

## Preface to the second edition

When the first edition of this book appeared in January 2009 we stressed that the findings of our eleven research teams hardly represented the final word on the subject, but merely a first installment in a process that we hoped to continue by incorporating newly uncovered material and responses to constructive criticism. The publication of *Suočavanje s jugoslovenskim kontroverzama* (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2010) advanced that process by including substantial revisions and data updates in chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9 that had been made over the ensuing eighteen months. This second American edition goes considerably further. In addition to the changes and updates that first appeared in the BCS edition, this volume incorporates newly uncovered material documenting the Milošević regime's close direction of military operations in the Bosnian conflict (chapter 4), further evidence of U.S. complicity in the failure to arrest ICTY indictees (chapter 5), the latest tabulations by the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP) (chapter 6), and a wholly new twelfth chapter on Montenegro's role in the Yugoslav conflicts.

Needless to say, we could not have advanced this process without the sustained support of the Scholars' Initiative's principal donors. We are grateful to Rodger Potocki for inviting us to approach the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) for a substantial grant to publish the BCS edition; his colleague Ivana Howard worked tirelessly to negotiate a contract that ensured the distribution of complimentary copies to libraries in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia. The German Marshall Fund's Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD) and the U.S. Institute for Peace (USIP) authorized follow-up grants that have sustained the ongoing public outreach in the Yugoslav successor states for the past three years; both were instrumental in funding a two-day workshop that EUROCLIO and the Association of History Teachers and Professors of Bosnia and Herzegovina organized in Sarajevo in September 2010; their support complemented the efforts of Nenad Šebek and Costa Carras to promote collaboration between the Scholars' Initiative and the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeastern Europe's Joint History Project.

We are no less indebted to Marie-Janine Calic, James Gow, Matjaz Klemenčič, Gale Stokes, Ozren Žunec and their respective research teams for their continuing commitment in the task of updating their chapters for this edition. John Treadway's singular achievement in establishing the wholly new research

team for Montenegro is evident in the chapter authored by Kenneth Morrison. Nor can we omit a word of thanks to Mirsad Tokača, who selflessly furnished the latest tabulations prior to the appearance of his Research and Documentation Center's *Bosnian Book of the Dead*.

Once again we feel compelled to remind the reader that this new edition represents only the latest installment in a process that we expect to continue as new research and documentary evidence surfaces. Whereas it is impossible to anticipate fully what new revelations the immediate future will bring, we are currently following the Hague Tribunal's investigation of alleged organ harvesting by members of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the appeals of judgment against Croatian Generals Ante Gotovina and Mladen Markac, the trials of Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, as well as the authentication of the latter's wartime diary. While we await these developments, we will continue to address constructive criticism by continuing to revise and update the findings contained in this edition. And in the process of doing so, we invite scholars who have not participated in this enterprise—and especially those who feel they can improve on the product presented here—to join in this effort.

Charles Ingrao  
Thomas A. Emmert

# Acknowledgments

Given the multilateral nature of this project, it is impossible to acknowledge fully all of those who contributed materially to its completion. We begin, therefore, with an apology to the many scholars, program officers, editors, journalists, and public officials who advanced the project's agenda, but whose names do not appear below.

The Scholars' Initiative began modestly enough in 1997 when our colleague Dušan Bataković expressed an interest in beginning a dialogue between Serbian and Western historians to help rebuild the professional relationships that had been destroyed by the recent wars of Yugoslav succession. It assumed a much broader scope, thanks in large part to the encouragement and financial support from a series of institutional donors. An initial grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) and the sustained support of Daniel Serwer transformed a modest historians' dialogue into a regionwide initiative that committed a broad range of scholarly disciplines to a sustained program of public engagement. Paul McCarthy and the staff of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) provided funds for research by successor state scholars, much as Ivan Vejvoda and the German Marshall Fund's Balkan Trust permitted us to employ a stable of ten journalists as media liaisons in every republic capital, plus Banja Luka, Novi Sad and Priština. Deans Margaret Rowe, Toby Parcel and John Contreni of Purdue University's College of Liberal Arts (CLA) filled in gaps in the funding chain, most notably by paying for roughly a quarter of the 45 trans-Atlantic trips made during the project's career; CLA donors Fred and Ruth Graf provided unrestricted funds from the college's Peace Studies program that defrayed communications costs, including maintenance of the project website. The Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (IHJR) advanced modest, but essential grants as needed to fund researchers, liaisons and conference meetings during the three-year period (2005-2007) during which the SI operated in partnership with the IHJR. Finally, recent grants from the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (NCEEER) and a second Balkan Trust grant assured that the project would continue through the end of 2009. In addition to these donors, a number of individuals and institutions hosted a series of SI conferences and satellite meetings (see Appendix), most notably Fuada Stanković (rector, University of Novi Sad), Ambassador Jacques-Paul Klein (mission chief, UNMiBH-Sarajevo), Jason Vuic (director, Ohio State University's Center for Slavic & East European Studies),

Franz Szabo (director, University of Alberta's Canadian Centre for Austrian and Central European Studies), and Rüdiger Malli (rector, Andrassy University).

