



Issue No. 40, Spring 2003

PITTSBURGH CONVENTION CROATIAN ACTIVITIES

34rd National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS)

The 34th National Convention of the AAASS took place at the Hilton and Omni William Penn hotels in downtown Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 21-24, 2002. The Convention was a well attended and successful gathering of scholars pursuing various fields of research in Slavic and in so-called East European studies. Just to indicate how large these AAASS annual gatherings are, the Pittsburgh Convention consisted of 409 panels and roundtables, each session having five participants.

As we pointed out in the last issue of the Bulletin, unfortunately, three of our panels were held on Sunday morning (November 24th) and two out of those three were scheduled for 8:00 in the morning. Despite the scheduling inconvenience all of our sessions were first-rate. Our sincere thanks to all of the participants, especially those who came from Europe for this occasion. Your sacrifices are greatly appreciated.

Summaries of a few presentations dealing with Croatian issues and Dr. Sabrina Ramet's entire presentation can be found in this issue of the Bulletin. By reading the summaries and one of the papers you will at least have a sense of what was presented at some of the panels. We hope that all or at least some of the presentations dealing with Croatia will be published in the Journal of Croatian Studies or some other scholarly publication.

We noticed that the Croatian Academy of America took a full-page ad in the AAASS National Convention 2002 program book advertising the Journal of Croatian Studies. That was a good promotional idea and money well spent.

PANELS

On Thursday, November 21, a panel session entitled "Geography and Politics: Perspectives on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina" was held. It was chaired by Joseph Bombelles, professor emeritus, John Carroll University, former

president of the ACS, and presently a Fulbright Scholar in Croatia. Presenters were Mladen Klemencic, Lexicographic Institute (Zagreb), Gerard Toal, Virginia Tech., and Joachim Weber, Academy for Crisis Management (Bonn). Zdenka Gredel-Manuele, U of Niagara, was the discussant. Although this was the first panel on the first day of the Convention it was very well attended and a lively discussion developed at the end of the session.

An interesting panel on “South Slavic Americans and the Left, 1900-1950” took place on Friday morning (November 22). Presenters were Ivan Cizmic, U of Zagreb, Matijaz Klemencic, U of Maribor, and Jason C. Vuic, Indiana U. Thomas Allen Emmert, Gustavus Adolphus College, was the discussant.

The panel “Yugoslav Americans and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s” was held on Saturday morning (November 23). It was chaired by Ivan Cizmic. Presenters were Ivan Miletic, Public Library, Cleveland, Jason Vuic, and Matijaz Klemencic. Although two presenters whose names were on the program did not show up, the panel turned out to be a useful discussion on the emigrants’ role during the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia. The presentations and discussion that followed reflected the well-known reality that there were no “Yugoslav Americans,” as the title of the panel implied, but that each nationality in America reflected the events and realities of their respective mother-countries in Europe.

As it has been mentioned above, three of our panels took place on Sunday morning (November 24). The panel “Ideological Differentiations and Politics in Croatia and the Region between Two World Wars.” Presenters were Mario Jareb, Croatian Institute of History (Zagreb), Jure Kristo, Croatian Institute of History (Zagreb), and Vjeran Pavlakovic, U of Washington, presently doing research in Croatia. Mirjana Morosini-Dominick, Georgetown U, was the discussant.

A roundtable discussion “Christianity, Islam, and Civil Religion in Southeast Europe.” was a success, although some scheduled participants did not show up. Sabrina P. Ramet, Norwegian U of Science and Technology, Robert J. Donia, U of Michigan, Mari Firkatian, University of Hartford, and Ante Cuvalo, Joliet Jr. College, discussed various issues dealing with the role of religion in that part of Europe.

The panel “Croatian Language and Holy Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” although held during the last hours of the Convention, was a very interesting and dynamic session. The participants were Elisabeth von Erdmann, Erlangen University (Germany), Vinko Grubisic, U of Waterloo (Canada), and Ivo Soljan, Grand Valley State U. Ellen Ellias Bursac, Harvard U, was the discussant. After the session, the participants were already making plans for getting together again in 2004.

ACS members Sarah Kent, U of Wisconsin, Stevens Point and Josip Mocnik, Bowling Green State U, also presented papers, while Tatjana Lorkovic, Yale U, was a roundtable participant at the Convention, and Elinor Murray Despalatovic, Connecticut College, chaired a panel on Language and Ethnicity.

It was good to see that three graduate students pursuing their Ph. D. degrees in history and who are ACS members (Pavlakovic, Mocnik, and Morosini) were Convention participants and are

involved in the AAASS and ACS activities. Mario Jareb is a young scholar from Zagreb, also pursuing a Ph. D. in history at Zagreb University. We hope to see even more young scholars at our gatherings.

There were a number of interesting and valuable presentations at various other panels on issues dealing with Croatia and especially on problems facing Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, it is impossible to attend many of such presentations because quite often they take place at the same time.

VISIT TO THE CFU HOME OFFICE

A few weeks before the AAASS Convention, the President of the Croatian Fraternal Union, Mr. Bernard Luketich, invited ACS members and friends attending the Convention to visit the CFU Home Office that is located in Pittsburgh.

The visit and cordial reception took place on Thursday evening (November 21). Mr. Luketich received the guests at his office and after a short introduction he guided them through the beautiful CFU headquarters and CFU Museum.

Afterwards, Mr. Luketich and Mr. Edward Pazo, CFU National Secretary/Treasurer, invited the guests to a wonderful Italian restaurant nearby for a reception and dinner. The evening was very enjoyable, cordial, educational, as well as fulfilling intellectually and gastronomically.

The following ACS members and friends visited the CFU Home Office on November 21, 2002: Dr. Joseph Bombelles, Dr. Ellen Elias-Bursac, Dr. Ivan Cizmic, Dr. Ante Cuvalo, Dr. Elizabeth von Erdmann, Mr. Mario Jareb,

Mr. Mladen Klemencic, Dr. Jure Kristo,

Mr. Ivan Miletic, Dr. James Sadkovich,

Dr. Gerard Toal, and Dr. Joachim Weber. On behalf of the ACS and those who visited the CFU Home Office, we express our appreciation for a wonderful and cordial Croatian reception at the offices of the largest Croatian organization outside Croatia.

The following letter has been sent to Mr. Luketich on behalf of the ACS members.

November 26, 2002

Mr. Bernard M. Luketich

National President

Croatian Fraternal Union of America

100 Delaney Drive

Pittsburgh, PA 15235

Dear Mr. Luketich,

On behalf of the Association for Croatian Studies (ACS) and my own name I thank you for the wonderful Croatian hospitality you showed when we visited the CFU Home Office during the recent Slavic Congress in Pittsburgh.

The Convention was a great success. Over a thousand presentations were given during the four days of our enjoyable stay in downtown Pittsburgh. A number of panels dealt directly or indirectly with Croatian studies. The ACS-organized panels were excellent and well-attended, and they shed useful light on issues dealing with Croatia and the Croatians.

Thanks to you, Mr. Edward Pazo, and Don Langenfeld, the evening of Thursday, November 21, 2002, will be remembered in a special way. You welcomed us with open arms and in the true Croatian spirit, and gave us a wonderful tour of the CFU Home Office and Museum. Both the Office and the Museum are very impressive, and everyone in our group felt a sense of pride that there is such a Croatian institution in America.

The royal treatment and dinner that followed the Home Office visit is also greatly appreciated. It was an excellent occasion to get to know each other better and to have a friendly conversation between those working in academia and those leading and guiding an important organization like CFU. I am sure that contacts, friendship, and cooperation between the CFU and ACS will be strengthened by this wonderful visit.

Once more, I express our great appreciation for inviting us to the Home Office and the wonderful hospitality you showed during our visit. Please, convey our gratitude to Mr. Pazo and Mr. Langenfeld for their help during our stay in Pittsburgh.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Ante Cuvalo

President

SPECIAL THANKS

Special thanks to Mr. Don Langenfeld, a very active member of the local Croatian community, who was always on hand during our stay in the beautiful city of Pittsburgh. He was not only helpful in organizing our visit to the CFU Home Office and St. Nicholas church, but also was a driver to both places. He attended some presentations, the "Croatian Dinner," and the ACS annual meeting; told us the history of the Croatian community in Pittsburgh and was our tour guide. Don, thank you for being a great host.

VISIT TO ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH

To be in Pittsburgh and not to visit St. Nicholas Croatian Catholic Church, the oldest Croatian church in the USA, would be a shame.

A number of ACS members and friends attending the Convention visited St. Nicholas church on Friday evening (November 22). For many of us that was the first time to see this historic church that stands as a monument to the early Croatian emigrants and to their love for God and their Croatian heritage. As many of you know, some local politicians have plans to demolish this important religious and national monument. We hope that such a barbaric thing will not happen.

ASC'S ANNUAL MEETING

The ACS annual meeting was held on

Saturday evening (November 23). Besides the ACS members attending the Convention there were also a few guests. Among them were Ivan Cizmic, Elizabeth von Erdmann, Mario Jareb, Jure Kristo, Lovorka Ostrunic, from the Consulate of the R. of Croatia in Chicago, William Vergot, (Pittsburgh), Don Langenfeld (Pittsburgh), and Edward Damich, recently appointed Chief Judge of U. S. Court of Federal Claims in Washington, D.C. Mr. Vergot and Judge Damich joined the ACS at the meeting.

As usual, the meeting focused mainly on possible panels for the 35th AAASS National Convention to be held in Toronto in November of 2003.

CROATIAN DINNER

The traditional "Croatian Dinner" took place on Saturday evening (November 23) in a restaurant near the Hilton hotel. A number of ACS members attending the Convention and a few friends had an enjoyable evening. This was a time to step out of the hectic and fast moving events at the Convention, enjoy a good meal, talk to friends, get to know new people and discuss new projects and ideas for future scholarly gatherings. Thanks to all who attended the dinner!

AAASS 35th NATIONAL CONVENTION

The next (35th) National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) will take place in Toronto, Ontario, November 20-23, 2003.

The ACS members have submitted several panel proposals for the Convention. We hope that all of them will be accepted.

New Members

We are pleased to welcome the following new members who have joined the ACS since November 2002. We are honored by your membership at the ACS.

SABRINA P. RAMET

Sabrina P. Ramet was born in London, England, moving to the US in 1959, at the age of 10. For the subsequent 40 years, she was a frequent visitor to Europe, living also in Japan for nearly two years. Receiving her Ph.D. in political science from UCLA in 1981, she taught subsequently at the University of California in Santa Barbara, at the University of Washington, and at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan. She moved back to Europe in August 2001, where she assumed a post in the Department of Sociology and Political Science at the Norwegian University of Science & Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, Norway. She is the author of seven books, among them: "Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962–1991", 2nd ed. (1992), "Whose Democracy? Nationalism, Religion, and the Doctrine of Collective Rights in Post-1989 Eastern Europe" (1997), and "Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milosevic", 4th ed. (2002). She is currently finishing a history of the Yugoslav area since 1918, entitled "The Three Yugoslavias: The Dual Challenge of State-building and Legitimation among the Yugoslavs, 1918–2003". Much of her recent work is centered on the theme of system legitimacy, which she sees as the key to understanding, among other things, the failure of the three attempts to build a Yugoslav state.

JAMES J. SADKOVICH

James J. Sadkovich earned his Ph.D. in Modern European History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. A Fulbright Scholar and a John M. Olin Fellow in military History and Strategic Studies, Sadkovich has written on military history, Yugoslav politics, and the American media. His work includes *The U.S. Media and Yugoslavia* (Praeger, 1998), *Italian Support for Croatian Separatism* (Garland, 1987), and *The Italian Navy During World War II* (Greenwood, 1994). He currently works for Texas A&M University Press, where he acquires manuscripts on Eastern Europe, military history, aviation, and nautical archaeology.

