



Bulletin

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They Want Me to Believe Them

Flag-waving leaders
 Flag-kissing followers
 They want me to believe them
 Generals freeing doves of peace
 Losers bragging of their triumphs
 They want me to believe them
 Lords and masters praising equality
 Cowards calling themselves rebels
 They want me to believe them
 All of them think they have everything
 But they have nothing
 For those who really have nothing
 Nothing except their souls are richer
 What they don't know
 Or else have forgotten
 Is that all a man truly has is his soul
 And he is a man no longer
 When that is lost

Miho Katičić, Dubrovnik 1991
 (translated by Dr. K.V. Wilkes)



CROATIAN STUDIES AND CROATIAN PROSPECTS

Ivo Banac

In Croatian history, few years can rival 1991 in its epoch-making importance. After numerous attempts to find the means for effecting a peaceful dissolution of Yugoslavia, which had long stopped being a viable Croat option, Croatia had no choice but to strike for its freedom and independence. In response, the Yugoslav People's Army and the Milosevic regime in Serbia intensified their policy of aggression against Croatia and began to wage a cowardly and destructive war against civilians largely unarmed. The ravages of this war are all too well known to the readers of this bulletin. Suffice it to say that the destruction of Vukovar and the devastation of Dubrovnik added new meaning to the definition of infamy. Why, indeed, to take up Miho Katicic's theme, should anybody believe the honeyed lips of those who are capable of such inhumanity?

The Republic of Croatia was entitled to and received the support of its citizens and friends throughout the world. We are particularly happy to note that specialists in Croatian history, language, literature, and society, that is, those areas of scholarship which are usually referred to as Croatian studies, were stirred to activity. Many of them, notably those without the ties of family kinship to Croatia, previously eschewed any partisan engagement in any eminently political matters concerning the status of Croatia. Some of them considered membership in this association an unwelcome political intrusion. This time, however, the provocation was so great and the cost of silence so heavy that caution could only translate into acquiescence.

The broader Croatian community of North America can benefit

from this development, but only if it makes a serious commitment to the maintenance of honest scholarship and genuine pluralism of opinion. To be quite frank, the Association of Croatian Studies, as well as other intellectual institutions in the diaspora, frequently projected a very parochial and claustrophobic image. Had this tendency been overcome years ago, Croatia would not be the sort of Cinderella about which ignorant poseurs can write the sort of ditty that the *Nation* chose to produce from its lubber hole on 9 March: "Croats are the good guys now,/ Although their past is slightly shady./ So worry not that these same guys/ Chased both your *bubbe* and your *zayde*."

Scholarship is predicated on the faint hope that the author of this outrageous ditty may just be shamed into reconsidering if he knew the true state of things. It is predicated on documenting that not all Croats were chasing somebody's *bubbe* and *zayde*, that the pursuers also were chasing the Croats, and that many Croats did in the pursuers. It is predicated on nuance and truth. It is not propaganda. The propagandist would follow another route, which would be a mirror image of the author's propaganda poem. The choice of the Association of Croatian Studies is dispassionate scholarship, not propaganda. Though many of us are not emotionally detached from the subject of our inquiry, we are committed to truth even if it is unfavourable to the frequently invoked — but always intellectually inactive — "Croatian position." In fact, our choice of panels for the Phoenix meeting of the AAASS in November reflects this commitment. We already have approval for a panel on Jews in Croatia and a roundtable

on the current problems of Croatian society.

The ACS's new board of officers is also passionately committed to opening our dusty chambers to new members. Croatian studies must be an intellectually lively area of inquiry. We welcome new members from all disciplines. We welcome their suggestions. We promise not to obstruct any promising avenue of scholarly discourse. We would like to solicit their contributions to this bulletin and in every organizational concern. If the ACS wishes to become an influential body, the opportunity must be seized.

One last matter. The ACS is an organisation of academic intellectuals who specialise in all aspects of Croat experience. As such it is a nucleus of an institution — a research institute — that must emerge from our work as a permanent research edifice. That is an ambitious task and a very expensive one at that. All the same, as we watch the squandering of funds on dubious propositions, most recently on inauspicious American presidential campaigns, we cannot but feel that the knowledge of Croatia and its aspirations would be better served through generous funding of scholarly undertakings. Moreover, as we contemplate the crisis-ridden state of post-Communist intellectual life in Croatia, we feel that the traditions of North American scholarship have much to recommend them. They also deserve support. We therefore appeal to all donors, old and new, to remember the needs of this association. All members should circulate this bulletin as widely as possible and solicit new membership applications and donations. There is no reason for the ACS

