supplemented by an abundance of notes, it is very difficult if not impossible to do it justice in this short review. The only way to grasp the complex arguments put forward by this exceedingly well informed scholar is to read the book. This study is a must for anyone interested in the representation of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but it should also prove of great interest to students and theorists of the media and mass communication and to media practitioners in general. DONA KOLAR-PANOV

Sts. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia - Slavic Review, Vol. 58, No. 2, 1999, pp. 473-474.

Historical Dictionary of
Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ante Čuvalo

The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Lanham, Md., & London
1997

Čuvalo, Ante.
Historical Dictionary of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Lanham, Md., Scarecrow, 1997. 353p. (European Historical

Dictionaries, no.25). \$45.00. ISBN 0-8108-3344-1

Although this useful handbook is designated as an historical dictionary, it is actually much more. About one-half of the pages in this volume are devoted to entries for historical terms, persons, and events that are centrally relevant to the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The other half of the book contains materials that will be of great use to anyone studying these countries [sic]. After a brief introduction, the author provides a 50-page chronology of major events in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and maps relevant to this chronology. Prior to the entries of historical terms, an overview of the geography, religious orientation, and history of this region is given. Following the entries for the historical terms, Čuvalo has compiled a multilingual bibliography of Bosnia and Herzegovina that also includes regional histories and other works relevant to that history.

This work delivers much more than the title indicates. It will be of use for anyone doing research on Bosnia and Herzegovina during any time period.

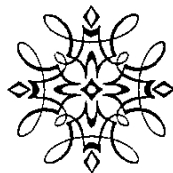
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*Okvir slobode. Dubrovačka
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i humanizma.* Zagreb-

Dubrovnik: Zavod za
povijesne znanosti HAZU u
Dubrovniku, 1999. pp. 450.

ISBN 953-154-369-0.

Summary

Okvir slobode is a book that provides ample insight into Ragusan (Dubrovnik's) patricians, from their real and invented roots to the social, political, ideological, economic, and spiritual characteristics that defined them in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The history of the Ragusan Republic is the history of its patricians: the communal heritage

and institutions replaced by an aristocratic republic, while its classical heritage was built into patrician ideology. In the analysis of these roots, myth was separated from reality and than both were used as historical facts. The privileged class could acquire legitimacy solely based upon their descent from ancient nobility, because in this way no newly rich men of common background could attain aristocratic status and political power. The Ragusan patricians believed itself to stem from four classical cultures: these of Epidaurus, Rome, Troy, and Salona. Their actual Slav and Roman origin was wrapped in a mythical story, which corroborated aristocratic ideology.

By the fifteenth century Dubrovnik became an aristocratic republic ruled exclusively by a closed and hereditary patricians. Dubrovnik nobility was absolutely synonymous with political power. The rules that defined the Dubrovnik aristocratic elite were the strictest in all Europe. This tightly consolidated group managed to maintain

and guard its leadership and social status until the fall of the Republic. Resistance to every kind of political and social change petrified Dubrovnik's hierarchy and its administration. Ancient origin, freedom, and peace were the key notions of their ideology. The civic virtues that were demanded of noblemen subordinated the individual to the common good, the interests of the Republic and traditional values. Conservatism penetrated all the aspects of Dubrovnik public life, thus becoming the guiding principle of the ruling class and consequently, of each individual as well. Due to these interrelations, the story of Ragusan nobility can't be reduced to the aristocracy only, but should necessarily embrace the broader social community and the individuals alike. The life of Dubrovnik nobles reflected politics, economy, social circumstances and the contemporary mentality - all of which contributed to their establishment in the Ragusan society. That is why the author, having traced the origins of Dubrovnik's patricians, their ideology, political and administrative system, and relations with Venice and the Hungarian crown, sets out to describe the social relations and the mentality of Dubrovnik in the fifteenth century. The analysis sheds light on the relations and contacts within the nobility itself and its diverse communication patterns with other social strata. The author further draws attention to the patrician groups who were excluded from administration, that is those who were denied full patrician status. These were minors, women, priests, and members of religious orders. These chapters also deal with the understanding of youth in the Middle Ages, the role of women in the transmission of aristocratic status and in interclass communication and the domination of the State over the Church.

