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0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

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Yugoslavia as History Twice there was a country

Second edition

Yugoslavia as History is the first book to examine the bloody demise of the former Yugoslavia in the full light of its history. It provides a balanced understanding of the common hopes and fears which held its ethnic mosaic together, and the ethnic conflicts which broke it apart. A Yugoslav idea had already emerged before the First World War, competing with ethnically exclusive ideas for a series of separate states. This book examines the origins of these ideas, and how they fared as the two Yugoslav states, created and destroyed by wars, searched for a multi-ethnic political culture and economic viability. This new edition of John Lampe's accessible and authoritative history devotes a full new chapter to the tragic ethnic wars that have followed the dissolution of Yugoslavia, first in Croatia and Bosnia, and most recently in Kosovo. The author concentrates on the connection, real and imagined, between these conflicts and the experience of the successor states, the two Yugoslavias, and their predecessors.

JOHN LAMPE is Professor of History at the University of Maryland, College Park.

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Twice there was a country

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John R. Lampe

University of Maryland



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0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

In memory of Michael Boro Petrovich

Contents

<i>List of plates</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>List of maps</i>	xi
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Preface to the second edition</i>	xvii
<i>Note on pronunciation</i>	xx
Introduction. The search for viability	1
1 Empires and fragmented borderlands, 800–1800	9
Mountains first, water last	10
Brief native states, long remembered	14
Varieties of Ottoman rule	20
Varieties of Habsburg rule	27
Exceptions to imperial fragmentation	33
2 Unifying aspirations and rural resistance, 1804–1903	39
From Illyrian provinces to Yugoslav idea, 1806–1860	41
Serbia as a nineteenth-century nation-state	46
Montenegro as mini-state	57
Croatian and South Slav ideas in the Habsburg lands, 1860–1900	58
Bosnia's transition from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian rule	65
Dalmatia and Slovenia as Yugoslav outposts	69
3 New divisions, Yugoslav ties, and Balkan Wars, 1903–1914	71
Fragmented growth and party politics in the Habsburg lands	75
Serbia's rising reputation and the Bosnian crisis of 1908	83
Balkan Wars and the new Yugoslav prospects, 1912–1914	91
4 The First World War and the first Yugoslavia, 1914–1921	101
Serbia and the Yugoslav Committee, 1914–1917	102
Wartime regimes from Slovenia to Serbia	106
National Council in Zagreb and unification in Belgrade	110
Western policy and border disputes	113
	vii

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

viii	Contents	
	Economic obstacles to political unification	117
	Divisive elections for a unitary constitution	121
5	Parliamentary kingdom, 1921–1928	129
	Prewar politicians, new parties, and the Vidovdan framework, 1921–1926	130
	Cultural connections and economic disjunctures	145
	Hostile neighbors and distant allies	154
	Fatal intersections, 1927–1928	158
6	Authoritarian kingdom, 1929–1941	163
	Royal dictatorship, 1929–1934	164
	Stojadinović and the royal regency, 1935–1938	176
	Balance sheet for the first Yugoslavia, 1921–1939	186
	From Serb–Croat <i>Sporazum</i> to Tripartite Pact, 1939–1941	194
7	World war and civil war, 1941–1945	201
	The destruction of the first Yugoslavia	201
	The Independent State of Croatia (NDH), occupation regimes, and active opposition, 1941–1942	210
	Communist advantages, 1943–1944	218
	Consolidating Communist power, 1945	226
8	Founding the second Yugoslavia, 1946–1953	233
	Consolidating power under the 1946 constitution	234
	Setbacks and the Tito–Stalin split, 1947–1949	241
	First steps down the Yugoslav road	255
9	Tito’s Yugoslavia ascending, 1954–1967	265
	Balancing between East and West	267
	Western markets and self-managed enterprises, 1954–1962	276
	Market reform and the fall of Ranković	284
10	Tito’s Yugoslavia descending, 1968–1988	299
	Opposition comes into the open, 1968–1969	300
	From the Croatian crisis to the 1974 constitution	305
	From half-market to contractual economy	315
	Foreign policy and the debt crisis, 1979–1985	321
	The failure of federal leadership and economic retreat, 1986–1988	327
11	Ethnic politics and the end of Yugoslavia	332
	Social strains and regional relations	333
	New leaders and new politics	345
	Fatal intersections, 1989–1991	352

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

Contents	ix
12 Ethnic wars and successor states, 1991–1999	365
Wars for succession, 1991–1995	369
Wartime politics in Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro	381
Postwar politics in Slovenia and Macedonia	391
Successor economies and Yugoslavia's legacy	397
Kosovo/Kosova: war after all	406
<i>Notes</i>	416
<i>Selected further reading (in English and German)</i>	458
<i>Index</i>	468

