

Miroslav Krleža in the 1960s: A Backward Glance

by Marijan Despalatović

In 1961 the Nobel for literature went to Ivo Andrić. In the general rejoicing, however, I thought I could discern pockets of silence: some of us had a keen sense of the mysterious and the ineffable. We thought that the award ought to have been given to Miroslav Krleža. We did not think more highly of Krleža. We did not think that he was a greater writer, in the purely literary sense, of course, than Ivo Andrić. We had all read Andrić with care, yet he seemed distant. His detachment from the present moment, no, his acceptance of the present moment, reminded us of the great-hearted Achilles of the 21st book of the *Illiad*, the “voice of iron”



which pronounces the harsh truth to Lykaon the supplicant (“Yet even I have also my death and my strong destiny...”). We preferred Achilles of the 1st book, where he lashes out at Agamemnon “as his racing spirit veered back and forth...” and furiously makes his claims in the language of great passion and obstinacy. To those of us who thought that Krleža was the voice of the moment and who heard in his baroque, driving rhetoric echoes of our own grasping for the world in thought, the decision of the committee was baffling: we thought that honours had gone not to the lesser writer, but to the wrong one.

Our disappointment was acute, but not at all partisan. There was no Krleža party. I think that the strength of our feeling lay in its im-

mediacy: the cradle of literature held our lives, and so for a few shining moments which grace every new undertaking our lives could only be accommodated by literature. And it had to be a literature of a special kind, it had to have range, daring, fire (were we looking for another “steklis,” another Matoš?). Krleža demonstrated to us again that in speech man claims his uniqueness over and against the universality of language. Speech is rebellion, we thought, language is conformity, obedience, surrender. Especially the language of ideology and politics. And we were mindful of where he stood in that respect:

“In order to do his job properly the writer must be able to be in some fashion a DISSIDENT, even a DEFEATIST with respect to the state and its institutions, the nation and its authorities. He is the PRODIGAL SON who returns to his father’s hearth so that he can leave again. Negation is the customary manner in which he accepts the world.” (Emphases Krleža’s)

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Association for Croatian Studies

The ACS is a professional organization dedicated to the advancement of scholarship related to Croatia and the Croats. The ACS was founded in 1977 and it is an affiliate of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

The AAASS represents scholarship in the field of Russian, Central Eurasian, Central and East European studies. The Association has twenty-eight affiliates that are concerned with particular topics, areas, or peoples within the field. The AAASS published the quarterly journal *Slavic Review*.

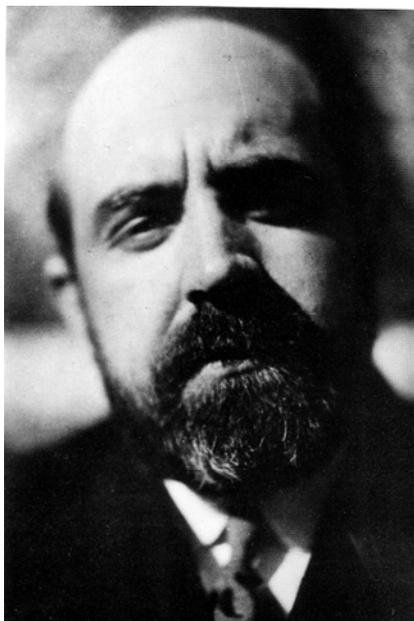
The question, can the committee by some grotesque chance have been right, was a bogus question. Something else was at issue, namely, the nature of this curious dialectic between the supranational, "world" literature and the literature of nations which make up that world. Georg Brandes had put this question plaintively in *The Main Currents of European Literature in the Nineteenth Century*: what can a "small" national literature, confined within the narrow compass of its national life, claim as its own when pitted against "great" literatures, which borne by "great ideas" reveal the profound, catastrophic nature of every human undertaking.

Krleža, we thought, asked the same question, but the tenor of his question was sharper: "small" nations, on Krleža, inevitably imitate "great" ones piously, blindly, suicidally. In *The Banquet in Blithuania* major Gregoris, the patriot, rehearses the argument Niels Nielsen, the liberal, had advanced "one mad Carnival night":

"...in today's peripheral civilisations, and our small, Blithuanian civilisation is one of them, everything is imitation. We imitate machines, umbrellas, shops, prayer books, apparatuses, institutions, sabres, cannons, we imitate everything...and it is good, proper that we do. After all, there is nothing in postage stamps, rules of the road, pathological anatomy, ideologies, sonnets, umbrellas, that could not be imitated, applied or learned by heart following better examples. But this aping, this simian exuberance which the populus proudly call our "original, Blithuanian, autochthonous culture", or "the level of our Western civilization," all this proves one thing, namely that neither the European models nor our Blithuanian imitations as such make much sense."

In the sweep of Krleža's indictment Europe is not the measure of Blithuania. On the contrary, Blithuania is the index to the irrational nature of the so-called European culture and civilisa-

tion. "Small" nations are not suppressed, denigrated by the "great" ones in the panopticum of events: both are easily found wanting if subjected to the pitiless demands of reason. So Krleža rises against the governing lie of European civilisation as the repository of predicates which constitute the idealised image of the Western man. To this image "peripheral" cultures tend to cleave because dimly and hopefully they perceive it as the only source of authentication. One need



only remember the fervent and copious claims the Poles, the Croats, and the Hungarians advance to the effect that they were, and are, the defenders and therefore by right participants in the civilisation of the West.

Krleža's rich and perplexing meditations on the fate of a rational man in the world bereft of reason we found in his preoccupations with Juraj Krizanić, the Dominican, *vir nobilis*, a man of learning and with a deep faith in reason who offered his services to the Tsar of Russia to be rewarded with fifteen years of exile in Siberia where he wrote a treatise on the nature of politics from the rational point of view, and from where, released upon the death of the Tsar, he joined the troops of Jan Sobjeski and perished under the walls of Vienna. He had

turned away from the West, satisfied and cannibalistic, and sought to find a home for the "peripheral" cultures of the Slavs under the sceptre of a powerful monarch. Pater Krizanić had done the only logical thing.

But pater Krizanić's reasoning, so cogent and persuasive, was in no small part due to his solitude in the great spaces of Siberia, where his search for truth which could be domesticated in the community of men was not unlike his search for God. It was the solitude of the pater's search that appealed to Krleža, we sensed, the solitude of a stubborn questioner who was not going to be placated by *Realpolitik* or fashionable shibboleths.