Humanism emerged with the conception of nobility as a personal quality that had to be reconciled with the old aristocratic ideology. This was achieved by means of the ideology itself and a social pact that was a prominent characteristic of Dubrovnik society of the time. Harmony between the "good government" and its loyal people was primarily maintained by the general prosperity of the city, but it had an ideological background as well. The aristocratic establishment viewed Ragusan autonomy and peace as a result of a perfect institutional apparatus and devoted service of "the betters" - noblemen, who were born to privilege and political power. The other members of the community generally accepted the patrician monopolization of political

leadership. The once equally distributed public welfare was now confined to the ruling class, whereas the participation of other groups was narrowed to subject loyalty. The author studied these particularities of the Ragusan society primarily in comparison with Dalmatian cities and then with Venice, Florence and a number of German towns governed by patricians.

The book's closing chapters are devoted to power codes' expressed through ceremony, the meanings of family names and patrimonies, heraldry, written and oral aristocratic tradition, modes of dress, the decoration of houses, the cult of the dead, and other social status symbols. In her analysis of the profane and holy rituals performed in the service of the politics and state, the author points to the sophisticated ways and keen sense of detail with which the Ragusan government exhibited its ideological views to the public. This analysis is concerned with the state insignia, which also became a part of the aristocratic symbolism, for power. The republic and the patricians were one and the same. The republic's ideology determined the nobility as a group destined to preserve its values and therefore occupied a privileged position in the political and social hierarchy. This fundamental belief 'nourished the exclusive consciousness of the elite, thus became a vehicle of domination, means of ceremonies, symbols, insignia and visual artistic messages.

The fifteenth century marked the triumph of the Dubrovnik Republic and its patricians. An efficient administrative system was established, different from the medieval commune. The evolution of the government organization was supported by an ideological system unique in its complexity in the medieval and early modern history of Croatia. It was in this century that a blending of ideas occurred: the residues of the medieval transcendental views of the world were implanted in the political ideas of renaissance Dubrovnik. The system owed its long life to the rigidity of its norms, but it was the same rigidity that on the other hand induced the patricians' downfall. Closely knit within their groups, the aristocracy kept the same norms and codes even after the outside world was utterly changed.

Viewed methodologically, *Okvir slobode* can be defined in terms of historical anthropology not only in its selection of problems but also by giving particular attention to real people from the past. The author combines the critically evaluated sources from the Historical Archives of Dubrovnik with a highly

personal standpoint and commentary. Of all the major issues of Dubrovnik's history throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, she singles out the question of freedom, individuality, and spirituality. In order to answer these questions, she is concerned with art, philosophy, religiosity, politics, and ethics, that is, the general sensibility of the time reflected in social groups and ultimately in, each individual.

Stjepan Ćosić.
Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike (1808-1848)/Dubrovnik after the Fall of the Republic (1808-1848). Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999. pp. 402. ISBN 953-154-317-8.

Summary

History of Dubrovnik 1808-1848:
discontinuity and transformation

The first half of the nineteenth century is characterized by radical social changes which marked the beginning of the history of modern bourgeois era. After exhausting Napoleonic campaigns, and despite restoration and absolutism, much of Europe witnessed the strengthening of the basic democratic tenets founded on legal equality and the proclaimed goals of the bourgeois society. Democratic processes established during the revolutionary movements of the 20's and 30's, culminated in the general European unrest of 1848. Technological and industrial revolution, population explosion, and the growth of agricultural industry contributed to social changes, accompanied by a major shift in political theory and practice. The principle of monarchist legality was gradually replaced by various forms of conservatism. On the other hand, all the political streams striving toward reforms were founded on the liberal political philosophy. Lastly, the development and strengthening of national consciousness in a liberal context, demanded, with its integrational power, abolition of territorial and ethnic dismemberment, constructing at the same time the framework of European

power struggles.