JENNIFER SANDERS

Jennifer Sanders is a doctoral student in Slavic and General linguistics at Indiana University, mid-way through the qualifying exams. She has been instructor for first-year Croatian and Serbian at IU for the past two years. (In previous years she taught Russian and English as a Second Language). She attended the Zagrebacka slavisticka skola in Dubrovnik in 2001, and then returned to the area this past summer before attending a conference in Macedonia. She hopes to go back to Croatia next summer to increase her fluency in Croatian language.

Jennifer has two research projects currently underway, one is a longitudinal study of the second language acquisition of Russian cases, and the other a study of the phonological and phonetic properties of sonorants in Russian, Czech, Croatian, and Macedonian. More specifically

regarding Croatian, she is particularly interested in the issues involved in teaching the successor languages to “Serbo-Croatian,” both materials development and accommodation of language/dialect differences. Related to this, she was the “Croatian/Serbian” representative to the Less Commonly Taught

Languages Materials and Curriculum roundtable at this past December’s AATSEEL meeting.

WILLIAM VERGOT

William Vergot of Venetia, Pennsylvania, has very diverse and interesting life experiences. He has a BA and Med degrees; taught at Loyola U in Chicago and Dai Hap Van Han - Saigon, Vietnam; was a US Steel-Director, (retired 1993) and Consultant Nakorn Thai Steel M Co Bangkok, Thailand, from 1974 to 1997. He is a US Army colonel (retired in 1976). William travels extensively (Europe, Asia, Africa, Russia, etc.). From 1952 to the present, he visited Croatia 27 times. He is married to Clair n. Zvonar.

EDWARD J. DAMICH

Edward J. Damich, judge; born in Pittsburgh, PA, June 19, 1948; son of John and Josephine (Lovrencic) Damich; A.B., St. Stephen’s College, 1970; J.D., Catholic University, 1976; professor of law at Delaware School of Law of Widener University, 1976-84; served as a Law and Economics Fellow at Columbia University School of Law, where he earned his L.L.M. in 1983 and his J.S.D. in 1991; professor of law at George Mason University, 1984-98; adjunct professor of law at the Georgetown University Law Center, since 2000; appointed by President Bush to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal, 1992-93; appointed Chief Intellectual Property Counsel for the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1995-98; appointed by President Clinton for a 15-year term as judge, U.S. Court of Federal Claims, October 22, 1998; designated by President George W. Bush as Chief Judge, U.S. Court of Federal Claims, May 15, 2002; admitted to the Bars of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Federal Circuit, the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania; member of the District of Columbia Bar Association, Pennsylvania Bar Association, American Bar Association, and Association litteraire et artistique internationale; Chief Judge Damich was the first president of the National Federation of Croatian Americans and he is a member of Almae Matris Alumni Croaticae (AMAC), the Croatian Catholic Union, and the Croatian Academy of America.

NIK LJILJANIC

Nik Ljiljanic was born in Mostar in 1972. He grew up in Mississauga, Ontario, and is a graduate of the University of Toronto. He is a Structural engineer with a Belgian-based steel company. After working for the company in the Toronto market, he was promoted and relocated to Chicago two years ago.

Nik is out of town frequently, as he travels through eight states, supervising construction and design on various projects. Nik is a member of St. Jerome's Croatian Parish in Chicago and the Croatian Cultural Society "Napredak."

JOHN KRALJIC

John P. Kraljic received his law degree from Georgetown University Center and practices law in New York. He is currently President of the National Federation of Croatian Americans and a member of the Croatian Academy of America. He is completing a master's degree in history at Hunter College at the City University of New York. His master's thesis, "The Croatian Community in North America and the Spanish Civil War," was completed in 2002 and was awarded the George Watt Memorial Award for best graduate essay by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives.

ACS Members and Friends News

NICK CEH

Nick Ceh and Jeff Harder completed a 30-minute ethnographic documentary entitled "Jaska Kotlovina: A Croatian Dish" Submitted to the Lake Geneva Film Festival this spring.

Also, Nick will be taking 11 students to St. Petersburg, Russia, to participate in a Mock United Nations Debate, March 15-25, 2003.

VJERAN PAVLAKOVIC

An article, "Sovereign Law vs. Sovereign Nations: The Cases of Kosovo and Montenegro," co-authored by Vjeran Pavlakovic, Sabrina P. Ramet, and Phil Lyon appeared in Trondheim Studies on East European Cultures and Societies, No. 11 (October 2002).

Currently, Vjeran is on an IREX grant in Zagreb, and will be on a Fulbright scholarship from April to December of this year.

JOSEPH BOMBELLES

Dr. Joseph Bombelles, Professor Emeritus, John Carroll University, and former President of ACS, is presently a Fulbright Scholar in Croatia.

ELSIE IVANCICH DUNIN

Professor Emerita (Dance Ethnology), the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), Elsie is currently dance research advisor with the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb, Croatia, and Vice-President, Cross-Cultural Dance Resources (CCDR), Flagstaff, Arizona.

She is the organizer of an up-coming conference (June 2003) Applying Dance Ethnology and Dance Research in the 21st Century, sponsored by Cross-Cultural Dance Resources (CCDR), to be held in Flagstaff, Arizona. See www.CCDR.ORG for additional information.

Elsie's article "Chileans of Croatian descent in Zagreb" was published in CCDR Newsletter, December 2002. It is about the performance of Rasadnik, a young Croatian Chilean group at July 2002, 36th International Folklore Festival, held in Zagreb, 2002. Full text

is posted by Elsie Ivancich Dunin on the CCDR website (www.CCDR.ORG), under the heading of "Notes from the Field."

Other titles by Dunin in "Notes from the Field:" "The search for Jesuit links: Dubrovnik, Sicily, and the Yaqui Indians."

"34th International Folklore Festival [34. Medunarodna Smotra Folklor], Zagreb, Croatia, 19-23 July 2000." "What is carnival?" 19 February 2002 "Reenactment of the 1298 sea battle in front of Korcula....." "Capture of Marko Polo" (7 September 2000). "Depolo and Moreska on three continents, 22 March 2002." "Chileans of Croatian descent in Zagreb, 17-21 July 2002."

JIM SADKOVICH

On February 22, the Southwest Association of Slavic Studies met for their annual conference at Texas A&M University. Brett and Olga Cooke organized and hosted the conference, which included a screening and discussion of Arnost Lustig's film, *The Fighter*. Panelists discussed westernization in Russia and Eastern Europe, research resources at Texas A&M University, and the Tercentenary of St. Petersburg. Among the panelists were Zoltan Barany of the University of Texas; Milan Reban, who teaches at the University of North Texas; and Sarah Burke, from Trinity University; Dariusz Skorczewski, a visiting scholar at Rice University; Chester Dunning, Professor of Russian History at Texas A&M; and Jim Sadkovich, an ACS member, who discussed westernization in Croatia and Bulgaria.

Also, Jim delivered a paper, "Arguments, Persuasion, and Anecdote: The Usefulness of History to Understanding Conflict," at the conference "Wars of Former Yugoslavia: The Sociology of Armed Conflict at the Turn of the Millennium" held in Zagreb, 6-8 December 2002.

NORMAN CIGAR

Norman's article "Paradigms and U.S. Policymaking for Bosnia (1992-1995)" was published in *Forum Bosnae* 15/02.

JOSIP TURKALJ

The Turkaly Art Gallery opened in November 2002. It is located at 2026 Murrat Hill Road, Cleveland, OH 44106. Tel. 216-721-1233. Fax 216-274-9832. E-mail: thomasbranko@aol.com gallery features works of the well-known Croatian-American sculptor, Josip Trukalj, his son Peter, as well as other local and regional artists.

The

CAROLE ROGEL

The Ohio State University Professor Emerita and a good friend of the ACS, Dr. Carole Rogel, was recently awarded The Order of Freedom of the Republic of Slovenia by Milan Kucan, President of the Republic of Slovenia, "in recognition for her selfless scientific, pedagogic and expert work devoted to awareness-raising within US historical and political circles on Slovenes and their homeland." The award was presented to her at a special reception hosted by Slovenia's Ambassador to the US in honor of Prof. Rogel during the 34th National Convention of the AAASS in Pittsburgh on November 22, 2002. We congratulate our scholar and friend on this well-deserved recognition.

HANA BREKO

Hana Breko, an ACS friend who has presented several papers on the history of Croatian music at the AAASS annual conventions in the last few years, has received her Ph. D. from the University of Zagreb in April of 2002. The title of her doctoral thesis is: *Das Missale aus Pula, 11. Jh., Ein Auftragswerk des Skriptoriums Tegernsee für St. Thomas Basilika in Pula: Das s. g. "Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium" von Sibenik*. She worked under the supervision of Dr. Andreas Haug, University of Erlangen and Dr. Koraljka Kos, University of Zagreb. She works as senior assistant at the Department for the History of Croatian Music, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. Hana is the author of a newly published book, *Misal MR70 zagrebacke Metropolitanske knjižnice /Missal MR 70 of the Zagreb Metropolitan Library, Zagreb, HMD, 2003*.

Congratulations!

We bring here a short summary of her doctoral thesis.

Pulski misal iz 11. stoljeca. Narudzba skriptorija Tegernsee za baziliku sv. Tome u Puli: tzv. sibeniski "Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium" - The Missal of Pula Written in Tegernsee, XI. saec. (1050-1070), Sibenik, Monastery of Franciscans the Conventuals, XI. saec.

As a result of this Ph. D. thesis a musical medieval manuscript hitherto known and labeled as the "Liber sequentiarum and sacramentarium" from Sibenik, has proven to be a missal copied in the monastery of Tegernsee for the St Thomas Basilica in medieval Pula, Istria.

Indications for its provenance are drawn from the content of the manuscript, as well as from its codicological, paleographical and repertorial features.

Based on the evidence of paleography and the content of the book, it could be demonstrated that the manuscript known since 1895. as a “Liber sequentiarum” from Sibenik in fact is an “Auftragswerk,” (“commissioned book”) by monastery of Tegernsee between 1050-1070 for the usage at St. Thomas Basilica in Pula, Istria. It shows traces both, of context of origin and context of its destination. Dating from the late 11th century this chant book is herewith the earliest testimony – and a contemporary - of the “chant transfer” or rather “cultural transfer” from the German speaking realm to the medieval patriarchy of Aquileia, and to its eastern province Istria in particular.

ZAGREB CONFERENCE

During early December 2002, the City of Zagreb, the Croatian Sociological Association, and the students and faculty of the Sociology Department of the University of Zagreb hosted more than thirty scholars at a conference on the “Wars of Former Yugoslavia: The Sociology of Armed Conflict at the Turn of the Millennium.” The evening of December 5, the Chair of the Assembly of the City of Zagreb, Morana Palikovic Gruden, and the organizers of the conference, Professors Davorka Matic and Ozren Zunec, hosted a reception for the participants at the Gradska palaca Dverce. The following morning, Professor Matic, President of the Croatian sociological Association, opened the proceedings and introduced the keynote speakers, J. David Singer, of the University of Michigan, who spoke on the etiology of interstate war, and Martin van Creveld, from Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who discussed the role of women in the military. After a short break, Peter Liotta of the Naval War College speculated on the future of war and Keith Doubt of Wittenberg University discussed the concept of war as sociocide. Slaven Letica, Professor of Sociology at the University of Zagreb and former National Security Advisor for Franjo Tudjman, presented a paper on the phenomenology of war and structural terrorism; James Sadkovich, from Texas A&M University Press, outlined the usefulness of history to the study of conflict; Sabrina Ramet, who has written extensively on Yugoslavia and currently teaches at Norwegian University of Science and Technology, analyzed themes in Serbian propaganda between 1986 and 1995; and Anton Bebler, from the University of Ljubljana, spoke on war casualties.