IZVJEŠTAJ

sa dvadesetitrećega godišnjeg skupa Američkog udruženja za promicanje slavenskih studija (AAASS), održanog u Miamiu od 22. do 25. studenoga 1991. godine

Andrea Feldman

Hrvatska i rat koji se u njoj vodi bili su okosnica nekoliko specijaliziranih tribina i okruglih stolova u okviru dvadesetitrećega godišnjeg skupa Američkog udruženja za promicanje slavenskih studija (AAASS), najveće organizacije američkih slavista, u Miamiu, Florida, od 22. do 25. studenoga 1991. godine. Udruženje za hrvatske studije, koje djeluje unutar AAASS na promicanju znanstvenog interesa za hrvatsku povijest i kulturu, organiziralo je tematske tribine i okrugle stolove sa željom da doprinese pojašnjenju specifične problematike Hrvatske u kontekstu ostalih slavenskih kultura.

Neke od najavljenih tribina nije bilo moguće održati jer sudionici iz Hrvatske nisu stigli na skup. Prvotno najavljeni okrugli stol o povijesnom i kulturnom doprinosu Hrvata u Latinskoj Americi nadomješten je okruglim stolom o Hrvatskoj i jugoslavenskom pitanju, uz sudjelovanje Matjaža Klemenčiča, Ante Čuvala, Vinka Grubišića, Matthewa Markotića i Tomislava Šunića.

Najveću pažnju publike izazvala je rasprava posvećena razviju trenutne situacije i rata u Hrvatskoj. Tribina pod naslovom "Rasulo Jugoslavije" okupila je nekoliko američkih stručnjaka raznih specijalizacija. Raspravu je otvorio profesor Ivo Banac iznijevši činjenice o ratu u Hrvatskoj i problemima što ih ta situacija postavlja pred javnost Zapada. Banac je iznio tezu o napadu na Hrvatsku kao neizbježnom rezultatu Miloševićeve politike koja svoj cilj vidi u formiranju, kako to

iznosi i službeni Beograd, "Sjedinjenih država Srbije". Osim što je neizvediv, ovaj Miloševićev plan zamišlja Srbiju ne kao demokratsku zemlju već kao diktaturu. Borba Srbije za nove granice na uštrb Hrvatske i drugih republika, bez obzira na mlako suprotstavljanje međunarodne zajednice, izraz je duboke unutrašnje krize srpskoga društva i u krajnjoj će situaciji dovesti do građanskog rata u samoj Srbiji. Stoga je profesor Banac posebnu pažnju posvetio nekolicini srpskih intelektualaca kojima ne nedostaje hrabrosti i vizije da strastima za razaranjem Miloševića i tzv. Jugoslavenske narodne armije suprostave zahtjeve o poštivanju granica i odgovornu proturatnu politiku.

Premda je u posljednje vrijeme pitanje Kosova bilo gurnuto u pozadinu, ono je, kao i uvijek, izazvalo burne reakcije publike koja je prisustvovala okruglom stolu o jugoslavenskim političkim i ustavnim pitanjima. Profesor Elez Biberaj, suradnik "Glasa Amerike," iznio je kratku kronologiju represije Albanaca na Kosovu od 1981. godine do danas. Njegovo predavanje zacrtalo je nekoliko mogućnosti razrješavanja "jugoslavenskog pitanja," s obzirom na to da li će se situacija u Jugoslaviji razvijati u smjeru konfederacije ili potpunog raspada zajednice. U prvom slučaju Kosovo bi moralo postati republika, ravna ostalim članicama konfederacije. U slučaju definitivnog raspada jugoslavenske zajednice, otvara se opcija ujedinjenja Kosova s Albanijom. Jačanju te opcije doprinjela je represija što je Srbija i savezna

vojska provode od 1987. godine naovamo. Odnos Miloševića i najvećeg dijela srpske opozicije prema kosovskom pitanju identican je: Kosovo je povijesna jezgra srpske države, Srbija bez Kosova je nezamisliva. Biberaj je zaključio da bi "Velika Srbija" sa zgusnutom albanskom populacijom bila trajno nestabilna država. Stoga je u slučaju Kosova potrebna hitna internacionalna inicijative u obliku konferencije koja bi prisilila obje strane na dogovor. Sudionici okruglog stola, uz Eleza Biberaja, bili su Sarah Kent i Milan Andrejevich.