And so Krleža immersed himself in the national in a sustained effort to discover the human sense of the national. In Krleža's dialectic the national is inhuman, anti-human. Man is always a concrete, historically determined phenomenon, but this determination should be accepted in order that it may be negated: national gravity must be annulled. Krleža's Christopher Columbus only ostensibly seeks the new world as a physical fact: intimately, Columbus is convinced that the new world, the aim and purpose of his exaltations, resides solely in the forceful overcoming of the terrestrial in man, and that the navigation to the new world must be literally celestial, astral.

"The earth is round! Well, even if it is, my thought is never circular, it is always a tangent. We are wedded to circles because in them you see the firm guarantee of return! To you the New is simply a path not yet taken to the Old!...The New admits of no return, the New is not circular! I do not believe in the globe! I believe in clouds, men, because clouds never return! I shall not return! I have decided to depart forever!"

Thereupon the crew nail to the mainmast of the Santa Maria, the great Admiral of the Seas, the heretic who refuses to accept the evidence of his

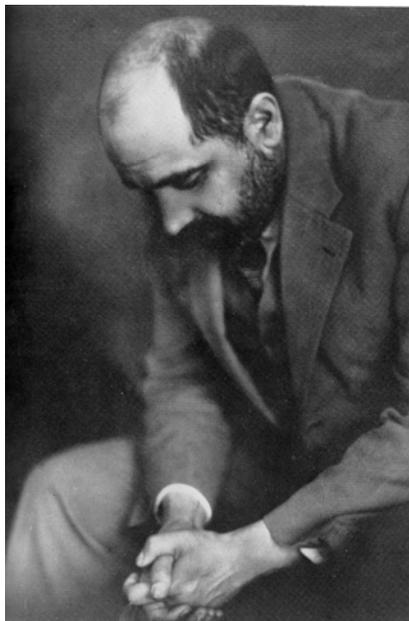
senses and disdains all reasonable alternatives. And when the New is sighted from the same mainmast, the Admiral cries: "It is a lie! All this is a lie! All your vice-admirals, your contingents, and your reasonable majority!"

The other side of this visionary enthusiasm ("Above man's life there is a steady, bright light, his mind;" writes Krleža in one of his later fragments, "one must have faith in mind, everything else is just smoke. Man is a poet, man has mastered the globe, he will one day take it in his hands like an apple and toss it among the stars...") is unrelieved despair born out of the vistas of man's past and present situations.

The dreams and visions of mortals are time and again destroyed by the forces of "higher realities," "supreme imperatives," "national interests," of the present that masks itself as the future and hawks its second-rate ware at the fairs of "culture" and "natural order." Krleža's dialectic only superficially resembles the Marxist dialectical model of cognition. It is generally understood that this dialectic entails a thoroughgoing engagement of the brute matter of the world by the mind, but it is frequently and mistakenly assumed that transcriptions of such engagements possess in virtue of the procedure the authority of truth. Krleža calmly and ironically rejected such claims as preposterous. "It has become customary nowadays to speak of the characters in *The Glembays* as scoundrels, criminals, whores," Krleža confided to his Eckermann, Predrag Matvejević, in 1969, "but a long time ago I dared mention very modestly that if we had by some luck had a middle class on the level of the so-called 'odious Glembays' we would have inherited a remarkable civilisation. That, unfortunately, was not the case."

It is easy to see why PC readings of Krleža became the coin of academic and ideological exchange, and why such readings were (discretely) abhorrent to the writer: the socially "useful"

and ideologically "appropriate" markers were easily drawn. But Krleža's dialectic is lyrical. *The Glembays*, for instance, *The Return of Filip Latinovicz*, or *The Banquet in Blithuania*, whose completion and publication in 1962 we tended to read as yet another of Krleža's lyrical submergences in the daily life of his and our time fraught with intense, yet decorous ideological tensions, represented far more than a "dull schema about the decadence and decay of our bourgeoisie," as he put it.



They represented "a decorative panel of sorts," Krleža averred, "...a lyrical submergence in the elements of the so-called psychological drama." Lyricism is always engaged, charged with pathos, it constitutes man as a concrete, historical being. But bureaucrats and ideologues have rarely been able to understand the peculiar dialectic which fuels the lyrical form (Flaubert, Blok, Bulgakov, D.H. Lawrence come to mind). Lyricism is the matter of the invisible portions of the spectrum, as it were: they are there even if they are not apprehended by the officious eye. In the extreme literary and historical situations the visible is set aside, cancelled: the invisible like a brooding presentiment of things charges the world of the work with so much palpable destructiveness that the familiar

representational schemas can no longer withstand the pressure of figuration. Kafka's K. puts it starkly: "What is laid upon is to accomplish the negative - the positive is already given." The "negative" is rationally shaped in the work, but its point of origin is, on Krleža, not only reason. In his "Predgovor" to *Podravski motivi* (1933) he named it:

"Truths of life are gleaned in excited states which are not solely rational in nature; aesthetic truths surge from the cerebellum, from vague passions and secrets of the body, very often from impure instincts and insane forebodings, almost always anti-rational, defiant, elemental, like a fever."

Such "eruptions" of prophetic cognitions take the form, in the work, of almost biological rhythms and disturbances: periods of intense magnification, of frighteningly clear perception, when the whole is beheld steadily and with a dismaying clarity alternate with periods of sluggish, will-less myopia, (those famous migraines, periods of blinding paralysis of the intellect; abscessed, suppurating toothaches when the head is torn apart from within, as Oliver Urban says in *Leda*; bizarre susceptibilities to weather). The formal solidity of the world is given grotesque, outlandish shape, because all "civilised" social arrangements are not just banal conventions but brutal norms, established and enforced by special interests, by the guardians of this world, the Barutanskis, the vice-admirals, the popes and the presidents, agents of a failing reality. Man is bidden to the banquet of ghouls. And he comes.

"What is reality? It is the banquet of Skeleton the Great. Skeleton the Great feasts in his mighty fortress, in the ornate hall hung with breastplates, shields, banners. It is night. One hears the wind, as befits a funereal panopticum. A whole Croatian infantry company in marching order arrives before the fortress. Two hundred sixty-three infantrymen and one horse. The noise

of their arrival penetrates the historical scene. Voices. Clatter of weapons. The majordomo, liveried and powdered, enters and humbly informs Skeleton the Great that the Croats have arrived. Skeleton the Great is eating crepes filled with human brains. "All right! Show them to their quarters..."