Saturday sessions opened with presentations by Edward Luttwak, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, who commented on military intervention in a post-heroic age and Daniel Nelson, from New Haven University, who linked language, identity, and warfare. Max Haller of

the University of Graz discussed the role of national identity and its relationship to war, and Ruth Seifert, of the Hochschule für Technik, Wirtschaft und Sozialwesen, returned to the topic of women and conflict, while Nexmedin Spahiu, director of radio and TV in Pristina, discussed the recent wars and Kosovar identity. During the afternoon, Mirko Petric, from the Academy of Arts in Split, and Inge Koludrovic, a member of Zadar's Faculty of Philosophy, discussed the role played by the Internet. Erik Melander, from Uppsala University, who was to discuss the forced expulsion of civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina, could not attend, but Charles Ingrao of Purdue University, spoke on the viability of multiethnic states, Natalija Basic, of the Freie Universität Berlin, discussed social identity and images of the enemy, and Darie Cristea of the University of Bucharest, discussed the usefulness of local categories to defining conflicts.

Sunday's presentations began with a discussion of the typology of armed conflict by Matjaz Klemencic, from the University of Maribor, and an analysis of the Yugoslav Army by Miroslav Hadzic. Nina Glavina and Kruno Kardov, both studying at the University of Zagreb, surveyed the problems posed by land mines remaining from the wars, and discussed the aftermath of war in Vukovar, respectively. During the afternoon, Ozren Zunec, a Professor at the University of Zagreb, and Tomislav Smeric, a member of Zagreb's Ivo Pilar Institute, presented a joint paper on Croatian officers, while Zvonimir Mahecic, Assistant Head of the Military Cabinet of the President of Croatia, commented on the progress of reform and reorganization in the Croatian Armed Forces. The conference ended with papers on religion and reconciliation by Ante Vuckovic, from the University of Split, and Gordan Crpic, of Zagreb's Center for the Promotion of the Church's Social Teaching, and the role of military chaplains in the HV by Vine Mihaljevic, of the Ivo Pilar Institute.

Faculty members moderated the panels and graduate students staffed the conference. Their professional demeanor, readiness to help, and enthusiasm helped to make the participants feel at home. Since many of the participants did not speak Croatian, Professors Matic and Zunec, assisted by several students and faculty, escorted their guests around Zagreb and otherwise helped to make their stay comfortable and enjoyable. Participants and those attending the conference continued their discussions over dinner and supper with Professors Matic and Zunec, who proved to be the most generous and hospitable of hosts.

Polemos: Casopis za interdisciplinarna istrazivanja rata i mira, the journal of the Hrvatsko sociolosko drustvo, will publish the proceedings of the conference, which provide an important forum to address a wide range of issues for the discussion of the wars attendant upon the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the problems posed by contemporary warfare. The contributions to the conference underscore the importance of the conflicts which enveloped the former Yugoslavia and the changing nature of warfare in the twenty-first century. By bringing together leading scholars in the field from Europe, the United States, and Israel, the organizers helped to forge intellectual links that transcend national borders. —JJS

AAASS 2002 CONVENTION PRESENTATIONS

MLADEN KLEMENCIC

“Croatian View(s) on ‘Regional Co-operation.’ (Summary)

Regional co-operation is seen as integral part of European integration. Prevailing attitude defines co-operation as a precondition for integration. It replaced former approach when co-operation was possible on the basis of ideological and cultural similarities. Regional co-operation of Croatia in history is illustrated by two cases of political integration: Austria-Hungary as an example of Central-Europe oriented integration and former Yugoslav federation as an example of Southeast-Europe oriented integration. Following the break-up of Yugoslavia, Croatia is searching for a new spatial framework for regional integration and for a place within the emerging political map of Europe (consisting of two major groups of countries: EU-members and non-member states, of which are further divided into EU candidates and non-candidates). The current position of Croatia as a non-candidate state (“in the waiting room for the waiting room”) is in deep contradiction with the aspiration of the most political forces in the country. The main issue is, therefore, how to bridge the existing gap between the aspirations and the country’s achievements regarding co-operation.

GERARD TOAL

“Bosnia as a Political Geography Experiment” (Summary)

Gerard Toal’s paper explored the contradiction in the Dayton Peace Accords between its recognition of ethnoterritorial entities and its commitment to allow people ethnically cleansed from their homes the opportunity to return (Annex 7). Focussing on Republika Srpska, it offered a conceptualization of that entity during wartime as a ‘fascist ethnosupremacist’ state characterized by an ethnicist/racist conceptualization of identity, an apartheid territorial logic and a quasi-criminal state. Since the Dayton Peace Accords and the push by the international community to implement Annex 7, the nature of the Republika Srpska entity has changed. It was argued that the contemporary entity is now a ‘liberal ethnosupremacist’ state where prevailing rhetoric about ‘choice,’ ‘privatisation’ and ‘governmental reform’ is used to advance longstanding ethnoterritorial strategies.

JOACHIM WEBER

“European Integration and the Traffic Infrastructure of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.” (Summary)

The presentation dealt with the significance of the transport corridors of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia within the wider framework of the Pan European transport corridors. The potential of B&H’s and Croatia’s corridors was critically evaluated. Also the idea behind EU’s system of transport corridors was examined and those with a connection to the south-east were more closely taken into consideration. On the example of maritime trade and rather technical specifics in transport chains and intermodal transport, the difficulties for successful utilisation of

geographic potentials were discussed. As a result, it turned out to be, that traditional corridors have lost significance, since EU's planning is in support of the various interests of various member states, supporting new corridors. Also, the significance of the time factor was shown in comparison of the strategies of different potential members for EU-accession. Whoever comes first, will have a great chance for creating "fait accompli" situations, thus reducing the chances for successful utilisation of more traditional corridors. Taking that into consideration, Croatia's chances to participate in the coming Pan-European transport network are not too high, but definitely continue to exist, whereas Bosnia's chances are very little and don't promise any progress in the foreseeable future.

JURE KRISTO

"Ideological and political strife among Croatian Catholics between the two World Wars."
(Summary)

In 1918, Croatian Catholics entered the newly created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes ideologically divided. A small group founded the Croatian People's Party (Hrvatska puckska stranka - HPS), popularly known as puckasi. (1) The majority of Catholics, however, adhered to Stjepan Radic's Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska seljacka stranka - HSS). (2) The dividing line went along ideological cleavage. The "Puckasi" adhered to a form of Yugoslav ideology and advocated an autonomist organization of the State. "Peasants," on the other hand, followed Radic's ideas of republicanism, i.e., advocated a federal state system.

The responsibility for the division was partly on Antun Mahnic, the bishop of the island of Krk, who militated against ideas and groups perceived as inimical to the Church and who organized Catholic youth in the Catholic Movement.

At first, Mahnic's followers adhered to a Croatian nationalism in the tradition of Ante Starcevic and his successor Josip Frank. Beginning in 1910, however, especially after the creation of the club of Seniorates, they accepted the form of nationalism set on the program of creation of a Yugoslav nation.

As soon as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was founded, organized Catholics, led by Petar Rogulja, worked hard on organizing the first "Catholic" political party, the Croatian People's Party (Hrvatska puckska stranka - HPS).

However, as early as 1920, the segments of organized Croatian Catholics which disagreed with Yugoslav ideology and the role that the pro-Yugoslav Seniorate reserved for the Catholic Movement as a whole, began to organize themselves. They introduced the Eagle Movement (Orlovstvo), a society for young men and women held together by group exercises, fancy outfits, and feeling of togetherness.

A new element, which heightened divisions among Croatian organized Catholics, was the introduction in 1920 of the Catholic Action, a movement of apostolate of Catholic laity under the leadership and in service of Church hierarchy. The Eagle Society promptly adopted the program

of the Catholic Action as its own and began accusing Catholics in the opposite camp of being opposed to the intention of the Holy See and of the Croatian Catholic episcopate.

Croatian Catholic organizations pretended to be united until 1925, when the Eagles decided to go their separate way. The decisive moment was the Congress of the Croatian Eagles' Association, held on island of Krapanj near Sibenik on August 9, 1925. The polemics between the opposing groups often revolved around the issue what is the genuine meaning of Catholic Action and which branch of the Catholic Movement is its more authentic reflection. In reality, however, the issue was which fraction will claim the leadership role in the movement of Catholic laity.

In 1929, King Alexander I Karadjordjevic imposed the dictatorship. All Croatian organizations and political parties were banned. Both camps of Croatian Catholics found ways to find cracks in the dictatorship and to continue their activities, but they also continued their divergent ideological positions. The Seniorate began publishing Catholic weekly Hrvatska straza (Croatian Sentinel). The editors also continued Yugoslav ideology in the weekly, but in the atmosphere of the dictatorship under the guise of the Cyrillo-Methodian idea of unification of the Churches.

Croatian Eagles, on the other hand, grouped around a new name Krizari (Crusaders). They also published a weekly, Nedjelja (Sunday), and continued to claim to be exclusively religious association, working for the aims of the Catholic Action. Wanting to emphasize the religious aspect of their engagement, Eagles expressed their aims in a new slogan: "Sacrifice, Eucharist, Apostolate".

The division in Catholic intellectual circles continued until new ideologies and political movements (Fascism, Nazism, Communism, Masonry, Jews, etc.) were not recognized as common enemies. Nonetheless, Croatian Catholics entered the World War II and the creation of the Independent State of Croatia divided.

(1) For a monographic study of that party see Zlatko Matijevic, *Slom politike*

katolickog jugoslavenstva. Hrvatska puckska stranka u politickom zivotu Kraljevine SHS (1919.-1929.), Zagreb: 1998.

(2) See Ivo Banac, *National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politic*,

Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984, 226-248.

VJERAN PAVLAKOVIC

"Federalism, Internationalism, and Revolution: The Croatian Left in the 1930s." (Summary)

Europe in the 1930s increasingly turned to radical political ideologies, namely communism and fascism, as a solution to the world wide economic crisis and unsolved issues stemming from the First World War. In Croatia, the national question dominated political life, such as it was under

the royal dictatorship of King Aleksandar and subsequently Regent Pavle, and it was the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS), which led Croatian efforts to reform the centralized political system under Serbian hegemony. The only other political options were the illegal communist party and the extreme nationalist Ustasha movement, both of which gained in strength as international developments led towards another European war. This paper looks at the Left in Croatian politics, in particular the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) and the Communist Party of Croatia (KPH) after 1937, and how they shifted their tactics in the 1930s to likewise focus on the national question, culminating in attempts to create a Popular Front similar to those in Spain and France. The debates over the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) in Croatia reveal that ideological divisions in Croatian politics had become too great for any kind of Popular Front to be formed, and that the opposing camps, which were to engage in bloody warfare during World War II, had already been solidified. This is most evident in the media of the late 1930s, where the events in Spain were given considerable attention. The Left in Croatia transformed from advocating only class warfare to focusing on solving Croatian national grievances, and actively participating in organizing volunteers for the Spanish Civil War, which in turn created the foundation for a political and military force capable of seizing power in the aftermath of World War II.

MARIO JAREB

Ustasha Movement 1929-1941: Ideological Backgrounds and Comparison with similar Movements and Parties in Central and Southeastern Europe.” (Summary)“

Introduction of king Alexander’s royal dictatorship in January, 1929 was the main event that pushed dr. Ante Pavelic and his followers to organize the Ustasha Movement. Horrible dictatorial terror resulted in abandonment of previous pacifist policy of the Croatian Peasant Party and in radicalization of Croatian politics in the early 1930s. Pavelic was convinced that only radical measures could weaken and destroy both dictatorship and the state of Yugoslavia as the main obstacles that prevented the foundation of a free Croatian state. Already in spring 1930 the Ustasha, Croatian revolutionary organization, was in existence, and in following months and years that same organization has executed a broad campaign of paramilitary activities

directed against the dictatorial regime in Yugoslavia. At the same time Pavelic’s followers organized several political organizations in Europe, South America and in the United States. Most of them acted under the name Hrvatski Domobran (Croatian Home Defenders).

Ustasha leaders focused primarily on the establishment of the state, and ignored issues related to the internal political, social and economic organization of the future Croatian state and Croatian society. That is why they failed to compose a consistent and detailed political program. It is even possible to say that Ustasha Movement never had anything that could be identified as a political program. Many authors treated Ustasha Movement as fascist and totalitarian organization. There is no doubt that after April, 1941 that movement followed patterns set by Italian fascism and German Nazism, but during the period between 1929 and 1941 the situation was quite different. In Pavelic’s writings from the early 1930’s there are no elements of fascist ideology and the same is true for other prominent Ustashes during that period of time. Still, the fact that the

Ustasha movement developed its activities under the Italian protection automatically made it similar to other Central and Eastern European movements and organizations that followed Italian patterns or cooperated with the fascist regime.