Plates

1.1	The medieval center of Dubrovnik (photograph courtesy of Joco Žnidaršić)	<i>page 36</i>
5.1	Belgrade in the 1930s (photograph courtesy of the Museum of the City of Belgrade)	146
6.1	King Aleksandar in 1934 (photograph courtesy of Corbis-Bettman)	166
7.1	Tito and inner circle, 1944 (photograph courtesy of Corbis-Bettman)	216
8.1	Communist demonstration, Belgrade 1947 (photograph courtesy of the Museum of the City of Belgrade)	248
9.1	Sarajevo Winter Olympics, 1984 (photograph courtesy of Joco Žnidaršić, <i>Delo</i>)	296
11.1	Mostar, July 1992 (photograph courtesy of Kevin Weaver and <i>Balkan War Report</i>)	358
12.1	Zajedno demonstration in Belgrade, Dec. 1996 (photograph by Petar Kujundzic, courtesy of Reuters/Popperfoto)	388
12.2	Kosovar refugees in Albania, April 1999 (photograph by Dylan Martinez, courtesy of Reuters/Popperfoto)	407

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

Maps

1.1 Former Yugoslavia's physical geography and land use	<i>page</i> 12
1.2 Medieval states of Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia	18
1.3 Habsburg Military Border in 1780	28
2.1 Illyrian provinces, 1809–1813	42
2.2 Serbia and the Habsburg South Slav lands, 1830–1878	47
3.1 Serbia and Montenegro, 1911 and 1913	96
4.1 Territorial claims and final borders, 1918–1921	115
6.1 Territorial division of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1929–1939	167
7.1 Division of the former Yugoslavia, 1941–1944	204
8.1 Yugoslavia's internal borders, 1945–1991	235
9.1 Grain land and rural overpopulation, 1970	297
11.1 Ethnic majorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo, 1991	338
12.1 Territory of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina under Serb, Croat, or Bośniak control in January, 1995	379

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

Tables

3.1 Land distribution (pre-1914 census)	<i>page</i> 74
3.2 Population, 1870 and 1910	74
4.1 Regional party shares and seats in the 1920 elections	123
5.1 Population by ethnicity and geographic area, 1921	131
5.2 Parliamentary elections, 1920–1927	135
5.3 Occupational structure, 1921 and 1931	153
5.4 Ethnic voting by party, 1923 and 1927	159
6.1 Electoral support for regime list, 1931, 1935, and 1938	180
6.2 Yugoslavia's foreign trade, 1929–1939	182
6.3 Foreign investment in Yugoslavia, 1928 and 1936	184
6.4 Distribution of income in 1938	190
8.1 Foreign trade, 1947–1953	254
9.1 US aid to Yugoslavia, 1949–1967	276
9.2 Balance and distribution of foreign trade, 1954–1980	278
9.3 Macroeconomic growth, 1952–1970	280
9.4 Socio-economic indicators, 1950–1970	295
10.1 Bank credit and rates of inflation, 1965–1985	317
10.2 Decline of the social sector, 1960–1985	323
10.3 Foreign trade and debt, 1965–1985	325
11.1 Growth of population, 1921–1981	335
11.2 Population and income by republic, 1953–1988	336
11.3 Ethnic populations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo, 1961–1991	337
11.4 Socio-economic indicators by republic, 1953 and 1988	340–41
12.1 Population of the successor states, 1991 and 1997	368
12.2 Main economic indicators for the successor states, 1991–1998	398
12.3 Foreign trade of successor states, 1998	401

Acknowledgments

Following his retirement from the University of Wisconsin in 1987, Michael Petrovich intended to undertake a history of Yugoslavia as a state and an idea. My co-mentor's death the following year prevented him from even starting what has since become an inquest about a vanished state and a vanquished idea. Nor did Fred Singleton live to include Yugoslavia's collapse in an updated edition of *A Short History of the Yugoslav Peoples*, published by Cambridge University Press in 1985 as a successor to its 1968 volume, *A Short History of Yugoslavia*, edited by Stephen Clissold.

I began to prepare the present volume in 1993 in part from a sense of obligation to the work that Michael Petrovich's foreshortened retirement had left undone. But there are other obligations. The works by Fred Singleton and Petrovich came out of the well-established Anglo-American tradition of studying these lands and peoples and deserves my wider acknowledgment. The British tradition is, of course, the longer, dating back to the arrival of anthropologist Arthur Evans in Bosnia in 1875 and extending through the work of Phyllis Auty, Stevan Pavlowitch and others to the Research Unit in Yugoslav Studies at the University of Bradford founded by Fred Singleton. The pioneer generation of American specialists came forward after the Second World War. Among my own debts to them, beyond Michael Petrovich and the grounding in Balkan history I owe to Theofanis Stavrou of the University of Minnesota and in economic history to Rondo Cameron, my primary mentor at the University of Wisconsin, are long associations with Charles and Barbara Jelavich, Peter Sugar, Wayne Vucinich, and George Hoffman. Younger American scholars from whose work I have benefitted are too numerous to list here, well beyond the substantial number referenced in the notes.