That is the reality of half-witted militaristic and political "states of affairs" against which Krleža raises his voice. In the night of vampires and barbarism Krleža shouts: "*Non possumus!*" Blithuania, that Yoknapatowpha County situated between the Arctic Circle and the coasts of Africa, that Blithuania is not an isolated episode of particular, localised aberrations but a pre-history of sorts. The lesson of Blithuania (Thomas Mann would no doubt have called it "Blithuania als Lebensform") is not restricted to its concrete locus. Niels Nielsen, doctor *scientiorum humanitorum*, an unwilling participant in the sordid chaos of Blithuania, is a distinguished contemporary of Herr Doktor Serenus Zeitblom, the humanist who can bear witness to the stark lunacy of a "great idea" without ever feeling the "slightest inclination rashly to open the door to the powers of Darkness" because he finds them at all times "utterly foreign to (my) nature." His precious "subjective" morality shields him from all entanglements. Nielsen, however, not protected by such delicate moral sense, pulls a whole slew of innocent and "un-engaged" people to their destruction. In the irrational world of politics there is no place for "subjective" moral innocence. "Subjective" rebellions a la Nielsen always end in romantic gestures which inevitably lead to acceptance of *Realpolitik*.

Krleža's lyrical preoccupation with Juraj Krizanić and what he called the complex world of *Scavorum Meridionalium* is neither mawkish nor self-defensive. *Rex Humanitas Croatica* stands for a nation swept time and again by the winds of greater forces and ambitions. Croatia, situated be-

tween the East and the West, between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, and, from the fifteenth century on, Islam, was perennially in crisis:

"Between the protestant North and Counter-reformation Vienna, exposed to Venetian intrigue and the Ottoman power, under the bloody tyranny of its feudal lords, Croatian masses vegetated for centuries in passive resistance. Three religions and five states claimed their allegiance, yet they remained stubbornly, recalcitrantly resistant. They outlasted Rome and Byzantium."

In consequence, the Wilsonian project for a South Slav "nation," the favourite explanation of our predicament spanning two Yugoslavias and one bloody world war, on Krleža, was not a project with a future. Already in "Teze za jednu diskusiju in godine 1935," he contended that history contained "a series of examples of peoples who living in such differentiated landscapes of a territory never became one nationality." Imposition of "political" solutions from the top was bound to fail. That is why Krleža had hopes for socialism, which had risen from the bottom:

"...from the patarene (bogomil) disaster to socialism, from fascism to Jajce, from 1463 to 1943, a series of facts suggests that a more profound logic of ethnic and geographic landscape is permeating from the bottom..."

A society, or a nation, depends, as someone said (and that goes back to Aristotle's *The Politics*, 1253a), on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments (history, traditions, culture) which regulates the conduct of the individual with respect to the needs of that society, or that nation. That is what I think Krleža had in mind when he wrote of the "logic ... permeating from the bottom ..." But after the completion of *The Banquet in Blithuania* in 1962, and especially after the publication in 1969 of Matvejević's *Razgovori s Krležom*, I had

the sense that Krleža viewed the socialist, self-managing Yugoslavia, or the particular form of Yugoslav socialism, as a failed undertaking. The reification of the ideological system was gathering force.

"A kind of convulsive FETISHISATION of socialism, HYPOSTASES and PHANTOMS of socialist ideas have appeared, and that in the final analysis precludes the conception of socialism itself as a LIVING and CONCRETE GIVEN." (Emphases Krleža's)

Krleža now confined himself to his Tobolsk, Leksikografski Zavod, directing the magisterial task of producing encyclopaedias of every form of human undertaking. His contribution to the debate of his days was intellectual and moral in nature, rather than purely "artistic." He had sought to domesticate the dialectic of rigorous thought in the political culture and, not surprisingly, on his own testimony, failed. He was used to "defeats." As he said to Matvejević: "...man is strongest when he is alone. The counterpoint to loneliness: the noise of the herd, and we know what that is. Cattle bellowing in the night." A new Blithuania was in the making. And in his self-imposed exile Krleža rehearsed the lesson of his life: "As far as the artist's prerogatives are concerned... they are more limited and simpler than it is generally thought. They are reduced to a box of lead type, and that is not much...but it is the only weapon for the defence of man's pride we have so far invented." Thus ends *The Banquet in Blithuania*. Appropriately - in a minor key.

Upon his death Krleža was interred with military honours - soldiers of the JNA in full order escorted his casket to the grave. The Central Committee of the League of Communists had a macabre sense of humour.

A version of this essay was read at the annual AAASS Convention in Salt Lake City, Utah, 2005.

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(compiled by Ivan Runac)

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SALT LAKE CITY CONVENTION

37th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS)

The 37th National AAASS Convention was held at the Grand America Hotel in Salt Lake City, November 3-6, 2005. At this year's convention a handful of ACS members and friends presented papers or were in attendance. Tatjana Lorković, long-time ACS member, gave a paper on the founding of Yale's Slavic Collection. Sabrina Ramet, Vjeran Pavlaković, and Mark Biondich presented papers on Vladko Maček and the Croatian Peasant Party, while Ludwig Steindorff and Matjaz Klemenčić offered their comments and criticisms. Vje-

koslav Perica and his colleagues held a roundtable discussion on Tito's legacy. Marija Dalbello gave a multi-media presentation on popular iconography and the arguments for war that were offered at the turn-of-the-century in the almanacs of the J. Steinbrener publishing house. Goran Čular presented a paper on the 2005 presidential elections in Croatia. And Ivan Grdešić looked at local Croatian elections.

Because of the relatively low turnout, the ACS annual meeting did not take place at the Convention. The next meeting will be held at the 2006 Convention in Washington D.C.. See the next issue of the ACS Bulletin for details about the time and location.

WASHINGTON D.C. CONVENTION

38th National Convention of the AAASS

The 2006 AAASS Convention will be held at the Omni Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C., November 16-19. The hotel is located at 2500 Calvert Street NW, just 8 miles from Reagan National Airport and 28 miles from Dulles International Airport.

The AAASS special group rate is \$165 per night. Attendees can book their rooms by following the links for hotel reservations on the AAASS website (www.aaass.org) or you can call (800) 400-1700. International callers should dial (202) 756-5125 for reservations. When making your reservation, you must say that you are with the AAASS to receive the discounted rate of \$165 per night. Book your room early, they will sell out

There will be a very small number of graduate student rooms available at the discounted rate of \$125 per night. Interested graduate students must fax/send a copy of a valid student ID, along with their email address, to Wendy Walker at 617-495-0680 or AAASS, 8 Story St., Cambridge, MA 02138. Once Ms. Walker has received your ID she will contact you by email about the reservation.

To pre-register for the Convention please visit the AAASS website for a printable form. Registration fees and deadlines have changed and are scaled according to the time of registration. Panel and roundtable participants must pre-register by September 30 to have their names printed in the Convention Program Index.