There were numerous organizations in Austria (like Heimwehr), Hungary and Romania (like Legion of Archangel Michael – later Iron Guard). It is interesting to note that even some Yugoslav nationalistic organizations, such as the notorious Organization of Yugoslav Nationalists (ORJUNA), followed organizational and ideological patterns of the Italian National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista – PNF). Of course, ORJUNA's main goals were opposed to fascist goals. Although it was officially dissolved after January 1929, its members continued to act as members of new Yugoslav nationalistic organizations. Some of them were organized by dictatorial regimes in order to act against opposition. Organizations like Young Yugoslavia (Mlada Jugoslavija), New Movement (Novi pokret) and Yugoslav Action (Jugoslavenska akcija) acted as paramilitary and terrorist organizations that organized numerous assassinations of political opponents. Paramilitary Chetnik organization acted in a similar way.

In such circumstances some Croatian politicians and intellectuals in Croatia advocated the same methods in order to prevent further dictatorial terror. The situation gradually improved after the assassination of king Alexander I in Marseille, in October, 1934. Still, new government of Bogoljub Jeltic, and especially the Milan Stojadinovic's government, continued to use paramilitary and pro-totalitarian organizations in order to suppress Croatian opposition. Milan Stojadinovic, whose sympathies towards Nazi Germany prevailed, even tried to organize his own Yugoslav Radical Union (Jugoslovenska radikalna zajednica – JRZ) after Nazi German and Fascist Italian models. Stojadinovic's policy, as well as the rise of pro-fascist movements and organizations in the entire region of Central and Southeastern Europe, contributed a lot to the fact that some Croats continued to advocate pro-fascist ideas. During the early 1930's Italian fascist patterns were "popular" in the entire region, but from mid-1930's German Nazi model and ideas gradually prevailed. The same process was present in Croatia as well, and at the beginning of 1940's there were some individuals and tiny political groups that openly accepted Nazi ideology. It is interesting to note that none of them considered themselves at that time as followers of Ante Pavelic and Ustasha movement.

Pro-Ustasha elements in Croatia at that time were more moderate. Some of them publicly supported the Axis, but many of them expressed certain caution in relation to internal policy of Nazi Germany. They rather stressed that Croatian nationalism is specifically Croatian, and is not similar to other nationalisms. Croatian authors would deny similarities with both Nazism and Fascism, but would write about Slovak nationalism with great sympathies. Namely, they wrote about Slovak struggle against Czechoslovak government to show how Croats should act. Pro-Ustasha elements greeted the establishment of Slovak republic in March, 1939 with great enthusiasm and hoped that Croats would follow Slovaks in the near future. It is interesting that there are many articles in which Croatian authors wrote about national and minority problems in Czechoslovakia, comparing them with similar problems in Yugoslavia. They used the Czechoslovak examples and comparisons in order to write about the Croatian question more openly, and to avoid strict governmental censorship. In such articles Czechoslovakia would be identified with Yugoslavia, and Slovaks would be identified with Croats. That is why pro-Ustasha activities in Croatia were in many aspects similar to the activities of Slovak People's

Party. Pro-Ustasha activities had some similarities to the other pro-totalitarian and pro-fascist organizations in the region. Still, there were many differences among them, due to different political and social situations in different countries. It is possible to say that Ustashes were more similar to Slovak People's Party, than to organizations in Hungary and Romania. Namely, Slovaks were in very similar position as Croats, and their main goal was the establishment of the free Slovak state.

Finally, the Ustasha activities during the 1930's should be observed in the context of political and social development in Central and Southeastern Europe.

ELISABETH VON ERDMAN

“The Croatian Language and Holy Books of the 16th and 17th Century.” (Summary)

In regard to the importance of language development (“Ausbau”), of the establishment of culture and identity and of the formation of literature, the investigation of sacral literature in Slavic studies has not yet achieved its potential. The presentation considers a number of hypotheses and relevant questions in order to elaborate on the importance of the translation of sacral books into the

“lingua vulgaris” for the formation of the Croatian language and identity.

Translations of sacral texts into a comprehensible language (“i za vas jezik općenije”) used by Catholics from the region of Istria to East Bosnia since the 16th century have contributed greatly to the development of Croatian language based on the Stokavian dialect. The consideration of the sacral corpus in the development of the Croatian language modifies the historical image of the genesis of modern Croatian in the 19th century.

The sacral books referred to here are pericopes, misals, rituals, breviars, homilies, catechisms and Bible translations. Some of these translated books had many editions which were in use over long periods of time, for example the pericopes “Pisctole i evangelya”, translated by Ivan Bandulavic and printed first in 1613. This book was originally destined for areas in which Latin rites were in use, i. e. Bosnia and Hercegovina (in Slavonia and Bulgaria also), but due to the need for translations it was adopted in Istria, Dalmatia and on the islands, in which Church Slavonic rites were in use. Up until the 19th century it went through more than 25 revisions and editions. The catechism of Matija Divkovic (“Nauk krstjanski”, 1611/1616) in its condensed or extended form was subjected to 30 editions in the Latin or the Bosnian alphabet (Bosanica). The homilies of Matija Divkovic (“Besjede”, 1616/1704) would have been heard among the churchgoers in Istria and in Dalmatia also. The printing of the Bartol Kaslic's Bible translation of 1622 to 1633 was forbidden in 1634 due to above mentioned church language politics and finally printed in the year 2000. This translation however served as a source for J. Micaglia's dictionary “Blago jezika slovinskoga”, produced from 1649 to 1651.

The presentation discusses some questions: Why has the importance of sacral books been so underestimated in investigating the development of language and literature in Slavic studies?

Why might the language of translated sacral books be so important for the development of Croatian language and literature? Of what importance were the translated sacral books and their language for the formation of the Croatian cultural and political identity? What advantage does the investigation of translated sacral literature bring to Slavic studies?

The considerations point out, that the translated sacral literature documents over a period of the last 400 years the connection between two important characteristics of identity: religious denomination and language. For this reason for the Croats in the 19th century there existed no necessity to overcome a cultural diglossia or to effect the development of a multifunctional language on the basis of dialects and vernaculars since they already possessed key texts of their language at an advanced stage ("Ausbausprache") and in addition some codification.

By placing more emphasis on translated sacral literature in Slavic studies there can be expected a substantial increase in knowledge and some further contributions to the discussion of important questions pertaining to the historical processes in the formation of Croatian language and identity.

VINKO GRUBISIC

"Alphabets in Bosnia and Herzegovina Before the Ottoman Occupation." (Summary)

Before the Turkish occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1463, six different alphabets were in use: Umbro-Etruscan, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Glagolitic and Croatian Cyrillic. Only few inscriptions in Greek and Latin are extant, while only one Gothic inscription has survived, consisting of the futhark alphabet. Umbro-Etruscan inscriptions are very fragmentary and were most likely brought to Bosnia from neighbouring Italy. There are just a few inscriptions in Greek and Latin containing certain graphemes which could be attributed to the Illyrian influence.

The Humacka ploca (the Humac tablet) as well as a few of the other old Cyrillic inscriptions contain Glagolitic graphemes, which show that the Glagolitic alphabet was only gradually replaced by Cyrillic letters. A sort of graphic symbiosis reveals Bosnia as a unique country during the Late Middle Ages in Europe.

While the Bosnian Glagolitic alphabet corresponds more or less to the Glagolitic alphabet used in Croatia, the Cyrillic alphabet is quite different from all other Cyrillic systems and did not undergo the graphic reforms introduced by Saint Sava in Raša in the 12th century.

In addition to various stone inscriptions, which represent what is certainly the most authentic picture of the state of literacy in medieval Bosnia and Herzegovina, the author of this short paper also examines various liturgical Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts from a graphic point of view.

Special attention is paid to different legal documents and letters written by Bosnian noblemen during the time of Bosnian political independence and cultural prosperity.

IVO SOLJAN

“The Birth of the Croatian Language in the Linguistic Revolutions of the Renaissance.”
(Summary)

The paper explores the appearance of a powerful and vocal Croatian literature in the vernacular in the early 16th century and in the subsequent one hundred years, much like the similar phenomena recorded in the leading European Renaissance cultural centers (Italy, France, England, Germany) in the same period. In all these centers, the Holy Books of the Christian Canon played a decisive role in forming the vernacular culture and language. The translation of The Bible played a specially powerful role in this process.

In Croatia, barely surviving under the onslaught of the advancing Turkish armies, and reduced to the the “remnants of the remnants,” the pen of the celebrated Croatian and European Latinist Marcus Marulus (Marko Marulic) produced the first Croatian great epic poem, *Istorija od Svete Judite* (The History of Saint Judith), written in six books, in Split, Croatia, in 1501, and published in Venice only in 1521. The paper explains the genesis of this great work and its importance then and in the entire history of Croatian culture. It also stresses Croatian achievements in the mainstream of the European 16th century Renaissance.

The second vernacular piece, prominently defining Croatian Renaissance culture, comes from the pen of Ivan Gundulic, a Croatian celebrated writer from the independent Croatian Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa). His *Suze sina razmetnoga* (The Prodigal Son’s Tears), published in Venice in 1622, is a work based on the well-known Gospel parable, and by couching this poem in the vernacular, Gundulic obviously intended this didactic piece for a broad Croatian reading audience. Some other poetic works by Gundulic are also included in this analysis.

The paper comes to its conclusion by stressing the importance of the Holy Books in the creation of the vernaculars all over Europe, and thus also in Croatia. However, the paper’s conclusion is not just a simple “celebration” of the linguistic “product” called the vernacular; it opens a number of questions, such as the ultimate or the unquestionable value of the vernacular, the ambivalence of the achievements of all vernaculars, and the problems created by the gradual disappearance of Latin as the common language of civilized Europe.

IVAN MILETIC

“Croatian Americans and Croatia in 1990s.” (Summary)

Croatian immigrants and their descendants in the United States wholeheartedly supported the Croatian struggle for a sovereign state during the Homeland War, 1991-1995, after the collapse of communist Yugoslavia. Aggression against Croatia by the Yugoslav Army mobilized tens of thousands of Croatian immigrants and their descendants. Millions of dollars were collected for aid to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The largest Croatian organization, the Croatian Fraternal Union, headed by Bernard M. Luketich, organized its members who sent over \$25 million in aid. On one evening \$750,000 was collected in the Croatian National Home "Cardinal Stepinac" in Eastlake, Ohio. In Cleveland and other places, hundreds of containers with clothing, food, medical equipment and other needed items were sent by ships to Croatia.

In order to increase the lobbying effort of the Croatian community in the US, Croatian organizations formed umbrella organizations, the Croatian American Association, the National Federation of Croatian Americans, the Croatian World Congress. These organizations and a public relations firm, Badurina and Associates, through their presence in Washington, D.C., have also tried to correct many stereotypes and distortions about Croatia and Croatians in the US media.

Croatia in 1990 and 1991 did not have its own armed forces that were capable of defending the country from the outside attack and at the same time faced major tasks of preserving its territorial integrity, preserving the changes after the democratic elections of 1990 and using the historical opportunity to realize centuries long aspirations of the Croatian people for a sovereign and independent Croatian state.

Historic changes in Croatia in the 1990's were influenced greatly by the generous financial and moral support of the Croatian emigration in America. In unity with their countrymen in Croatia, they brought about the liberation of their country.