Mention should also be made of the younger generation of German historians who have emerged within the past twenty years. They have restored their country's scholarship on Southeastern Europe to the prominence it enjoyed earlier in the century. The work of Holm Sundhaussen

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

xiv Acknowledgments

and Wolfgang Höpken of the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig, respectively, have proved especially useful to me, as well as the publications and activity of the Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft in Munich under the direction of Roland Schönfeld.

My own connection to the former Yugoslavia dates from 1965. I served at the American Embassy in Belgrade as a young Foreign Service Officer until 1966 and returned in 1969–70 for doctoral research as a graduate student. Since then, further research as a Professor of History at the University of Maryland and also, since 1987, as Director of East European Studies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington has brought me back numerous times to Sarajevo, Ljubljana, and Zagreb, as well as Belgrade. Within the former Yugoslavia's own pioneer generation of postwar historians, let me cite wider benefits drawn from the works of Janko Pleterški in Ljubljana, Mirjana Gross and Ljubo Boban in Zagreb, Danica Milić and Branko Petranović in Belgrade. At the same time, neither they nor any of the Western scholars mentioned should be held accountable for the volume that follows.

Because of my long association with the former Yugoslavia, a further obligation hovers over these chapters: how to connect the unfinished tragedy of its violent end with its history, more specifically, with its origins in related but separate peoples and places before the First World War and the search for viability that both state and idea pursued twice, from 1918 to 1941 and again from 1945 to 1991? I took the pursuit of these connections, rather than a more comprehensive history of the two Yugoslavias, as my primary task. Urging me on was the pernicious role played in the former Yugoslavia and the successor states by what the Belgrade historian, Andrej Mitrović, has aptly called “parahistory,” the distortion of selected sources to indict one side or another for all of Yugoslavia's misfortunes. In the Western world, this mixture of contradictory indictments has encouraged the notion of “age-old antagonisms.” Although historically false, the notion has still served to deny to the constituent peoples credentials as Europeans and to portray their current conflicts as primordial problems.

This brief book is intended to bring together enough threads from the mass of available evidence, scholarship, and diplomatic reporting to connect the two Yugoslavias with their origins, their strengths with their weaknesses, and their bloody demise with that full historical context. The text hopefully provides fresh analysis or interpretation that scholars will find instructive. It should also speak to the interested public and responsible public officials as well as university students. The times call for a book that is accessible as well as authoritative and

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

xv

original. The suggestions for further reading, primarily in English but also in German, point to a body of work that in its entirety is larger than for any country in the former Soviet bloc. The notes acknowledge the sizeable scholarship left behind from all parts of the former Yugoslavia and the record left by instructive reports from the British and American embassies in Belgrade and from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Munich. The notes also seek to identify the conflicting judgments that leave a number of important historical issues, particularly where reliable primary sources are lacking, as with the two world wars, still embroiled in legitimate controversy. The narrative finds its own way through these controversies, reaching conclusions or omitting details that some serious scholars as well as many of those with native experience from the former Yugoslavia will doubtless find controversial in themselves. I have tried to combine my own experience as an outsider there with the broadest scholarly perspective and set of sources I could muster. And I have tried to be fair.

Finally, I wish to express some specific gratitude. The successive chairs of my Department of History at the University of Maryland, Richard Price, Clifford Foust, and James Harris, have offered consistent encouragement, as has Samuel F. Wells, Jr., Deputy Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. I thank Kristof Nyiri as issue editor for the chance to air my initial approach to the broader subject in "The Failure of the Yugoslav National Idea," *Studies in East European Thought* 46 (1994): 69–89, and co-authors Russell O. Prickett and Ljubiša Adamović for insights in our joint monograph, *Yugoslav-American Economic Relations since World War II* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990). Roundtable discussions of the proposed table of contents with historians and social scientists in Zagreb and Ljubljana in 1993, and informal meetings with Belgrade and Budapest historians that same year should also be acknowledged.

Secondary or primary sources came from a long list of locations, all with unfailingly helpful staff: the National Archives of the United States in Washington, the Public Record Office in London, the archives of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Munich, and the several libraries of the Institute of Contemporary History in Belgrade, the Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft in Munich, and the universities of Illinois, Maryland, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Support for a month of research in Munich from Radio Free Europe in 1993 and a month of writing in Vienna from the Institute for Human Sciences in 1994 was much appreciated.