Fees for registering by August 18: \$100 for AAASS members, \$150 for non-members, \$25 for student members, and \$35 for student non-members.

Fees for registering after August 18 and before October 13, the last day for pre-registration: \$120 for AAASS members, \$170 for non-members, \$30 for student members, and \$40 for student non-members. There will be an addition \$30 (\$10) fee for registering after the October 13 deadline.

Annual ACS Dinner

The annual ACS Dinner took place on Saturday November 5, 2005, at Vienna Bistro in downtown Salt Lake City. Tatjana Lorković, Ivan Runac, and Marija Dalbello, along with our guests from Europe, Ivan Grdešić, Ludwig Steindorff, and Goran Čular spent the evening enjoying fine Viennese cuisine and lively conversation.

AAASS Convention Presentations

Goran Čular

(University of Zagreb)

“The 2005 Presidential Elections in Croatia: Elite Convergence and Support for the EU”

Recently Croatia started negotiations for accession to the European Union. As a direct consequence, popular support for EU accession increased rapidly and approached 50% of the voting population. However, when we consider that in the last five years, and in the last two years particularly, support for EU accession has been constantly decreasing, it seems that the phenomenon is only temporary.

In a five year period, popular support for EU accession fell from more than 75% in 2000 to nearly 40% in 2005, with a simultaneous increase in the number of EU opponents, who in June 2005 reached almost half of the voting population.

A closer look reveals that popular support for accession to the EU started decreasing significantly after parliamentary elections in November 2003, which brought a change to the coalition that had been government since 2000. The question arises: what are the causes of such a development? I argue that a special type of political elite convergence, particularly between the two

main parties, created a situation in which citizens have been detaching more and more from the political elite, the established party system, and consequently, the official policy of joining the European Union.

There are several factors that have contributed to elite convergence in Croatia: ideological moderation, the ceasing of anti-system or semi-loyal behavior, institutional socialization, and legitimization within the other camp.

All of these processes led, at the same moment, to a more stable and predictable democratic game, which, in contrast to the first decade, was now liberated from fear, raw force, and unconstitutional moves, and thus strengthening the democratic process.

This has meant two things: first, it contributed to the decrease in electoral participation and it caused a higher percentage of vote distribution to "other" candidates. Furthermore, the number of parties in the parliament, the number of independent MPs, and a general increase in volatility could be added as indicators of instability and a "search for a new solution." Secondly, support for EU accession has in time become independent of voters' support for political parties, which suggests that the EU is not the issue that decides the outcome of electoral battles.

Presidential elections in 2005 exhibited all of the features mentioned above. These features were even sharpened in some respects. For the first time, public support for "others" was centered on only one person (18% of the vote went to the third candidate, Boris Mikšić). This opened a new dimension to political competition and furthered the prospects for democratic consolidation. The political campaigns of the two primary candidates, Stjepan Mesić and Jadranka Kosor, were directed towards marginal issues, which concerned the past more than the future of the country. Unlike the election campaign, which had a strong personal

quality, the results of the elections themselves show that votes were primarily distributed according to political parties - a significant difference from the previous election.

The sharp vertical cleavage that dominated the 1990s, in which there were conflicts on democratic values and practice, has been turning into a horizontal divide between those "inside" and those "outside" the system. The EU falls within the insider's purview, together with Croatian democracy and the whole of institutional life, not only formal institutions but also the political parties and media. However, the proportion of "others" has been growing over the last several years as a consequence of the public's disappointment and as a reaction to a sort of cartelization of political life.

Up to now, Croatian democracy has been strong enough institutionally to neutralize any serious attempts at destabilizing the democratic order, but confidence in government institutions has grown weaker and weaker, just as support for the European Union has.

Mark Biondich

(Department of Justice, Canada)

“Vladko Maček and the Croat Political Right, 1928-1941”

This paper examines the contentious relationship between Vladko Maček and the Croat Peasant Party (HSS) on the one hand and Pavelić's Ustaša group on the other, in the years 1929 to 1941.

This troubled relationship stemmed from fundamentally dissimilar conceptions of Croatdom, national ideologies and hence the national question in Yugoslavia. Although Maček and Pavelić cooperated briefly between 1928 and 1930, they parted company in 1935. By 1939, when a semi-autonomous Croatian Banovina was formed within the Kingdom of Yugo-

slavia, they broke completely. Maček reluctantly committed himself to the preservation of Yugoslavia at a time of looming crisis in Europe, while Pavelić and his followers committed themselves to independence at any cost. According to Pavelić's group, Maček was a traitor of the Croat cause and also of Stjepan Radić's honorable legacy of struggle against Serb centralism. In fact, both the Ustaše and the Croat Left denounced and vilified Maček; neither the radical Croat nationalists nor the Croat Left had much sympathy for his cautious policy of dialogue with Belgrade. For the former he was a national traitor, for the latter a bourgeois reactionary in peasant garb. The Ustaše interned him in Jasenovac in October 1941 and then placed him under house arrest for the duration of the war. Maček's hurried flight from Croatia in May 1945 anticipated a much harsher fate at the hands of Tito's communists.

Given the long shadow cast by Radić, and marginalized by extremists of the Left and Right, it is hardly surprising that Maček remains one of the most ignored figures of 20th century Croatian political history.

Vjeran Pavlaković

(Woodrow Wilson International
Center for Scholar)

“Maček, the Croatian Peasant Party, and the Spanish Civil War”

In the summer of 1936, the Croat peasant leader Vladko Maček was not overly concerned with the growing European political crisis stemming from a conflict that had erupted in Spain. Instead, his priorities lay with rebuilding the Croatian Peasant Party after six years of illegality under King Alexander's dictatorship in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Yet the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939) was to have a polarizing and radicalizing effect on Croatian society.

Both Croatian communists and supporters of the fascist Ustaša movement looked to Spain as a model for resolving the “Croatian question” at a time when Croats were becoming increasingly frustrated with Maček's passivity. As a propaganda war raged in the press of the radical left and right, the Croatian Peasant Party tried to ignore the conflict that captivated all of Europe and threatened to spill beyond Spain's borders.

Maček's failure to realize the impact of the war in Spain on the political situation in Croatia is indicative of some of his weaknesses as a leader in difficult times. His position on the national question in Spain, or rather lack thereof, exposed the hypocrisy of the Croatian Peasant Party leadership as a champion of national rights, which was particularly exploited by Croatian communists. Under Maček's watch, the Croatian Peasant Party missed the opportunity to take a strong moral stance against fascism during the Spanish conflict, and his fence-sitting from the 1930s onward permitted the more extreme ideological movements in Croatia to take advantage of the rapidly changing conditions of a Europe engulfed in war.