JASON C. VUIC

"American Radicals: Steve Nelson and Stevan Dedijer" (Summary)

In the article "American Radicals: Steve Nelson and Stevan Dedijer," historian Jason C. Vuic compares the political careers of Nelson, a Croat immigrant, and Dedijer, a Serbian immigrant, who came to the United States and joined the Communist Party (CPUSA). Vuic's focus is on what motivated the men to become Communists. Born at the turn of the century in Subocka, Croatia, Nelson (Stjepan Mesaros) came to the US in 1920. He soon found, however, that as an unskilled laborer only the meanest jobs were open to him. Mesaroš spoke no English, but was bright and inquisitive, constantly searching for books and articles in Serbian and Croatian. This led him to Radnicka Borba, the Serbian-language newspaper of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). Nelson joined the Serbian branch of the SLP in 1921, but soon switched to the English-speaking section of the Young Workers League (YWL), a junior auxiliary of the CPUSA. Nelson joined the multi-ethnic YWL because he yearned to Americanize. To him it was imperative that the CPUSA be organized as an American institution with policies and principles geared to specifically American conditions. Therefore, in the late 1920s he changed his name from Stjepan Mesaros to Steve Nelson and began a long and successful career as a CPUSA organizer.

By contrast, in 1929 Dedijer came to the US from an elite Belgrade family, attending Princeton University and majoring in physics. It was at Princeton that Dedijer joined the Communist Party. But whereas Nelson used the Party to Americanize, Dedijer used the CPUSA to connect with other American Serbs. In the 1930s he became editor of the Serbian-language newspaper, *Slobodna Rec*. As editor of *Slobodna Rec*, Dedijer was an important member of Pittsburgh's Serbian-American community, but with only marginal links to the CPUSA's English-speaking hierarchy, he had little chance to advance. In 1945, he returned to Yugoslavia where he became a news correspondent for *Borba*, and later head of the Yugoslav Nuclear Institute in Belgrade.

Dedijer lived in America for almost 15 years. Like Nelson, he converted to communism as a way of making sense of the world. But, in contrast to Nelson, Dedijer converted to Communism as a student at Princeton who was, in his own words, "an elitist egalitarian." Nelson, on the other hand, was an illiterate, uneducated worker—the exact opposite of Dedijer—who had come to the US simply to find a job. Of course the jobs he found were grueling and demeaning. These, in turn, pushed him towards more radical interpretations of America's socio-economic system and into the arms of the Young Workers' League, and ultimately the Communist Party. Yet, instead of turning Nelson into a kind of "anti-American," the CPUSA in fact Americanized him. For Stevan Dedijer, however, the CPUSA provided a way of leaving the Princeton elite, a way to connect with immigrant workers, and his own Serbian group.

LAURIE WEST VAN HOOK, J.D., Ph. D.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian*

"Coping with the Exiles: the British and Yugoslavs in Wartime London."(Summary)

Until recently, most historical inquiry into World War II Yugoslavia has focused on the civil war between Tito's communist Partisans and Draza Mihailovich's Serb-dominated Chetniks. A historical issue that has not been sufficiently examined is the British relationship with the Yugoslav government-in-exile, based in London, and how that relationship prompted the British to lead the Allies into switching formal support from Mihailovich to Tito in late 1943. The heated debate over this controversy has eluded to, but never sufficiently examined, other factors that played a role in the British decision. Indeed, an examination of the Yugoslav government-in-exile reveals the extent to which ethnic tensions between the Serbs and Croats determined Tito's ultimate rise to power. Serb-Croat tension within the government-in-exile destroyed its legitimacy as the legal government of Yugoslavia to such an extent that the British looked for an alternative leadership for the postwar period. To the British, regional stability in the Balkans remained of paramount importance. British strategic interests required strong Balkan states, anchored by a stable Yugoslavia. As for the Tito-Mihailovich question, the problems of the exiles greatly influenced Allied thinking toward the Yugoslav resistance. That Tito's Yugoslavia would be communist was of secondary importance. His rhetoric moved away from ethnicity and he proved more in touch with the people of Yugoslavia. By the time the Allies realized that Tito would be impervious to their influence, other geopolitical issues helped justify acquiescence of Tito's creation of a communist state. The emerging Cold War with the Soviet Union shifted

British interests in the Balkans away from Yugoslavia and toward Greece and Turkey. A chapter-length version of this paper will be published as “Ethnic Tension and the Leadership Vacuum within the Yugoslav Government, 1939-1945” in *New Approaches to Balkan Studies* (Brassey’s, 2003).

*The views expressed in this paper are the author’s own and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of State.

MARI FIRKATIAN

“The Armenian Apostolic Church: a ‘civil religion’ in Southeast Europe” (Summary)

Mari’s paper gave an overview of the historic role of the Armenian Apostolic Church as a civil religion. Using examples of how the church fulfilled roles beyond those strictly assigned to a religious hierarchy when Armenians lost their independence as a nation to the Ottomans and civil government disintegrated. Her talk combined past and present examples of how the church was forced to create a ‘civil religion’ in order to maintain its power and authority and to preserve the community. This position achieved a confluence of faith and civic duty.

ROBERT DONIA

“Monuments and Spatial Relations: Contention in Three Dimensions in Bosnia-Herzegovina.” (Summary)

Donia’s paper focused on monuments, for the most part religious in nature, as markers of political supremacy in Southeast Europe, more specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the Ottoman era, monumentalism was reserved for Islamic structures symbolizing regional or state power. The rich inventory of religious buildings in B&H during the Austro-Hungarian rule express the Habsburg imperial vision of pluralist parity. During the Independent State of Croatia, the Serb and Jewish religious monuments were being eliminated. Socialists legitimized their rule by erecting numerous memorials and thus the cult of Partisan heroes became the foundation of the civil religion that reigned during the socialist years. During the 1992-1995 war, thousands of religious structures were destroyed as part of ethnic cleansing. After 1995, aggressive triumphalist building programs and a three-dimensional struggle in vertical space for supremacy in B&H is taking place.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONCORDAT

Sabrina P. Ramet(1)

King Aleksandar had aspired to regulate not only the political life of the country but also its religious life. His suppression of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church in 1920 was one manifestation of this aspiration. The King's revocation, in 1930, of the statute for the autonomous administration of Islamic religious and vakuf-mearif affairs for Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had been issued during the era of Habsburg rule (1909), was another. In the latter case, the King even ordered the Reis-ul-ulema to move his seat from Sarajevo to Belgrade. The sitting Reis-ul-ulema refused and resigned in protest, allowing the King to appoint Ibrahim Maglajlic, a pro-regime Muslim politician, to fill the vacancy.(2)

The Catholic Church was, however, harder to bring under regime influence and control. So, failing to exert influence, the regime opted for a strategy of trying to erode its influence. Accordingly, the regime supported Orthodox proselytization in Catholic areas, used the press to attack the Vatican for being pro-fascist (at a time when the Belgrade regime was taking on various characteristics of fascism itself), and even endeavored to promote the Old Catholic Church, a rival Church body which had arisen when a number of Catholics refused to accept the proclamation of the doctrine of papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council, in hopes of eroding Roman Catholic strength.(3) Confessional discrimination was also reflected in the allocations of subsidies from the budget of the Ministry of Faiths. Although Catholics accounted for 39.3% of the Kingdom's population in 1921, with Orthodox believers accounting for 46.7%,(4) the Ministry of Faiths allocated (in its 1921 budget) 141,246,426 K. for the Orthodox against a paltry 10,903,993 for the Catholic Church. The figures remained about the same in 1922: 161,601,026 K. for the Orthodox Church, 13,855,268 K. for the Catholic Church. In spite of a partial correction in subsequent years, the imbalance and discrimination continued (e.g., in 1923/24: 45,057,037 dinars for the Orthodox Church, 18,015,769 for the Catholic Church).(5)

Educational policy in the 1920s and 1930s was driven by the objective of making Serbdom the cultural core of all of Yugoslav society; accordingly, schoolbooks played up Serbian monasteries in Dalmatia, while brazenly ignoring the historic role played by Catholic monasteries in Croatia and Dalmatia.(6) Ante Ciliga, at one time a major figure in the CPY, reflected on this dynamic much later. In his view,

What is least understood is that [in the interwar Kingdom] war was being waged against the Catholic Church and in favor of the Serb Orthodox Church at the same time. The Catholic Church accepted loyally the new state, departing from its universalistic idea in the hope of assuring the rapprochement of the two Christian Churches. The Orthodox Church, unfortunately, followed the opposite path, desiring [to use] the new State as a point of departure 'to create first a national Catholic Church,' that is, separated from the Roman Pontiff, in order in the second phase to unite it to the Orthodox Church. So it came to the singular fact that a state, where almost half of the population was Catholic, did not permit the construction of [a] Catholic Cathedral in Belgrade, as was said, 'in order not to break the Orthodox appearance of the city.'(7)

Strikingly, the official organ of the Serbian Orthodox Church wrote explicitly that what it wanted to achieve was “the victory of Serbian Orthodoxy” throughout the country.(8)

The Catholic Church fought back. In January 1933, for example, Archbishop Bauer of Zagreb circulated a pastoral letter denouncing the regime; among the problems he cited were interference by the government to prevent clergy from teaching in the schools and anti-Catholic activities on the part of the Yugoslav ‘Falcons’ (an athletic-patriotic organization). Later, in summer 1934, a new Croatian Union was established under the patronage of Bauer’s co-adjutor and successor-designate, the young Alojzije Stepinac. With a starting capital of 40 million dinars and some 500 members, the organization promised to be, in the words of a police report, “a strong clerical peasant organization” which could be put to use for political purposes.(9)

But the torrent of abuse to which the Serbian Orthodox Church subjected the Catholic Church antedated these later developments. As early as 1931, *Vesnik srpske crkve*, the official organ of the Orthodox Priests’ Association, charged that

The Catholic Church is an inquisitorial organization. Every century of the development of the western Church is but one character in the abominable inscription, *ferro igneque* – with fire and sword. The sorrowful inscription is not to be found only in Dante’s hell [‘ye who enter, leave all hope behind’]. The Catholic Church watches the tribulations of the Russian Church with a perfidious kind of satanic sadism. She [the Catholic Church] is [the embodiment of] a Luciferian Latin spirit. The weird spirit of the Anti-Christ is embodied in her. Her interpretation of the Holy Gospel is *mefistophelian*...She is full of apostasy, theomachy, and pornocracy. She is the hotbed of all revolutions, of all atheist movements. Atheism, communism, and every kind of impiety are more respectable than Catholicism...(10)

Or again, *Glasnik*, the official organ of the Serbian Orthodox patriarchate in Belgrade, in a 1932 issue, wrote:

The Roman Catholic Church threatens the sovereignty of our state and because of that it is necessary to call for self-defense. The Roman Catholic Church, and thus also Roman Catholics, threaten the peaceful development of the citizens of our state, and protection against them is therefore necessary.(11)

The point, as *Glasnik* noted, was that all Catholics should “...liberate themselves from Roman parasitism.”(12) In fact, under the constant pressure, some Catholics did convert to Orthodoxy, with the result that, in the years 1921—31, the proportion of Catholics declined from 39.3% to 37.4% while that of the Orthodox increased from 46.7% to 48.7%.(13) According to Rogosic, more than 100,000 Croatian Catholics converted to Orthodoxy in 1935 alone; Rogosic attributes that result to the various forms of pressure brought to bear on Catholics.(14)

From the Catholic viewpoint, the solution was to obtain a Concordat with the state, guaranteeing the rights of the Catholic Church and of Catholics and providing some legal protection against the Orthodox Church. At the time of unification, the status of the Catholic Church was, at least formally, regulated by four separate concordats: that of 18 August 1855, signed with Emperor Franz Josef for Slovenia, Croatia, and Vojvodina; that of 8 July 1881, regulating the Church’s

status in Bosnia-Herzegovina; that of 18 August 1886, concluded between the Holy See and the Principality of Montenegro; and a fourth, signed on 24 April 1914 between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Serbia. But there were differences from one concordat to the other, and with the establishment of the Kingdom, the Holy See considered it essential to sign a concordat with the new state authorities in order to assure a standard system throughout the country.

The Catholic Church's desire for a concordat never became a cause for the HSS. Radic himself was tenaciously opposed to the signing of any concordat with the Vatican, while Macek considered it a matter of indifference. For Monsignor Korosec, however, the concordat was of vital interest, and Korosec devoted some of his energy to pressing for full freedom for the Catholic lay organization, Catholic Action. But the issue became, in spite of the HSS's low level of interest, a major political controversy, reaching a climax during Stojadinovic's prime ministership.