Posebno je bila zapažena prisutnost dr. Savke Dabčević-Kučar, predsjednice Hrvatske narodne stranke, koja je govorila o ratu u Hrvatskoj i o hrvatskom opredjeljenju za demokratsko i slobodno društvo. Dr. Dabčević-Kučar suprotstavila se shvaćanjima, naročito prisutnim na Zapadu, kako je rat u Hrvatskoj u osnovi "etnički" sukob. Argumenti koje je pritom koristila bili su da se rat vodi isključivo na području Hrvatske, da JNA podržava isključivo srpske "interese", te da je taj okrutni rat u kojem JNA ne poštuje međunarodne konvencije ratnog prava usmjeren isključivo protiv civilnog stanovništva Hrvatske. Dr. Savka Dabčević-Kučar iznijela je na kraju i viziju Hrvatske kao slobodne i demokratske zemlje.

Godišnji sastanak Udruženja za hrvatske studije održan je u Klubu bankara u Miamiu. Organizatori skupa, Jure Šutića, dr. Ivo Banac i dr. Savka

Dabčević-Kučar govorili su sakupljenom članstvu. Ivo Banac je

upozorio na ulogu intelektualaca u obnovi hrvatskog društva: "Hrvatska se danas bori po treći puta u ovom stoljeću. Kako joj hrvatski intelektualci mogu pomoći? Hrvatskoj danas valja pomagati samo istinom, znanstvenošću i otvorenošću. Kako je to prije nekoliko dana rekao oksfordski profesor Norman Stone — odnos prema Hrvatskoj danas je ispit istinoljubivosti". Sazrelo je, naime, novo vrijeme: na američku akademsku scenu stupili su novi, mladi ljudi, postdiplomanti, neki čak i redoviti studenti. Neki su od njih hrvatskog podrijetla ali ima i Amerikanaca koji su odlučili učiniti Hrvatsku žižom njihova života i rada. Njima, a time i Hrvatskoj, potrebno je pomoći na najdjelotvorniji način. "Hrvatska danas

nije samo žrtva, ona je društvo u kojem se grade demokratske ustanove. Tako i mi sa svoje strane moramo stvarati nove ustanove, časopise, katedre, čak i institute. To neće biti ni lako, ni brzo, ni jeftino, ali to ćemo učiniti jer je to način na koji ćemo najprimjernije, riječju Ante Starčevića, ispuniti svoje *držanstvo* prema Hrvatskoj," naglasio je Ivo Banac.

U nastavku skupštine izabran je novi upravni odbor u koji su ušli : profesor dr. Ivo Banac, predsjednik; profesor dr. Josip Bombelles, profesor Jure Šutija, te profesor Vinko Grubišić, dopredsjednici; Profesor dr. Elinor M. Despalatović obavljat će poslove tajnice, a odvjetnica Tia Paušić iz Washingtona brinut će o financijama

Udruženja.

Novine u radu Udruženja vezane su uz formalno odvijanje rada Skupštine. Prvo, broj punomoći koje jedna osoba može donijeti na glasanje ograničen je na četiri. Drugo, hrvatski jezik izjednačen je s engleskim u radu Udruženja, kao i u biltenu. Treće, godišnja skupština Udruženja bit će ubuduće odvojena od ostalih društvenih aktivnosti.

Nekoliko sudionika skupštine izrazilo je želju da se uspostavi "mreža" za širenje brzih i iscrpnih vijesti o radu Udruženja i stanju hrvatskih studija. Nada je svih članova Udruženja da će se članstvo proširiti, a time će biti potaknuti i novi i zanimljiviji projekti na istraživanju i prezentaciji raznovrsnih aspekata hrvatske kulture.

PUBLICATIONS

The Council on Foreign Relations Press in New York has recently brought out Christopher Cviic's new book, **Remaking the Balkans**.

This June, Cornell University Press will bring out Catherine Wendy Bracewell's, **The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic**. Ms Bracewell is Lecturer in History at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.

Two works by Zagreb-based writer and scholar Dubravka Ugrešić have recently been translated from Croatian: the novel **Fording the Stream of Consciousness**, (Forsiranje romana reke), translated by Michael H. Heim, published in London by Virago Press in 1991, and **In the Jaws of Life**, (U raljama života), the collection of seven short stories and a short

novel, translated by Celia Hawkesworth and Michael H. Heim, also published by Virago Press, London, in 1992. Ms. Ugresic is currently lecturing on Russian and Central European literature at Wesleyan University.

Partial proceedings of the conference **Eastern Europe in Revolution** held at Yale University in November 1990, have been edited by Ivo Banac and published by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1992.

Sabrina P. Ramet's **Social Currents in Eastern Europe: the Sources and Meaning of the Great Transformation**, has been published by Duke University Press, Durham, NC, 1991. Ramet's book on current Yugoslav affairs, **Balkan Babel: Politics, Culture, and Religion in Yugoslavia** was published by Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1992.

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