Sabrina P. Ramet

(Norwegian University of
Science and Technology)

“Vladko Maček, the Croatian Peasant Defense, and Croatian Discontent, 1931-1941”

In 1936, on instructions from Vladko Maček, president of the HSS, paramilitary formations known as the Croatian Peasant Defense (Hrvatska seljačka zaštita, or HSZ) were established. The armed, uniformed formations were intended to protect Croats against a number of preexisting paramilitary groups such as the Četniks (who split into two major branches in 1924), the Organization of Yugoslav Nationalists (ORJUNA), which supported a central-

istic program, Mlada Jugoslavija, another paramilitary group supported by the regime, and the Serbian National Youth (SRNAO), which was inspired by the notion that ORJUNA was not “Serbian” enough. There was also a group known as the Croatian National Youth (HANA O), which was formed as a response to ORJUNA.

The formation of the Croatian Peasant Defense was symptomatic, thus, of the general failure of authorities in Belgrade to establish order and to build a legitimate state based on the rule of law. The HSZ also had an urban counterpart – the Croatian Urban Defense (Hrvatska gradska zaštita). In addition to its defensive purpose, the HSZ also enabled Maček to compete more effectively with Ante Pavelić who was using his control of armed Ustaša groups to build a following among some Croats. Although Maček claimed that the HSZ was intended to protect Croats from Četniks and communists, HSZ units were reported to be clashing with gendarmes in some districts.

In formal terms, the Croatian Peasant Defense existed for barely five years, 1936–1941, although earlier incarnations can be dated at least as far back as 1932. The existence of the HSZ figured simultaneously as a reflection of the general lawlessness of the system, in which not only the HSS but also other political parties felt that they needed their own armed reserves, and also as a symptom of the vast discontent among Croats who, while prepared to consider a federal solution, ultimately hoped to establish a state in which they could feel free.

Vjekoslav Perica

(University of Utah)

“Josip Broz Tito: A Reassessment in Light of Landmark Anniversaries”

The roundtable was held in the conference hall of the Little America Hotel in Salt Lake City on November 4, 2005.

Vjekoslav Perica of the University of Utah organized the roundtable and served as the moderator. The participants were Damjana Mraović from the University of Tennessee; Vjeran Pavlaković from the University of Washington, and Emil Kerenji from the University of Michigan.

After a brief introduction about public commemorations, media discourses, and public controversies surrounding the 25th anniversary of the death of Josip Broz Tito, the participants presented their own perspectives on the historical role of the SFRY president. These perspectives included personal reminiscences, snapshots from Tito's era in the domain of popular culture, and considerations of some of the related historical controversies. The audience participated actively with interesting comments and questions. Overall, the roundtable participants were rather critical on the subject. By contrast, several participants from the audience, including former and current senior analysts with the U.S. government, acknowledged the relevant role Tito played in Cold War-era, international affairs and his active contribution to international security.

MEMBERS

Dr. Božidar Theodore Ivanuš

On the Occasion of His 90th Birthday

Božidar Theodore Ivanuš, a Doctor of Law and Political Science and retired professor from the University of Notre Dame, was born on March 15, 1916 in Velika Gorica, Croatia. Today Dr. Ivanuš lives in Mishawauka, Indiana.

In 1934 Božidar graduated with honors from the classical gymnasium in Zagreb and then went on to the Faculty of Law, where he completed his doctorate, *summa cum laude*, in law and political science in 1941. Along the way he received a masters at the State Musical Academy in Zagreb. Before

the war, he built a professional music career as both a solo pianist and well-known member of a Zagreb jazz band. He was also active in politics, for which, during the stormy pre-war years, he was incarcerated in Lepoglava until 1941. During the war he lived in Austria and afterward moved to Germany, where he stayed until 1951, when he left for America.

Living in Cleveland and working as a manual laborer, he continued his studies and received two masters degrees, one in political science and another in library science. While living in Cleveland he was very active in Croatian associations; from 1959 to 1963 he directed a Croatian radio program and was one of the founders of the American-Croatian Academic Club, which, during the Croatian Spring, sponsored numerous lectures by Croatian intellectuals, such as Dr. Dalibor Brozović and professor Ivan Čizmić.

In 1966 Dr. Ivanuš became a professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. There he helped establish a scholarship fund for Americans of Croatian heritage. He also helped acquire for the University many of Ivan Meštrović's art works. Besides his professorial duties, he was for years the director of the library at the Institute for International Studies in Memorial Library. At that post he raised the library to a new and higher level by building a strong East European collection and a collection of works critical of the Communist system.

In 1970 he married Ana Kliček, a Croatian-American woman. As residents of northwestern Indiana both Ana and Božidar were active in Croatian associations. In Gary, Indiana, Dr. Ivanuš led the Croatian-American singing society "Preradović"; he was a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the Association for Croatian Studies, the Croatian American Academy, and the lobbying group, the Croatian American Association.

In the last few years Dr. Ivanuš has donated a large portion of his personal library and manuscripts to the University of Notre Dame, the Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago, the Croatian Catholic Union, and the Institute for Contemporary History in Zagreb.

During the Homeland War, Dr. Ivanuš helped nearly every well-intentioned humanitarian action. He also helped influence American political circles and played an important role in helping establish the modern Croatian state. Dr. Ivanuš continues to follow, day in and day out, events in Croatia.

Dr. Ivanuš celebrated his 90th birthday with his close friends on Sunday, March 12, 2006.

By Melkior Masina, M.A.

From the Association the Croatian Studies to a tireless advocate of learning and culture, we wish you a truly happy birthday.

NEW MEMBERS

Marija Dalbello

Marija Dalbello is an Assistant Professor at the School of Communication and Information Studies, at Rutgers University. Her undergraduate degree in English and Sanskrit is from the Philosophy Faculty at the University of Zagreb. She also has a Master of Library Science degree from Kent State University. Her Ph.D. in Information Studies is from the University of Toronto.

Her recent research focuses on social and cultural aspects of the creation, distribution, and use of written texts. She is also a print media historian who studies the transformation of visual culture at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

She published over 20 articles and conference papers and has presented over 30 competitively selected and invited

papers at international, national, and regional information science and media history conferences. Her recent work has been published in *Library Quarterly*, *Library & Information Science Research*, *Book History*, and *Information Technology, Education, and Society*. She is co-editing "Print Culture in Croatia: The Canon and the Borderlands," to be published as a special issue of the *Croatian Library Journal*.

At Rutgers, she teaches in the area of information and society, courses on the history of books, records and documents in print and digital environments, popular reading, and scholarly communication. Her interests are Inuit art and the island of Brač where she spends many summers.