The negotiations concerning the concordat lasted very long, partly because neither side entirely trusted the other. A commission was formed already on 24 July 1922 to prepare a draft concordat and initially, the commission included a significant number of Catholics. Then the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church asked to have one of its own clergy named to the commission.⁽¹⁵⁾ The first draft was finalized in 1923; a second draft followed in 1925; a third draft was ready by 1931; finally, the fourth draft was signed in Rome on 25 July 1935, a month after Stojadinovic had become prime minister. The bill would become law only after it had been reviewed and approved by both houses of parliament.

Stojadinovic knew from his contacts within the Orthodox hierarchy that there was considerable vacillation among the bishops in regard to the Concordat; in fact, Patriarch Varnava allegedly saw nothing wrong with the Concordat at first.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Serbian Orthodox leadership subsequently spelled out its views on the subject, for the government's benefit, on two occasions: on 13 September 1935, when Patriarch Varnava visited Stojadinovic, and on 5 December 1935, when the Holy Synod sent a memorandum to the prime minister. One of the provisions which particularly inflamed anti-Concordat sentiment was the guarantee that the Catholic Church would enjoy complete freedom "to carry out its mission."⁽¹⁷⁾ The Concordat also provided that Catholic matrimony would be recognized under civil law.

The Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church was not the only source of opposition to the Concordat. Dr. Ivan Ribar, a Roman Catholic, presented a highly critical report concerning the document at a session of the Juridical Chamber on 30 December 1936, commenting on the legal aspects of its provisions. Ribar's report was subsequently published in a law journal, but the Stojadinovic government, which was backing the Concordat, saw to it that the offending issue of the journal was banned. Ribar was, in fact, excommunicated from the Church because of his opposition to Catholic Action which, he believed, would serve to strengthen fascist currents in Yugoslavia.⁽¹⁸⁾ The public prosecutor in Zagreb banned Sima Simic's book, *Jugoslavija i Vatikan*, while its counterpart in Belgrade banned Marko Cemovic's brochure, *Konkordat izmedju Sv. Stolice i Kraljevine Jugoslavije*. These bans were a sure sign of the acrimony increasingly associated with the controversy, as well as of attendant political sensitivities. But of all the various brochures written against the Concordat, none caused as much displeasure in Stojadinovic's cabinet as *Primedbe i prigovori na projekt Konkordata*, published anonymously,

which included what was purported to be the authentic text of the document together with a point by point critique of its provisions; the authorities established soon enough, however, that the author was Bishop Platon.(19) The controversy held up the legislative review of the bill.

In November 1936, representatives of the Vatican paid a visit to Stojadinovic to request that the bill be brought before the Assembly without further delay. Immediately following this meeting, Stojadinovic submitted the Concordat bill to the Assembly for its review. On 5 December 1936, Metropolitan Gavriilo Dozic of Montenegro-Primorje and Bishops Nikolaj Velimirovic and Irinej Ciric visited the prime minister to acquaint him with the Holy Synod's by now well-known views concerning the Concordat.(20) The following month, a special session of the Holy Synod was convened in order to discuss the Concordat. The Holy Synod alleged that under the Concordat, the Catholic Church "... would recover estates secularized in the eighteenth century or would be indemnified for their loss..., although the Orthodox Church, which suffered greater losses than the Roman Catholic Church, has no claim for compensation."(21) The Holy Synod also charged that Catholic Action, as an organization based on confessional affiliation, was contrary to the constitution of 1931. In response to the Holy Synod's charges that the measure was discriminatory, the government decided in early July to add a supplementary clause to the bill, extending to all other religious associations the same prerogatives and concessions which were being guaranteed to the Catholic Church.(22) This measure was intended to conciliate Serb Orthodox opinion. On 7 July, Prime Minister Stojadinovic met with deputies of the Yugoslav Radical Community (JRZ) and members of the Concordat commission to assure them that there was nothing in the bill which was prejudicial to the equality of the Orthodox Church.(23)

In the meantime, Patriarch Varnava had become seriously ill in early June and was confined to his bed. The patriarch's illness and the fate of the Concordat became eerily intertwined, as Orthodox believers told themselves that he was dying because of the Concordat. In mid-July, as tensions in Belgrade heated up, the parliamentary commission for the review of the Concordat met and voted, 11 to 10, to accept the law and to recommend it to the Assembly.(24) On 19 July, there were fierce debates in the Assembly. Outside, Serb Orthodox believers tried to march through the city; the believers ignored police orders to disperse, and the authorities called for reinforcements. The believers actually marched for about a quarter of a mile when four trucks of police arrived. The police charged, using rubber truncheons and rifle butts, and knocking the Bishop of Sabac senseless.(25) While this was happening outside, an opposition deputy rushed into the Assembly shouting, "The police are killing people in the streets!"(26) These words provoked general chaos and fist-fights in the Assembly, between government deputies and opposition deputies. Later that evening, a carload of priests drove through the town, the sacerdotal passengers shouting, "The police have killed our Bishop!"(27) Meanwhile, after the violent incidents of that day, the city government of Belgrade banned all public meetings and processions until 1 August 1937. In spite of the ban, noisy demonstrations continued in Belgrade through the night.

On the following day, Orthodox churches throughout Yugoslavia hung out black flags, to protest what it was increasingly choosing to construe as an assault on Orthodox belief. In this atmosphere, the Assembly session scheduled for 20 July was postponed until 8 a.m. on 21 July. When the Assembly reconvened, Kosta Kumanudi (JNS) warned that the Concordat would release the Catholic Church from any form of state supervision, grant Catholic priests privileges,

allow the Catholic Church to build an “unlimited” number of schools and seminaries, and render the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia legally independent.(28) On 23 July, the Assembly passed the Concordat bill by a vote of 167 to 127, in spite of ecclesiastical threats to excommunicate any deputy voting for the bill. But instead of forwarding the bill to the Senate, Stojadinovic announced that he would delay the legislative process in order to try to mend fences with the Serbian Orthodox Church.(29) This announcement unleashed pandemonium in the Assembly, with opponents cheering the news and supporters shouting loud curses. That same night, Patriarch Varnava passed away.

The Serbian Orthodox Church now excommunicated all the ministers who had supported the Concordat, except for the Minister of War, along with all the deputies who voted for the measure. Within a matter of days, one deputy discovered that this meant that he could not obtain a Church wedding for his daughter. Only in October did the locum tenens, Patriarch Dositej, begin the process of rehabilitating the “delinquent” ministers and deputies.(30) On 28 January 1938, the Holy Synod wrote to Stojadinovic to seek assurance that the Concordat had been “definitively removed” from the Senate’s agenda.(31) In a letter of reply dated 1 February, Stojadinovic noted that he had removed from office certain ministers to whom the Holy Synod most strenuously objected. The Holy Synod in reply demanded that persons removed from office because of opposition to the Concordat be restored to their positions, that indemnities be paid to them and their families, that fines levied against individual priests and believers in connection with the disturbances in front of the synodal church be reimbursed, and that all police and judicial procedures against the Serbian Church be terminated immediately. With small modifications, the Stojadinovic government accepted all of these conditions.(32)

With this, the Serbian Orthodox Church had triumphed over the government. It had defeated any prospect of the government establishing confessional equality. It had promoted intolerance against the Catholic Church and used the threat and execution of excommunication to impose its agenda. As Stella Alexander writes, after the collapse of the Concordat bill, “...it was now clear to [the country’s Catholic bishops]...that the government lacked the power to ensure real equality, either theoretically or in practice, between the two religious confessions.”(33) The Catholic Church now felt deeply estranged from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which it viewed, for good reason, as the agency of a hostile Orthodox Church. This should be kept in mind in assessing the initial reaction of Archbishop Stepinac in 1941 to the proclamation of a Croatian state independent of Belgrade.

NOTES

1. This is an extract from Sabrina P. Ramet, *The*

Three Yugoslavias: The Dual Challenge of State-Building and Legitimation among the Yugoslavs, 1918 to the Present (in progress, under contract with Indiana University Press). Copyright © 2002 by Sabrina P. Ramet. All rights reserved.

2. Mustafa Imamovic, *Historija Bosnjaka*, 2nd ed.

(Sarajevo: Bosnjacka zajednica kulture, 1998), pp. 508—509.

3. James J. Sadkovich, Italian Support for Croatian

Separatism, 1927—1937 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1987), p. 203. On 4 December 1927, the Ministry of Faiths of the Kingdom of the SHS actually acknowledged that the organs of state were actively involved in promoting Orthodox and Old Catholic proselytism at the expense of Catholicism. See Roko Rogosic, *Stanje Kat. Crkve u Jugoslaviji do sporazuma* (Šibenik: Pucka tiskara, 1940), p. 14. As of 1933, there were some persons in Susak agitating for the withdrawal of the Catholic Church from papal authority, thus setting up an autocephalous “Yugoslav Catholic Church” (*Jugoslavenska katolicka crkva*). See Marohnic v.r., *Biskupski ordinarijat (Senj) to Martin Bubaj, administrator of the Church of St. Kriza* (7 February 1933), in *Savska Banovina Drzavna zastita: Strogo povjerljivi spisi 1929—1933 g., Kutije 1152—1320*, at *Hrvatski Drzavni Arhiv (Zagreb)* [hereafter, SBD—SPS], Box 121, Pov. Spisi, 1933, br. 2131—2686. The boxes in this collection of materials were renumbered after the title was assigned, and, although the title indicates that the collection includes from 1929 to 1933, in fact the collection includes materials up through 1939.

4. Jerzy Kloczowski, “Katholiken und Protestanten

in Ostmitteleuropa”, in Jean-Marie Mayeur (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Christentums — Religion • Politik • Kultur, Vol. 12: Erster und Zweiter Weltkrieg, Demokratien und Totalitäre Systeme (1914—1958)*, trans. from French by Kurt Meier (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder Verlag, 1992), p. 892.

5. Rogosic, *Stanje Kat. Crkve*, pp. 24—25.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 17—19.

7. Ante Ciliga, in interview with *Il Popolo*

Lombardo (Milano), 17 March 1951, encl. #1 to dispatch 2977 (11 April 1951), U, Outerbridge Horsey, Counselor/Rome to State, 768.00/4-1151, in *Records of the U. S. Department of State Relating to the International Affairs of Yugoslavia 1950—1954*, Decimal file 768 (RG-59, LM77), at NA.

8. *Glasnik* (Belgrade), July 1924), as quoted in Rogosic, *Stanje Kat. Crkve*, p. 11.

9. Regarding Bauer, *Ibid.*, p. 204; regarding

Stepinac and the Croatian Union, Report quoted in memorandum from the Office of His Royal Highness, Pov. br. 10204 to KBUSBZ (Belgrade, 25 August 1934), in SBDZ-SPS, Box 11, br. 308—703/1934. g.

10. *Vesnik* (1931), 1054—1064, quoted in *Katolicki list* (Zagreb), 30 June 1932, p. 317.

11. Glasnik (Belgrade, 1932), #9, quoted in Katolicki list (30 June 1932), p. 317.
 12. Glasnik (Belgrade, 1931), 161—166, as quoted in Rogosic, Stanje Kat. Crkve, p. 40.
 13. Kloczowski, “Katholiken und Protestanten”, p. 892.
 14. Rogosic, Stanje Kat. Crkve, p. 70.
 15. Milos Misovic, Srpska crkva i konkordatska kriza (Belgrade: Sloboda, 1983), p. 29.
 16. Ibid., p. 41.
 17. Ibid., p. 48.
 18. Ibid., p. 49.
 19. Primedbe i prigovori na projekat Konkordata izmedju nase drzave i vaticana (Sremski Karlovci: Patrijarsija stamparija, 1936).
 20. Misovic, Srpska crkva i konkordatska, p. 56.
 21. The Times (5 January 1937), p. 11.
 22. The Times (8 July 1937), p. 15.
 23. Hrvatska straza (Zagreb), 9 July 1937, p. 3.
 24. Hrvatska straza (16 July 1937), p. 3.
 25. The Times (20 July 1937), p. 16; and Hrvatska straza (21 July 1937), p. 3.
 26. Quoted in The Times (20 July 1937), p. 16.
 27. Quoted in The Times (20 July 1937), p. 16.
- In fact, the bishop of Sabac subsequently recovered. See The Times (27 July 1937), p. 13; also Katolicki list (29 July 1937), pp. 365—369.
28. Hrvatska straza (22 July 1937), p. 3.
 29. Hrvatska straza (25 July 1937), p. 3.