Several publishers have provided a platform for SI-commissioned publications, most notably Purdue University Press Director Thomas Bacher, and editors Steve Sabol of *Nationalities Papers* and Marie-Janine Calic of *Südosteuropa*. We also acknowledge the pre-publication receipt of Carla del Ponte's *Madame Prosecutor* through the good offices of co-author Chuck Sudetić and Other Press publisher Judith Gurewich.

Readers can consult the team mastheads and histories at the beginning of each chapter, as well as the plenary roster in the appendix for a comprehensive list of scholars (in **boldface**) who not only had unrestricted access to the process, but contributed materially to it. Nonetheless, the contributions of several team leaders, authors, and other participants bear special mention for the energy and dedication that they brought to the enterprise. In addition to her work as a team leader, Sabrina Ramet stood out in a group of scholars that included Eric Gordy, Marko Hoare, James Lyon, Dunja Melčić, James Sadkovich, and Mark Wheeler who provided detailed commentaries for most of the team chapters; in 2004, she also traveled at her own considerable expense to Sweden's Hinseberg Prison to interview ICTY inmate Biljana Plavšić. Matjaž Klemenčič undertook multiple trans-Atlantic flights in discharging his obligations, including a trip to Houston, Texas for the sole purpose of interviewing former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. He was also one of several scholars, including Horst Haselsteiner, Du-bravko Lovrenović, Gojko Mišković, Boban Petrovski, and Drago Rokсандić who actively recruited scholars in their respective corners of the region. We acknowledge the special effort of those scholars who accepted the extraordinary burden of assuming leadership of a research team in mid-stream, including Marie-Janine Calic, Georg Kastner, Andrew Wachtel and Advisory Board member Gale Stokes, who readily volunteered to fill the void left by the sudden, tragic death of Dennison Rusinow.

In addition, several team leaders demonstrated considerable political courage in the face of personal attacks from nationalist colleagues in their midst. None has been more courageous than Darko Gavrilović, who undertook crucial interviews and helped observe the tenth anniversary of the July 1995 Srebrenica massacre by co-chairing public presentations in Washington, London, Novi Sad and Banja Luka, despite being labeled an "Ustasha" and CIA spy by his colleagues at the University of Banja Luka—seven of whom petitioned to have him removed from the faculty. Nor did Dušan Janjić ever waver in refuting predictions that an ethnic Serb could never present a balanced narrative of Kosovo's decade under the Milošević regime. Chapter 7: The War in Croatia benefited from the extremely close collaboration of Serbian military historian Mile Bjela-

jac and Croatian sociologist Ozren Žunec. The son of a Yugoslav army general, Bjelajac had never met Ozren Žunec, who had directed Croatian military counter-intelligence during the Great Homeland War. Although it took some weeks to persuade them to establish telephone contact, they soon forged a close bond that held firm in December 2005 when three junior Croatian scholars chose to resign from their team rather than partake in the process of revising an early draft that Bjelajac had written. In a meeting in his Zagreb office, Žunec responded to the litany of personal attacks on Bjelajac by exclaiming that, having been wounded five times fighting for his country, he was determined not to witness another war. His determination was echoed hours later by Croatian President Stipe Mesić, who exclaimed that the multilateral effort that Žunec and Bjelajac personified was “exactly what we need” for building bridges between the two countries.

Whereas it is always a pleasure to acknowledge the contributions and sacrifices of friends and colleagues, we are saddened to note the passing of five of our colleagues. We initially resolved to dedicate this volume to the memory of our beloved colleague and team leader Dennison Rusinow following his death in January 2004 at the hands of an inattentive truck driver. What we could not imagine was the untimely passing of four other key project participants in the space of less than two years. Although he had only recently received his doctorate, Brian Hodson had already begun to make his mark in the field and had contributed critiques of several team drafts before dying of heart failure at age 38. Sociologist Lazar Vrkatić, who had co-organized the project’s initial organizational meeting in Morović was killed a few months later at age 47 in a car crash on the Belgrade-Niš *autoput*. Belgrade law professor and human rights advocate Olga Popović-Obradović had been preparing an article on the 1974 Yugoslav constitution for the SI’s special issue of *Nationalities Papers* when she was diagnosed with cancer, to which she succumbed at age 53. Branislava Stankov researched and wrote the bulk of chapter 4’s treatment of crimes against women prior to her death from cancer at age 40. We hope that this volume contributes to their memory.