Ludwig Steindorff

Ludwig Steindorff was born in 1952 in Hamburg, Germany, where he graduated from the classical gymnasium. After serving two years in the army, he began studying history and Slavic studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Heidelberg. In the course of his studies he spent a year in Zagreb on specialization. After graduating from Heidelberg, a stipend from the "Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes" endowment allowed him to study for two more years in Zagreb, after which, under the mentorship of Nada Klaić, he completed a large portion of his dissertation on the Dalmatian cities in the 12th century.

In 1981 he received his doctorate from Heidelberg. He worked as an assistant at the university in Münster, until his habilitation in 1990 and appointment as docent and professor. During the summer of 1993 he was a guest lecturer at the University of Zagreb.

Since 2000 he has been a regular professor in the Department of History for Eastern and Southeastern Europe at the Christian-Albrecht University in Kiel. His main professional interests are the history of medieval cities in southeastern Europe, particularly in

Croatia, cultural history of Old Russia, political and social history of Croatia from the 19th century to the present day, and the relationship between the state and church under socialism.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Institute of Historical Studies
Dubrovnik



Edited by Vladimir Stipetić.
Anali Dubrovnik. Volume 43.
Dubrovnik. Zavod za povijesne
znanosti, HAZU, 2005.

303 pp. Softcover. ISSN 13300598.

Edited by Vladimir Stipetić.
Dubrovnik Annals. Volume 9.
Dubrovnik. Institute of Historical
Studies, HAZU, 2005.

129 pp. Softcover. ISSN 13313878.

The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Institute for Historical Studies in Dubrovnik, released in 2005 volume 43 of their annual journal *Anali*.

Contents include: Slavica Stojan's study of how Marin Držić's incorporated real-life characters, drawn from everyday Ragusan life, into his dramas; an analysis of the causes of the 1602 Lastovo rebellion by Nenad

Vekarić; Pavo Knezović's identification of Croatian Marian shrines in Wilhelm Gumpfenberg's famous *Atlas Marianus*; Relja Seferović's account of the late 17th century conflict between the Republic of Dubrovnik and the local Franciscan Order over the inheritance of Luka Zamagna's estate; an examination by Piotr Zurek of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski plan in the first decade of the 19th century for a Balkan federation; Šime Peričić's analysis of salt production in Ston during World War II; Niko Kapetanović's historical sketch of water mills built on the River Ljuta in Konavle.

And also Patricija Veramenta-Paviša's study of the pigeon-house "Golubarda" and the place of pigeons in recreational and commercial activity; an account by Irvin Lukežić of Frano Mato Kovačević's life and attempt to establish a Croatian cultural magazine in Rijeka; a study of the life and work of Pavao Đuro Kamenarović by Lovorka Čoralić; and Žarko Muljačić's study of Elena Dabovich. The issue includes ten book reviews.

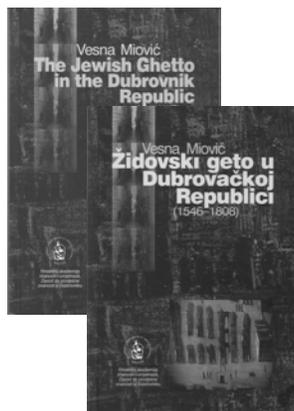
The Institute of History also published in 2005 volume 9 of the English-language journal *Dubrovnik Annals*, which contains many reprinted and translated articles from the Croatian language *Anali*.

Contents for volume 9 include: an analysis of Ivan Stojković's 15th century *Tractatus de Ecclesia* by Relja Seferović; Vesna Miović's look at diplomatic relations between the Dubrovnik Republic and the Beylerbey of Bosnia and Sancakbey of Herzegovina; Nella Lonza's exploration of the forms of Ragusan state funerals in the 17th and 18th century; and Antun Ničetić's uncovering of unfaithful depictions of Dubrovnik in 15th and 16th century city views. The volume includes 9 book reviews.

For more information the Institute's publications, see their website:
<http://www.geocities.com/Eureka/Mine/7128/index.html>

Židovski geto u dubrovačkoj republici (1546-1808)

The Jewish Ghetto in the Dubrovnik Republic (1546-1808)



By Vesna Miović. Dubrovnik.
HAZU, 2005.

English edition.

149 pp. Softcover. ISBN 9531546757.

Croatian edition.

140 pp. Softcover. ISBN 9531546452.

Three periods may be distinguished in the history of the Jewish community in the Republic Dubrovnik: the years prior to the government's decision to set up a ghetto in 1564, the ghetto period until the turn of the 18th century, and finally, from the period from the dawn of the 18th century to the fall of the Republic in 1808.

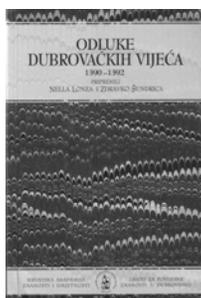
The first period was marked by Dubrovnik's most intense political, diplomatic and economic development. At that time the Jews were rarely found among the inhabitants of Dubrovnik. The government's decision to establish a ghetto in 1546 marks the beginning of the second period, an act which may be interpreted as a signal of official consent to their presence in Republic. This triggered the rapid growth of the Jewish population. In the third period, during the 18th century, the Jews were permitted to buy real estate, and own

more than one house, which testifies to the significance that the Jews had acquired in Ragusan economic life.

Ragusan society may strike us as discriminating and intolerant, but within the broader Mediterranean region, Dubrovnik was certainly among those few cities with a less hostile environment, one in which Jews could live and work peacefully.

- From the conclusion

Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća, 1390-1392



Edited by Nella Lonza and Zdravko
Čundrica. Dubrovnik. HAZU, 2005.

454 pp. Softcover ISBN 9531546436.

The deliberations (*reformationes*) of the governing Ragusan councils - Major, Minor and *Rogatorum* - are among the essential sources for the study of the history of Dubrovnik.

The decisions published in this edition, which number almost two thousand, are highly diverse. The task of singling out the most important points or pinpointing new evidence should not rest upon the editors but on the ability of those who sift through the pages of this treasure trove. Some pieces of information will fit neatly into the gaps and cast new light on already available facts. Others will contribute to the study of certain domains of public service for which sources are fairly scarce. It can be hoped that this edition will also prompt future investigations, raise new questions, and set the scene for a more complex study of late-

trecento Ragusan society.

The edition is furnished with three indexes: an author index, a place-name index, and a subject index. Whenever possible, the place names are accompanied by a modern form.