30. The Times (3 August 1937), p. 9, (9 August 1937), p. 9, and (8 October 1937), p. 13.
31. Misovic, Srpska crkva i konkordatska, p. 145.
32. Ibid., pp. 147—148.
33. Stella Alexander, *The Triple Myth: A Life of Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1987), p. 36.

New York Presentations

On Tuesday, November 19th, 2002, two of ACS guests from Croatia, Mario Jareb and Jure Kristo, participated in a brown-bag lecture at Columbia University. This event was attended by Columbia professors, students, and staff.

On the following day, the two scholars and John Kraljic, New York lawyer, President of the National Federation of Croatian Americans and a new member of ACS, gave a presentation at the Croatian Center in Manhattan “Revisiting Topics in Croatian History.” The event was organized by the Croatian Cultural Thursdays and Croatian Cultural Association Napredak. The event was attended by over fifty younger Croatian professionals from the New York area.

Jareb lectured on the history of Croatian national symbols and presented wonderful illustrations of the historical Croatian checkerboard coat of arms. Kristo’s presentation focused on the FBI surveillance of Croatian-Americans during the Second World War, a topic which fascinated even the youngest members of the audience. Kraljic spoke about the Communist movement among the Croatian Americans during the 1930’s, a subject relatively unknown to the majority of the audience. All these topics initiated a lively discussion that continued over refreshments and glasses of Croatian wine.

Katarina Deletis organized and coordinated the two events in New York. Franjo Perkovic and his family were the hosts to Jure and Mario during their stay in New York. The ACS is grateful to Katarina for her enthusiasm in promoting Croatian culture, as well as to Franjo for being ready to help every time he is called upon. His generosity and support of various Croatian activities is greatly appreciated.

MARIO JAREB

Croatian National Symbols. (Summary)

Symbols are an important part of the national identity of every people. For that reason it is important to understand the origins of such symbols and how they evolved to have such significant meaning for national identities and loyalties. In the case of the Croatians, understanding the history and the meaning of national symbols has a special significance because of the fact that the forces opposed to the Croatian national emancipation and independence, especially Serb propagandists, have been consciously and consistently disseminating false information that the main Croatian national symbols are fascistic in nature, reflecting the Croatian “natural tendencies” to that ideology

For example, the Croatian checkered coat of arms, which has been under attack especially in the 1990s, is an old symbol which was in use as a Croatian emblem already in the Middle Ages. Recently, a historian from Zadar, Serso Dokoza found a depiction of a checkered coat of arms from the 13th century and it is certain that the seal represents the Croatian national coat of arms. One of the best examples of the use of this symbol as national in nature is found on the seal of the Kingdom of Croatia in the document by which the Croat nobility elected (1527) the Habsburgs as their legitimate rulers.

From the 16th century to 1918, the Croatian kingdom was officially known as the Triune kingdom and for that reason its official coat of arms was made of the Dalmatian, Croatian, and Slavonian coat of arms. However, even during that time we find examples that the checkered shield was used as the symbol for the entire Croatian nation. This is especially true during the 19th century, during the national revival and the process of Croat national homogenization. On the small common Austro-Hungarian coat of arms from 1916, for example, the checkered shield represents all of the Croat lands. Furthermore, there was no doubt in the minds of the Belgrade regime after 1918, when the Croats found themselves in a common state with the Serbs and Slovenes, what was the Croat national coat of arms. The checkered shield became a part of the official seal of the new state. This was true even during the dictatorship of king Aleksandar, when exhibiting national symbols was banned. During the period of the Independent State of Croatia/NDH, the Ustasa regime continued to use the checkered shield but added the letter U above it. The communist regime after 1945, continued to use the shield as Croatian national symbol, except it replaced the Ustasa U with the communist red star. After the demise of the communist ideology, the official coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia is the checkered shield with the provincial coats of arms above it. The Croats in BiH after 1991 adopted the checkered shield and the Early Croatian three-strand design above it as their official seal.

The history of the Croat national symbols, and of the checkered shield in particular, are centuries old. These symbols were used regardless of the political and ideological situations. The assertion that the Croat coat of arms or other old national symbols have some ideological implication is an absurdity and it is ill-intentioned.

JURE KRISTO

“The surveillance of American Croats by the Federal Bureau of Investigations During World War II.”

Kristo began his lecture by illustrating how the FBI began surveying prominent Croatian Americans at the request of the Yugoslav (Serbian) diplomats in Washington. Already on April 12, 1941, in a letter to Coe, Dr. Vladimir Rybar, Counselor of the Royal Yugoslav Legation in Washington, DC, supplied four names of alleged leaders in the “Frankist organization.” In a conversation with Coe a few days later, Rybar accused Butkovic, President of the Croatian Fraternal Union, of being a “Separatist and, therefore, pro-Pavelic” and promised a detailed report on the CFU. By mid-April 1941, Konstantin Fotich supplied the State Department a list of officials of the Croatian National Representation for Independence of Croatia. On April 22, 1941 the Undersecretary urged the Federal Bureau of Investigation to look into the “‘Ustashi’, which may have Nazi inspiration” (“it would seem obvious” to him that “a good many of these names would be the names of German agents”).

The State Dept. and other government agencies checked the information supplied by the Yugoslav Mission and concluded that the information “which has just been received does not seem to bear out the Minister’s interpretation nor form the basis for any action”. Nonetheless, the surveillance continued until the end of war. Moreover, it extended to the Croatian publishers, newspapers, and “guiding spirits.”

The first report by the FBI Director John Edgar Hoover was dated May 22, 1941. They concerned Milan Petrak, the editor of *Zajednicar*, Ante M. Dosen, a prominent newspaper editor, John D. Butkovich, long time President of CFU, and Dinko Tomasic, a University professor and a prominent member of the Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska seljacka stranka - HSS).

All of Croatian newspapers were targeted by the FBI, especially *Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska* (The Independent State of Croatia) and *Sloga Hrvata* (Croatian Concord) from San Jose (editor Victor Vojvodich). The first was published and edited by Luka Grbic in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In some reports, the paper was “the organ of DOMOBRAN and subscribes to the Fascist doctrines advocated by Dr. ANTE PAVELIC”, but in others it is stated that “this newspaper is definitely opposed to the present activities of Fotitch and the Yugoslav Embassy in this country.”

In an atmosphere of mistrust and bad publicity, Croats thought that the solution was in an overt expression of American patriotism. And they expressed it profusely. The Croatian Circle issued on October 25, 1941 a Manifest, by which they condemned the creators of the Independent State of Croatia and the followers of Domobran, and urged the Croats in the United States to “follow our President Roosevelt and our adopted homeland.”

When on December 14, 1941 Pavelic declared war on the United States, three days after Germany and Italy had done the same, President of the Croatian Fraternal Union (CFU), J. D. Butkovic, sent a telegram to President Roosevelt declaring loyalty and promising support of all American Croats in war efforts.

Parallel to that was a growing sentiment of “Pan-Slavism” among Croats, especially after the USA entered war, a heightened influence of the Communist Party of the United States among Croats and Slovenes, and a growing predilection for the struggle of the “Yugoslav Partisans.” The clearest expression of that was the American Croatian Congress, the biggest gathering of American Croats, held in Chicago on February 20 to 21, 1943.

At its sixth convention that began on August 31, 1943 in Chicago, the CFU expressed a strong support for the Congress of American Croats, which also meant that it supported the “Yugoslav Partisans” and their Communist leadership. The United States Government agencies, were, of course, aware of the penetration of the Communists into the CFU and watched it closely, but estimated that the Communists “achieved a mixed victory” there.

More interesting for the FBI were “right-oriented” Croatian organizations, such as the Supreme Council of American Croats - (Vrhovno vijeće Američkih Hrvata), also known as the Supreme Council of Croats (not to be confused with the Council of American Croats, founded by the CFU Congress). The Supreme Council of American Croats was apparently backed and even organized by Croatian Catholic priests: Rev. I. Stipanovic, of Youngstown, Pennsylvania, President; Rev. Silvije Grubisic, of Chicago, Secretary; Kuzma Kuharic of Campbell, Ohio; Filip Pauli of Milwaukee; Wm. Piskulic of St. Louis; Mrs. F. Skukan of Chicago, Florijan Tumbri of Cleveland; and Rev. Dr. V. Vancik of Cleveland. Its stated aim was “the presentation of facts to responsible people in order that Croatia will not end up after the present world war under the yoke of Serbia or under Communist rule.”

Towards the end of 1944, members of the Catholic clergy in America or their close associates founded another organization of American Croats, the Movement of American Croatians for the Democratic Freedom of Croatia. On December 9, 1944, they sent a Memorandum to the United States President F. D. Roosevelt and his Secretary of State R. Stettinius. They stated their demands in six points: 1. “That the Atlantic Charter be applied to the Croatian People” and that it becomes “the foundation upon which the sovereignty of Croatia be re-established.” 2. “That no new ideology ... be imposed upon the Croatian People against their will.” 3. That no new dictatorship be imposed upon Croats. 4. “That the United States, Great Britain and other World leaders take into their confidence those Croatian leaders who are not communist.” 5. That those who emigrated “may not be turned into communist legions”. 6. They “condemn all those who wish to promote, or who are promoting the communist cause upon our people here and abroad.”

That effort was in vain, because the course of history had been decided by those who were getting closer to complete victory on a daily basis. The official Croatian government was on the side of the losers, and the Communists who proclaimed the founding of a new federal Yugoslavia also had a clear idea what the fate of Croats in Croatia would be.

Lecture by Jure Kristo at Columbia University, New York

“Contemporary Croatia Against the Ghosts of the Past.”

(Summary)

Kristo began his lecture by pointing out a few characteristics of contemporary Croatia. He talked about Croatia as a country “in transition,” which means that the country is marked by a bad privatization, corruption, inefficient legal system, low productivity, low export rate, and very grave consequences of the Serb aggression (1991-1995).

Kristo emphasized that most of those problems are not newly created, but rather inherited from the 45-year long presence of Communism. It was, therefore, unrealistic to expect the first non-Communist government (“Tudjman era”) to change most of inherited bad habits and to eliminate the consequences of the state-controlled economy. In fact, Tudjman’s government added some problems of its own, the gravest one being the badly organized privatization.

Contrary to the impressions of some foreign observers, Kristo thinks that the coalition-government, which assumed power in 2001, has not changed that situation much. In fact, there is a tendency, on the political level, to go back to the Communist era and, on the level of economy, to go even further back into the 19th century raw Capitalism.

The second part of Kristo’s lecture dealt with the consequences of political situation for historiography. He argued that the situation in historiography is a reflection of the society in general. Tudjman for political reasons and because of aggression on Croatia could not and did not want to undertake the process of “lustration,” as some other former Communist countries have done. Thus, universities, especially Liberal Arts departments, continued to function with the “old” cadres, the very men and women who had to pledge ideological orthodoxy to the Communist Party. Consequently, most historians at universities have not sensed the need to do any “historical revisions.”

The only institution that practices methodological and other types of innovations is the Institute of History (formerly Institute of Contemporary History). One can, therefore, understand the fears of researchers at the Institute that the new Minister of Science might impose a politically correct director and eventually dismantle the Institute itself.

Croatian historiography presently is marked by a paradox. There is almost no research done of the communist era, and the earlier periods, especially World War II, raises much controversy and opposition coming primarily from politicians and professors who were formerly Communist party members.

The lecture was followed by a good discussion, especially about the status of and the problems with historiography in former communist countries.