The Dubrovnik area, and Croatian lands in general, did not experience these processes as intensely as did most of the Western Europe. Nevertheless, the territory of the former Republic did witness reverberating effects of the global events, but in social terms, Dubrovnik was not yet ready to undergo internal political reforms. The overall European climate of change crept to the borders of the Republic, followed by repercussions of the Napoleonic wars. Rapid change of political and economic structure as well as the discontinuity in development resulting from these processes, engendered the loss of political autonomy, economic breakdown, and the dissolution of the old social structure, demarcating thus fundamentally new guidelines of Dubrovnik's history in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Periodization of Dubrovnik's history following the fall of the Republic is conditioned by a series of institutional and political changes. The 1808 French abolition of the Dubrovnik Republic should be recognized as a historical turning-point. Formally speaking, it marked the disappearance of a social, political, and economic structure which kept struggling over the centuries for its maintenance in the traditional world of the Ancien regime. Dramatical period of French administration experienced two phases. The first, 1808-1809, when new government was established, even though the fate of the abolished Republic still seemed uncertain. The second phase, from 1809 to 1814, saw the annexation of the Dubrovnik area, and its becoming part of the Illyrian provinces. It was then, for the first time, that basic tenets of the bourgeois legislative were being partially introduced, which formally marked the discontinuity of the ancient aristocratic regime. This process was underlined by the complete economic paralysis resulting from the devastation of the commercial fleet, the chief element of Ragusan economic power. The profound social schism provoked the disappearance of the patricians almost overnight, together with old wealthy families whose social status was closely linked to the welfare of the Republic.

The significance of the occurring changes can clearly be seen only in the light of the fact that in the course of the century, the territory of the Republic witnessed the shaping of an original social system with most distinctive features. Therefore, as with the fall of the Republic we are not exclusively dealing with the abolishment of sovereignty and aristocratic pattern of government, which,

in part, continued to exist, but also with the folding of a whole social system bearing centuries-old attributes and tradition, so Dubrovnik-like and different from the neighboring lands. It is this perspective that contributes to the better understanding of all the details related to the political history and mentality of the nineteenth-century Dubrovnik society.

Administrative experiments, incompleteness of the introduced social reforms, alongside myriad imposed taxes and a disastrous economic situation, were reasons enough to stir popular discontent of all the Dubrovnik classes against the French government. Contrarily, a fairly short six-year French rule, on account of its social accomplishments, remained deeply rooted in the minds of all the Dubrovnik's social strata.

The hope of the restoration of the Republic still present in the minds of the nobility and few citizens during the abortive anti-French uprising in 1813/1814, was brutally disillusioned by Austrian steps undertaken over its two-year temporary rule - Intendance (1814-1816). International political situation offered no ground for the Republic's restoration, and Dubrovnik was yet unable to bear the new integrational idea, and create a real social force capable of its enforcement. Austrian rule was formally established by the resolutions of the Vienna Congress of 1815, and reinforced between the years 1817 and 1822. Being center of one of the districts of the Dalmatian Kingdom, Dubrovnik entered the long-lasting alliance with the Habsburg Monarchy. During the period of absolutism, the old order folded at once. Some patricians fled, while the remaining accepted the reality of the bourgeois society. The latter amalgamated with the well-to-do business-minded commoners, and lived on the land earnings, government and military service. Thus, the patricians were formally losing its noble status symbols, which were strictly determined by the Statutes and other laws of the abolished Republic. An identical process can be traced with Antunini and Lazarini, as the social code with these two most distinguished noble groups was directly related to the existence of the aristocratic system.

Losing its previous position, the Catholic church was also experiencing a crisis. Dubrovnik archbishopric lost most of its estate during the French rule. Following the church reorganization in 1828, the Austrian authorities definitely transferred most of the church properties to the state. Ston bishopric was abolished, and Dubrovnik church district was no longer governed by an archbishop. By

losing its formal status, Dubrovnik archbishopric came under the authority of the Dalmatian Metropolitan in Zadar.