- From the introduction

Institutiones linguae Illyricae / Osnove hrvatskoga jezika



By Bartol Kašić, 1604. Edited and
translated by Zvonko Pandžić. Zagreb/
Mostar. Tusculanae editions, 2005.

568 pp. Hardback. 9539514401.

Grammar deals with language, either by describing or prescribing it. But because the notion of language has changed throughout history, and it has in a particularly abrupt manner in the 20th century, any analysis of a historical grammar must consider not only the development of certain linguistic forms but also the understanding of language corresponding to those forms. It is the philosophical presumptions of language, in fact, that introduce the theory of the meaning of grammar, because in traditional grammar language has always been perceived as a reflection of thought. It is necessary, therefore, to try to explain in what way the first Croatian grammar reflects the philosophy of language that was in existence for two millennia before it. In the following discussion, I attempt to investigate grammatical categories, not only from a historical perspective, that is, when did they appear and from whom were

they drawn, but also in relation to the following meta-historical questions: why are the categories the way they are? Why do they differ from those of today? And what philosophical approach to language conditioned the emergence and development of a certain type of traditional grammar? Such questions, to date, have not been asked with regard to Croatian grammar, even though they are unavoidable in the method of philosophical and linguistic historiography. My endeavour to answer some of these and other similar questions aims to help us understand this second edition of the first Croatian grammar and at the same time to serve as a critical introduction to the tradition from which it emerged. Without at least a basic knowledge of that tradition we cannot successfully study this grammar. Such an approach is also vital because of the lack of literature in Croatian that examines linguistic historiography from antiquity to the humanistic period. Furthermore, if we disregard the relatively great interest in 18th century Russian grammar, we rarely find in international scholarly literature reliable data about the linguistic and historical beginnings of Slavonic vernacular grammars from the 16th century.

My edition (the translation, annotations and commentaries) endeavours to analyse Kašić's grammar and to answer above all one question: what paradigms, grammatical and linguistic-philosophical and historical presumptions did Bartul Kašić confront in what was the first attempt ever to describe or discipline the Croatian language? Other questions, though ones which I leave for another occasion, are: what was the significance of this grammar to Croatian linguistic and intellectual development over the past four centuries? And what is its significance now, if any?

- From the introduction

To order, visit the website:
<http://www.tusculanae-editiones.com/>

Da nije bilo Oluje/ Who Saved Bosnia



By Vitomir Miles Raguž. Zagreb.
 Naklada Stih, 2005.

363 pp. Hardback. ISBN 9536959283.

Mr. Raguž, former Bosnian-Herzegovinian Ambassador to the EU and NATO, and adviser to Croatian diplomats at the UN, often writes in leading English language publications, such as the *Wall Street Journal Europe*, where he has commented on contemporary policy issues and addressed the recent history of the region.

By translating into Croatian a collection of his earlier and more recent essays, Naklada Stih wanted to bring his excellent writing to a broader, regional audience. The English speaking audience will appreciate the new essays, published in this volume for the first time, as well as those essays that were published by Zagreb media outlets.

"At first, we thought this collection would primarily attract historians and policy people," said Coach Ante Kostelić, editor of *Biblioteka*, "but the reader quickly realizes that this book will have a much wider audience, given the author's style and the perspectives he brings forth regarding some key events of the 1990s." He added: "the book may be exactly what Santa would bring for that very smart nephew who is still confused about what really happened in the region in the 1990s, and that righteous colleague at the office who knows exactly what happened since she reads the internet edition of the *New York Times* relig-

iously."

Višnja Starešina, writer and former foreign affairs editor of *Vecernji List* comments: "Ambassador Raguž challenges mainstream thinking about what Washington was preparing for BiH immediately prior to Operation Storm in 1995, and why and how it aided Storm. As a participant in many behind the scenes events, he provides details that shed new light on common wisdom regarding the Croatian Army's withdrawal from Posavina, the source of the Muslim-Croat conflict, Tudjman's role in Herzegovina, and Croatia's recognition and later early EU candidate status, among others." Given the recent arrest of General Gotovina, the reader may be especially interested in the essay on the origin and purpose of Operation Storm, which contradicts the account from the Tribunal, and in the essays about his role in Storm, including those which explain why the US should be involved in Gotovina's defense.

Croatian readers may enjoy comparing Mr. Raguž's views, for instance, on relations between Zagreb and Washington with regard to the military operation, to those of Croatia's former foreign minister Mate Granić in his recently published book *Vanjski poslovi: iza kulisa politike*.

Bret Stephens, Member of the Editorial Board of the *Wall Street Journal* notes: "The essays on the interplay between international politics and international law are among the most thought-provoking to be found anywhere; those on the shortfalls of western policy in the Balkans written over the past four years are especially relevant today when the debate on the issue is picking up in advance of the 10th anniversary of the Dayton accords at year end."

Igor Alborghetti, Editor-in-Chief of the weekly *Globus*, says Ambassador Raguž writes from a unique perspective. On Euro-Atlantic integration issues, he sees him as a Euro-realist, who be-

lieves that Zagreb "should focus its energies on market reforms and on finding ways to minimize the costs of those associations," instead of being preoccupied with membership dates.

- *Naklada Stih press announcement*

To order contact Marijan Boršić,
Phone: 385-91-788-3014
Email: naklada.stih@net.hr

Bitka za Vukovar



By Davor Marijan. Zagreb. Hrvatski institute za povijest, 2004.

324 pp. Softcover. ISBN 9536324458.

Another book about Vukovar, we might quickly conclude. But all you need to do is read the book's introduction to understand that this book is a special one. It is the first book about war-time events in Vukovar in 1991 to be based on scientific methodology and military sources, primarily from the Central Military Archive MOHR, including detailed military maps that show the location of armed forces in that area of Slavonia.

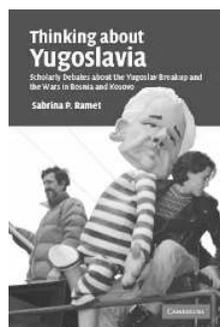
This exhaustive and well-written study was born from years of research on the battle for Vukovar. Yet Marijan humbly informs the reader that his work is only an introduction to the battle, since many questions about the Homeland War will remain unanswered until more documents are made public. Despite this, the author was able to achieve his goal and provide a critical account of military activity.

"The battle for Vukovar is undoubtedly an important event in the Homeland War," Marijan states in the conclusion. At the book's promotion in Zagreb he added, "it is *certainly* the most important event."

Marija Alvir, *Hrvatski vojnik* 7, 2004

Thinking about Yugoslavia:

Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo



By Sabrina P. Ramet. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

328 pp. Hardback. ISBN 0521851513.