JOHN KRALJIC

“Croatian American Communists in the 1930s”

(Summary)

Croatian-Americans formed one of the most prominent ethnic groups within the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA), with some estimating that in the mid-1920s Croats

constituted close to one-third of the Party's membership. The reasons for this have never been adequately explained but it is perhaps tied to the lack of organizational and family support. Within the CPUSA, a Yugoslav Section in the 1920s published a Croatian Communist newspaper, which, under various names, survived into the 1970s (with a sister publication in Toronto appearing until the Gorbachev era). However, neither this Section nor other "mass" organizations had any independent existence outside of the Party. In the mid-1930s, at the instigation of the Comintern, the Yugoslav Section was divided into Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian Sections. The absolute number of Croats in the late 1930s was relatively small, consisting of an estimated 1,800 to 2,000 members with approximately 10,000 people in various "mass" organizations. However, their influence was substantial as a result of their use of "fractions" in non-Communist organizations.

This tactic became especially evident in the Croatian Fraternal Union where the Communists claimed to have controlled one-third of the organization's lodges by the late 1930s. Their rise in influence in this era was also to some extent tied to their work in the CIO unionization drives and the new Comintern tactic known as the "Popular Front." However, the Communists failed to obtain support from practically any prominent Croatian-Americans for the "Popular Front," seeing it for what it was - a tactic used to increase the influence of the Party. During this era, approximately 150 South Slavs from the US and Canada, most of whom were Croats, served as volunteers in the International Brigade in Spain.

JOURNAL OF CROATIAN STUDIES

The Croatian Academy of America issued volume 42 of the Journal of Croatian Studies, an annual interdisciplinary review dedicated to Croatian studies.

In the opening piece on the response of the international community to the war in former Yugoslavia (1991-95), Zdenka Gredel-Manuele examines whether the international community was willing and able to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the conflict.

Croatia's musical heritage is addressed by several contributions. William A. Everett looks at the role of three composers with international reputations (Franz von Suppé, Ivan Zajc, and Srećko Albini), who contributed significantly to Croatian operetta of the 19th century. Everett's piece lays the foundation for the contribution by Vjera Katalinic, which looks at the famous 1566 siege of Siget and the inspiration that musical composers of the 19th century derived from the unyielding courage of Siget commander and Croatian Ban Nikola Subic Zrinski, who along with his soldiers, perished while defending the town from a vastly superior Ottoman Turkish force.

Hana Breko shares the findings of her research into the influences on, and unique features of, medieval musical liturgical manuscripts of Croatia. In her first piece, she highlights the discovery of the presence of different chant traditions and scripts of German, Central Italy, and Normano-Sicilian provenance in the region of Dalmatia from the late 11th century onward. In

her second piece, Breko outlines the range of liturgical traditions that have influenced the development of plainchant sources of the Croatian Middle Ages. She focuses her attention on the influences and features of medieval musical liturgical codices centered around Dubrovnik, Trogir, Zadar, and Sibenik, in Croatia's littoral region, and those centered around Zagreb which represent the northern continental part of Croatia. Both pieces are accompanied by reproductions from the medieval manuscripts discussed and analyzed.

In the final piece, Jasna M. Meyer presents the findings of her research into Croatian conversational storytelling, and its comparison to Euro-American conversational storytelling. Through a microanalysis of discourse, she delineates the conversational structures and patterns of Croatian storytelling in natural talk for the first time.

Several reviews on recent scholarship are also included in the issue. James J. Sadkovich provides a thorough critical review of Mark Biondich's recent well-documented and extensively researched survey of Stjepan Radic's political thought. Two books dealing with Yugoslavia, Zeljan Suster's *Historical Dictionary* and Sabrina P. Ramet's *Balkan Babel*, are critiqued by Carol Hodge and Marko Attila Hoare, respectively. Bosnia-Herzegovina are represented in the issue by three books: Philip Corwin's *Dubious Mandate*, a memoir of his role as UN Civil Affairs coordinator in 1995 Bosnia, is reviewed by Kurt Bassuener; Ante Cuvalo's collection of letters and political memoranda related to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in *Removing the Mask*, is reviewed by Norman Cigar; while Theresa M. Ursic's *Religious Freedom*, which examines the challenges faced by Catholic nuns in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia from 1945-60, is reviewed by Sabrina P. Ramet. Ivo Goldstein's recent book *Croatia: A History* and Damir Zoric's work on the 18th century ethnological investigations of Ferdinand Konec in Lower California are commented on by Vjeran Pavlakovic. The recent issue of the Old Church Slavonic Institute's journal *Slovo* (Zagreb, nos. 47-48) is reviewed by Branko Franolic, while Stan Granic covers Ivo Smoljan's *Hrvatska dijaspora* and Norman Cigar covers Jaksa Kusan's *Bitka za Novu Hrvatsku*.

Also included in the issue are reports on the Academy's 47th Annual General Assembly, meetings with cultural institutions in Croatia, academic freedom in Croatia, membership activities, and obituaries.

With this latest 182-page issue, the *Journal of Croatian Studies* continues to build on its well-established reputation as the premiere review in English on matters related to Croatian history and culture.

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2003CROATIAN

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upbringing, which makes the fall of communism and his personal disillusionment all the more poignant....”

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Up-coming:

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

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E-mail: WJL@tampress.tamu.edu, Ante and Zoran Ladic, History of Croats Illustrated Chronology Zagreb: Multigraf, 2003 ISBN 953-6060-16-7. Croatian & English Edition, 487 pages, 24×33 cm format, on art printing paper with about 700 photographs and geographic maps. Price (including Air Mail delivery to USA and Canda): \$100.00

<http://www.tamu.edu/upress>

Nazor

Ivankovic, Ivica and Vladimir Simunic. Croatian National Costumes. Zagreb: Multigraf, 2000. Pages 224. ISBN 953-6060-10-8 Croatian and English, 224 pages - 304 color photos with captions. Price (including Air Mail delivery to USA and Canda): \$85.00

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Multigraf, Maksimirska 50a, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia. Phone: 385-1-236-2200; Fax 385-1-236-2220. E-mail: multigraf@zg.tel.hr - www.multigraf-doo.com Janjatovic, Politicki teror u Hrvatskoj 1918.-1935. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest. 2002. 358 pages.

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To order: 900 Dufferin Street, P. O. Box 24026, Toronto, ON M6H 4A9 Canada, Tel/Fax 416-534-5442; e-mail: Ljerka-Susan@Rogers.com. Price: Canada \$20, other countries \$25.

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303 pages.

Zarko Ilic et al.

Dvadeset godina s Gospom u Medjugorju 1981.-2001.

Humac/Ljubuski: Franjevacki samostan Humac, 2002. 158 pages.

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Danica 2003 - Hrvatski

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Zagreb: HKD Sv. Jeronima. 225 pages.

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Hrvatsko knjizevno drustvo sv. Jeronima.

Published six times a year. Annual subscription for the USA \$36.00

Radovan Grgec, Zakon Srca: prigodna razmisljanja. Zagreb: HKD. sv. Jeronima, 2002.

133 pages.

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Niko Kapetanic and Nenad Vekaric, Konavoski rodovi (H-Pe). Zagreb: HAZU; Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti, 2002. 524 pages.

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Adam S. Eterovich, Croatia and Croatians and the Lost Colony 1585-1590. San Carlos, California: Ragusa Press, 2003. Soft cover, 8.5×11, 156 pages. Illustrated. \$25.00 To order: Adam S. Eterovich, 2527 San Carlos Ave., San Carlos, CA 94070. Tel. 650-592-1190. E-mail: croatians@aol.com; www.croatians.com

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Overseas

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John Ivan Prcela and Drazen Zici, Hrvatski Holokaust. Zagreb: Hrvatsko drustvo politickih zatvorenika, 2001. xxxi+584 pages.

\$30.00

To order: John Prcela, 4037 Monticello Blvd., Cleveland, OH 44121

Book Review

Heather Mills McCartney, *A single step : a memoir*. New York: Warner Books, 2002. xv, 327 p.

By Katarina Tepesh

Heather Mills McCartney was known in Britain as a model who turned a terrible accident into a crusade to help amputees. Her own left leg was amputated just below the knee in an accident in London with a police motorcycle in 1993. Her relationship with musician ex-Beatle Paul McCartney, brought her to worldwide attention. It also put her cause center stage. She tells her life story in her book "A Single Step". All of the author's net proceeds will be donated to "Adopt-A-Minefield".

Heather describes her traumatic childhood in Britain with a violent and abusive father. When she was nine, her mother left her father. Without any money, her mother did not take along her three children. Years of setbacks and traumas have given Heather the drive and determination needed

to cope with one disaster after another. Before she turned sixteen she had been arrested for stealing, run away from a broken home, lived on the streets and refused to go to school.

Working in a succession of menial jobs, she traveled her way to modeling. Heather flew to Slovenia for a skiing vacation near Bled in 1990. Skiing there was so playful and so much fun, especially after she met a Slovenian ski instructor. She moved to Slovenia, learned the language and described her life there as the happiest. She loved skiing so much she was getting her license to teach, while also modeling. From Slovenia she drove to vacation to the Croatian Adriatic coast. She even taught aerobics in one of the Croatian hotels on a small island. Due to chronic shortage of money in Slovenia to meet their basic needs, her relationship with Milos, the ski instructor, was not working out despite their tremendous feelings of love. In great details, Heather describes in her book how she was learning the history of the region the hard way, when in June of 1991 the Yugoslav army of mostly Serbs attacked Slovenia. From Ljubljana, Heather and Milos barely escaped while the tank gun was trained on them.

When she reached London, first thing she wanted to do was help Slovenians and soon Croatians. Immediately she started to organize and was baffled that so little attention was given in the media. Branded as civil war in former Yugoslavia, Heather knew firsthand what was happening via her telephone calls with her friend Renata from Slavonia. Deeply distressed, she flew to Croatia several times, risking her life, to collect evidence of Serb atrocities. She saw it first hand, dead bodies, burned homes, shootings and spoke to refugees who were raped.

All her attempts to help bring the evidence to the worldwide media backfired repeatedly when Croatian border guards completely confiscated her cameras, films and prints. During meetings with Croatian politicians they would rave and rant to Heather how nobody cares and no one is helping, but then they themselves did not follow through in their own jobs of providing the necessary documentation for Heather to deliver help. Deeply committed, Heather was adamant to find a way. After her own amputation, she organized a convoy of two thirty-eight-ton trucks laden with nearly five thousand artificial limbs, five hundred wheelchairs, and hundreds of pairs of crutches. With a group of volunteers, Heather set off on the twelve-hundred-mile journey to Zagreb despite the snail-like pace of Croatian bureaucracy. When she arrived in Zagreb, she was told "Nothing doing. We are closed for All Saints Day".

Read this moving and inspirational book by extraordinary woman of how she overcame her accident and made it through the darkest hours.

Heather Mills McCartney is committed to Adopt-A-Minefield which raises awareness and funds to clear land mines and rehabilitate land-mine survivors. It offers everyone an opportunity to give people in mine-affected countries back their lives, return land to productive use, and provide assistance to those who have been injured in land-mine explosions. It only costs about \$1 to \$2 to clear a square meter of land, \$30 to help a child walk again. If you would like to find out what you can do to help, or to learn more about Adopt-A-Minefield, contact: Adopt-A-Minefield UNA-USA 801 Second Avenue, New York, New York 10017, Telephone (212) 907-1305 www.landmines.org or info@landmines.org

P.s. As of today, the “Sloboda” or “Freedom” munitions factory in southwest Serbia has been churning out land mines, anti-aircraft artillery shells, smokeless gunpowder and other equipment. At the present time, production is for Iraq.

The Ottawa convention on land mines had been drawn up with the aim to get all governments to agree to ban the use of land mines in all future wars. Many countries, including Britain, had signed it. America and several others are still refusing to do so.

United States campaign to ban landmines in care of Physicians for Human Rights, 100 Boylston Street, Suite 702, Boston, MA 02116 Telephone (617) 695-0041 banmines@phrusa.org

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