Finding itself on the outskirts of the new political and industrial landscape, the recently shaped citizen substratum advanced slowly due to the devastated economy and lack of capital. Nobility still owned the bulk of land, but with the dawn of the 19th century, citizens, and even peasants, who earned their capital in trade and shipping, emerged as landowners. The latter amassed their property by buying feudal rights from the nobility during the period of the abolition of the fideikomis institution (1811 - 1817). These new owners and businessmen, in line with the city intelligence, created a colorful substratum of the modern bourgeoisie. The rest of the urban society consisted of small-scale tradesmen, artisans, mariners, fishermen, manual workers, and the city paupers. In the smaller urban centers of the Dubrovnik district, Cavtat, Orebić, and partly Ston and Slano, as well as the City itself, there already existed groups of ship owners and business-minded men. In spite of the anti-maritime Austrian policy, they continued with commercial pursuits in the Adriatic and Mediterranean. Thus, Dubrovnik's shipping industry managed to preserve the basis for quicker development which was to take place in the second half of the century. Being dependent upon the conditions of the maritime market, sea-oriented businessmen tended to shift their capital in land, inheriting thus the classical landowner-tenant relationship, the latter being landless peasants. Therefore, land ownership still represented a major social problem. Introduction of the Austrian General Public Law in 1816 implied derogation of all the laws of the former Republic, apart from the issue of feudal rights which remained unsolved, and was, in practice, approached as a private legal matter on the administrative and not judicial level. This generated long-term tension in the relationship between the landowners and peasants, since the latter represented the vast majority of population.

For fear of political dissatisfaction and resurgence of republican traditions, Austrian exertion of authority proved to be much milder in the Dubrovnik area than elsewhere in Dalmatia. In addition to advocating antiquated land ownership relations characteristic of Dubrovnik, Habsburg Monarchy aimed to win over the remainder of the patricians, old middle-class families, and peasantry by introducing a number of stimulating government measures and privileges so as to pacify the area (retirement pensions and state sinecures were granted, no liability to tax

payment and military service). The City resumed its significance in the political, administrative, and strategic sense. In this respect, the District Office, civil administrator's office, Municipal Office, inferior court, and high school were all seated in Dubrovnik. Strong military forces were also stationed there, the army having seized, reconstructed, and rebuilt all the French fortifications, notably Fort Impérial. Several consular representatives added to the political weight of the City, particularly those of Russia and England who took most active part in diplomatic affairs.

In addition to the production of oil and wine, modest economic results were achieved owing to the revival of the maritime commerce, and trade with the Turkish hinterland. No relation can be established between the existence of several manufacturing workshops in Dubrovnik, and the course of industrialization in Western Europe. Dubrovnik, like the rest of Dalmatia, had built its prosperity on the trade and shipping industry. Agricultural production was insufficient, and no major improvements could have been attained under the new government either, due to the absence of the basic elements of development: natural resources, capital, and market. Governmental economic measures were highly restrictive and unenterprising. On account of the antiquated Austrian mercantilist policy characterized by high taxes and export orientation through the Danube basin, south Croatian lands remained completely isolated. A series of epidemics and crop failures, plus the imposition of land tax in 1842 were to exacerbate the already gloomy prospects. It was the gradual restoration of shipping and transit commerce during the 1840's and further that enabled Dubrovnik to maintain its central position among the Dalmatian cities.

In the light of romanticism, the politically active population envisaged the abolition of the Republic as something ideal, contributing thus to the escape from the stem absolutistic reality. This idea, however, could not have been materialized in its integrational sense, and was subsequently replaced by contemporary forms of ethnic and national identification. Political, economic, and social lethargy engendered by the isolation and absolutistic centralism, was interrupted by occasional cultural events, such as Martecchini's edition of Gundulić's work, alongside other Ragusan poets who wrote in Croatian and Italian languages during the 20's and 30's. Publishing results were

crowned by the 1841 encyclopedic edition *Galleria degli Ragusei illustri*. Owing to its remarkable tradition, Dubrovnik succeeded in maintaining its leading cultural and political position in Croatia, as it nested some of the foremost artistic and intellectual minds of the period.