The Yugoslav breakup and conflict have given rise to a considerable literature offering dramatically different interpretations of what happened. But just how do the various interpretations relate to each other? This ambitious book by Sabrina Ramet, an eminent commentator on recent Balkan politics and history, reviews and analyses more than 130 books about the troubled region and compares their accounts, theories, and interpretations of events.

Ramet surveys the major debates which divide the field, alternative accounts of the causes of Yugoslavia's violent collapse, and the scholarly debates concerning humanitarian intervention. Rival accounts are presented side by side for easy comparison. Thinking about Yugoslavia examines books on Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Mon-

tenegro, and Kosovo which were published in English, German, Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, and Italian, thus offering the English-speaking reader a unique insight into the controversies.

Balkanski Babilon:

Raspad Jugoslavije od Titove smrti do Miloševića pada



By Sabrina P. Ramet. Translated from the English by Gordana Višković and Ines Krauth. Zagreb. Alinea, 2005.

488 pp. Softcover. ISBN 9531801274.

Dr. Ivo Žanić writes: "Sabrina P. Ramet's study is a top-notch, scientific work from a proven and prominent political scientist who is excellently acquainted with the conditions on the territory of the former-Yugoslavia. The work has a comparative orientation, it's interdisciplinary and built on precise terminology, with a systematic elucidation and interpretation of the sources."

Revitalization of Academic Medicine:

Collection of Essays on the Problems of and Solutions for Academic Medicine

Edited by Ana Marušić. Zagreb. Medicinska naklada, 2005.

192 pp. Softcover. ISBN 9531762767.

This book contains a delightfully eclectic

tic range of thought-provoking articles that will help stimulate this deep and broad international debate.

As we move into this new millennium, it is important to think about the future of the “research and development” base that medicine relies upon to optimize health and healthcare.



Although one can point to quite a number of successes in academic medicine through the end of the last century, such as the move from didactic lectures to small group problem-based learning, from physician-dominated to transdisciplinary teams, the concept of the continuum from cell to clinic to community, research breakthroughs such as the biologics for therapy, and the increase in life expectancy for those with AIDS able to afford anti-retroviral therapy, there is still a strong sense that major changes are needed.

The reasons are outlined in the editorial which initiated the discussion on the pages of the *Croatian Medical Journal* as a part of the International Campaign to Revitalize Academic Medicine.

Knowledge is a common good and with the advances in information technology it makes sense to take a global perspective. Thus it is good to see articles from a variety of countries: Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Israel, the Republic of Macedonia, Malawi, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and USA.

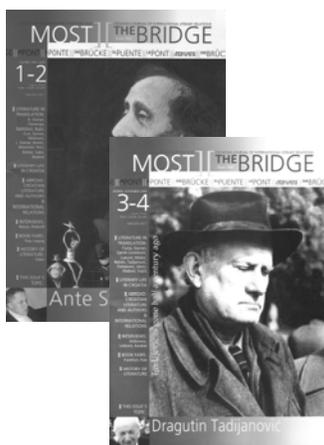
In addition to detailing the problems

and describing the issues, it is important to propose solutions for debate - for example, the idea of pairing industrialized countries and low income country institutions for their mutual benefit, with shared university appointments and a commitment to make this a “brain-gain” rather than a “brain-drain,” as proposed in the article by academics from Bosnia and Herzegovina and their colleagues in Western Europe.

The International Campaign to Revitalize Academic Medicine is in the process of developing a number of future scenarios - this collection of articles provides an impressive resource for this.

Preface by Peter Tugwell

Most / The Bridge
Časopis za međunarodne
književne veze
The Croatian Journal of
International Literary Relations



If the purpose of this journal is to introduce the achievements of Croatian authors to the world, it also aims to present the wider range of literary life, the entire chain of participants and activities involved in creating, disseminating, and enjoying literature, from the authors and scholars, to literary and publishing associations and publishers and bookstores.

Issue 1-2, May 2005, and issue 3-4, November 2005, include an array of articles and interviews, book reviews, promotional pieces, events announcements, and translated poetry and prose.

Issue 1-2 features an interview with literary theoretician and full member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ante Stamać. With Mislav Togonal he discusses his recent translation of Goethe's *Faust* and the art of translation in general. Stamać memorably remarks: “Translations are like women; if they are faithful—they are not beautiful. If they are beautiful—they are not faithful.” The journal concludes with an essay by ACS member Aida Vidan on Croatian, Bosnian, and Serbian war fiction.

Issue 3-4 celebrates the 100th birthday of Dragutin Tadijanović, Croatia's literary statesman and one of the country's most revered and prolific authors, with essays by Ante Stramać and Tonko Maroević. The journal also contains studies in literary history by ACS members Ellen Elias-Bursać and Vinko Grubišić.

The Croatian Writers' Association publishes *Most/The Bridge*. Srećko Lipovčan is the Editor-in-chief.

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Bosnia and Herzegovina

Doctoral Dissertations in West European Languages

(Compiled by Ante Cuvalo)

- Andjelić, Neven.** "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Politics at the End of Yugoslavia." University of Sussex, 2000.
- Arkun, Perin H.** "The Bosnian Peacebuilding Mission: The Gap between Lofty Goals and Sad Realities and its Implications for Concepts in International Relations." University of Denver, 2004.
- Belloni, Roberto.** "Scramble for Bosnia: International Intervention for Post-Settlement Peacebuilding." University of Denver, 2003.
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- Conley, Bridget K.** "In the Name of Humanity: The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention in Bosnia and Haiti." State University of New York at Binghamton, 2001.
- Coward, Martin Philip.** "Urbicide and the Question of Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina." University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2001.
- De la Haye, Jos.** "Missed Opportunities in Conflict Management: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1987-1996." Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2001.
- Denham, Bryan E.** "Anonymous Attribution and Official News Sources in the Reporting of Bosnia and Somalia: A Study of Conflict Coverage in American Newspapers." University of Tennessee, 1996.
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- Ford, Curtis.** "The (Re-)Birth of Bosnian: Comparative Perspectives on Language Planning in Bosnia-Herzegovina." University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001.
- Gonsalves, Priscilla T.** "The Austrian Reforms and the Serbian Peasants in Bosanska Krajina, 1878-1914." Stanford University, 1981.
- Hamourziadou, Drosili.** "National Truths: Justifications and Self-Justifications of Three Nationalisms in Bosnia-Herzegovina." University of Keele, 2000.
- Hoverd, Margaret J.** "Humanitarian Action in Bosnia: A Study of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1991-1999." University of Oxford, 2001.
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'Participation' in Oppositional Contexts." Florida State University, 2000.

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