Noteworthy linguistic tradition, and Dubrovnik's consciousness regarding the cultural integrity of the Croatian littoral, provided most favorable conditions for the spread of the Illyrian movement in Dubrovnik, and its interaction with Zagreb. The authority of old Ragusan literature and linguistic heritage were built into the very foundations of the Croat National Revival. Relationship between Dubrovnik and Zagreb was further strengthened by myriad personal contacts, correspondence, and visits by the leading figures of the Revival. The Dubrovnik circle of Croat Illyrians, notwithstanding the omnipresence of the obscure and general Slavic political idea, had most clear views of the national interests. Contributing to the Revival journals, notably to *Danica* and *Zora dalmatinska*, a number of Dubrovnik Illyrians and later advocates of the national movement promoted their ideas. The clear political view of the Dubrovnik Revival circle manifested in its determination to grasp the imperative need for the integration of the Croatian lands, and gradual recognition of the Croat name. A similar attitude was expressed in 1848 by none other than the officials of the municipal authority of the Dubrovnik area. Due to the social circumstances in the absolutistic period, many features of the political life began to manifest after the proclamation of the Constitution in 1848. The upheavals of 1848 were the result of political and social fermentation over the preceding decades, and Dubrovnik's experience should, therefore, be primarily viewed in the sequence of the changes initiated by the 1808 fall of the Republic. Dissolution of absolutism was greeted in both Dalmatia and Dubrovnik with enthusiasm, for it was closely related to the problem of integration with Croatia, and liberal political forces emerged with the issues of land ownership and citizens' rights. The articulation of national consciousness was one of the major developments of the 1848 revolutions, that triggered thus the publishing of two new journals generally covering democratic and national topics. Democracy and nationhood became central concern of the future political relations.

There were a number of reasons for the population of eastern Herzegovina to

migrate to Dubrovnik: relatively open borders, possibility of gaining citizenship, poverty, and epidemic diseases. Straining to expand its influence over the Ottoman territory, Austria, for the first time, yielded a variety of Dubrovnik-bound Orthodox migrants, who, during the first half of the century, assimilated their own confessional integrity to a pronounced Serb national feeling. A parallel process of Croat national integration, notably in culture and literature and within the Illyrian framework, opened the issue of national relations. Although other parts of Croatia witnessed no national rivalries in 1848, Dubrovnik was experiencing the first complex ideological forms of national differentiation. The spread of Karadžić's idea of the "linguistic Serbhood", pro-Serbian propaganda of the Russian consul to Dubrovnik and the Orthodox priest in the City parish, as well as the financial prosperity of the Orthodox newcomers - tradesmen and businessmen - vastly contributed to the process of national differentiation in this area.

The year 1848 saw the establishment of two National Revival circles in Dubrovnik. The ideology of the Croat circle of Dubrovnik Illyrians, all of whom belonged to the city intelligence and aristocracy, was best exhibited in the Dubrovnik's papers *Rimembranze delta settimana* and *L'Avvenire*, founded that very year. Contrary to the latter mainly culturo-linguistic contents, following to constitutionality and freedom of press, these journals opened their pages to the political demands of the Dubrovnik populists. The articles in *L'Avvenire*, in particular, converged with the all-Croat wants for integrity. Devoid of ethnic basis, but fanned by great many outside factors, the Serb national program found its stalwarts among several ideologists of the "Serbo-Catholic" idea. In the initial phase, the "Serb Catholics" were unable to make clear distinction between the Serb and Slavic idea in their intent to spread it in Dubrovnik and Dalmatia. Being governed by pragmatism and political goals of the Serbs in Habsburg monarchy, advocates of the "Serbo-Catholic" idea supported the unity of Dalmatia with Croatia. Later, however, acting as instruments of great Serbian ideology, they held Dubrovnik to be Serbian and not Croatian. Being inconsistent, multi-character and highly dependant, the group of "Catholic Serbs" had no major influence in Dubrovnik, particularly not in the early phase.

Disregarding the negative consequences which, after all, resulted from the overall historical processes, the first decades of Austrian rule witnessed the reinforcement of the cultural and political bond between Dubrovnik and Croatian

lands. A positive, yet latent dimension of the Austrian annexation kept hovering during the longtime process of national and territorial integration of the Croat people, perceptible both in time of the Illyrian movement in the first half of the century, and later, over the period of intense political struggle. The entire history of Dubrovnik is thus experienced as a major ideological backup of the pronounced Croat political aspirations, and an indispensable source of the culturo-historical heritage, the City being viewed as one of the centers of the Croat National Revival.



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(January 1999)



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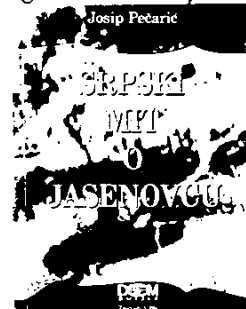
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