In the later stages of the enterprise, I received valuable assistance from a variety of critical readers: Gale Stokes, Dennison Rusinow, Sabrina Petra Ramet, Drago Roksandić, Nicholas Miller, Kristin Hunter,

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

xvi Acknowledgments

Anita Baker Lampe, and the several anonymous readers solicited by Cambridge University Press. They share none of my responsibility for the final text. The published volume also benefits from copy-editing by Kristin Hunter and the Cambridge University Press, statistical tables prepared by Jonathan Kimball and Philip Birkelbach, and maps by Larry A. Bowring of Bowring Cartographic of Arlington, Virginia. Lys Ann Shore of South Bend, Indiana, ably prepared the index. And I myself could not have completed the volume without the constant support of Anita Baker Lampe, particularly during a year and a half of weekend and evening writing.

Preface to the second edition

I began to write the first edition of this volume in 1993 with a sad sense of obligation. The violent end of the former Yugoslavia forfeited what had seemed to most Western observers a better chance to transcend the limits of a postwar Communist regime than any member of the neighboring Soviet bloc possessed. When the chance came for all of Eastern Europe after 1989, that Yugoslavia had become a place, in the introductory words to a famous American film, “that we read about only in the history books . . . gone . . . with the wind.” I tried to separate my history book from the nostalgia of *Gone with the Wind*, with its exaggerations and omissions of what was lost. But I also sought to stand back from an understandable disposition in the successor states, shared by too many Western observers, to see their ethnic majorities and their territories as having little past connection – certainly nothing constructive – with each other or with two common states.

The ethnic wars and troubled transitions that have marked the efforts of the successor states to disentangle themselves from those really existing connections have now spanned an entire decade. Their struggles provide the primary justification for this second edition. Its lengthy new chapter on the period 1991–99 records some progress and achievement among the successor states but leaves me with another sad task, with less to celebrate than to lament. In proceeding into these most recent years, I was obliged to rely on sifting through secondary sources and my own observations from a dozen visits to the region during the decade. The primary sources on which historians prefer to rely remain to be fully studied for the first Yugoslavia and fully opened for the second. Despite their near total absence for the 1990s, the toll of dead, displaced, or disconnected even before the recent tragedy in Kosovo is simply too great, the stakes too high for all of Europe and also the United States in preventing more ethnic warfare and in reconnecting all of Southeastern Europe, to avoid facing the challenge of what I have elsewhere called instant history.

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

xviii Preface to the second edition

Considerable reason exists for the considerable effort that I have expended in revising the introduction and eleven chapters of the first edition. The recent warfare in the one successor state to continue using the name Federal Republic of Yugoslavia demanded greater attention to the ethnic history of Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro. My conscious neglect of separate cultural histories has been repaired where space permits and some relevance to a common heritage or inter-ethnic relations exists. I have paid special attention to clarifying the simplifications or correcting the simple errors of fact that were most frequent in the initial, century-spanning chapters, useful as they were to critical readers from one special perspective or another who wished to dismiss the subsequent bulk of the book on that basis.

I found further reason for revision, and also for the added chapter 12, in the continuing absence of any new survey of the former Yugoslavia since my first edition and, at the same time, in much impressive new research and scholarship, along with a flood of journalistic treatment, on particular parts and periods. The footnotes to the new chapter list twenty publications treating the 1990s alone, and the expanded bibliography adds forty books in English or German. Important new works in what are now separate languages for each successor state dot the revised chapter notes. I also took particular pleasure in drawing on the books or doctoral dissertations of nine younger American scholars: Melissa Bokovoy, Audrey Helfant Budding, Jill Irvine, Carol Lilly, Katherine McCarthy, Nicholas Miller, Marko Prelec, Veljko Vujačić, and Andrew Wachtel. Their work first became familiar to me when they attended the annual Junior Scholars Training Seminar of the East European Studies program that I directed for the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars from 1987 to 1997.

Mention should also be made of the advantage that I have tried to take from the numerous reviews of the first edition, a series of round-table and individual discussions on that volume with scholars in the successor states, my consultation of an important new archive, and finally several readers of the new chapter. This is not the place to appreciate the majority of quite favorable reviews or continue the debate between myself and Ivo Banac – in the *Slavic Review*, 58, 1 (1999): 281 – about whether my initial chapters point to the rise of an inevitable Yugoslavia. Here it is more appropriate to note the two reviews which were most useful to me for their detailed appraisal and constructive criticism: James Krokavac on the Internet's HABSBUERG Reviews, 1997/20, and Slobodan G. Marković in *Književne novine* from Belgrade, October 15, 1997. Round-table discussions at the Law Faculty in Ljubljana, the Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade, the

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

Preface to the second edition

xix

Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Skopje were also valuable, as were individual meetings there and in Zagreb, Dubrovnik, and Sarajevo. I profitably consulted the newspaper collection at the new Open Society Archives at the Central European University in Budapest. And my special thanks go to Steven Burg, Lenard Cohen, and Charles Ingrao for their comments on an initial draft of the new chapter.

The heavy responsibility for what is said there and elsewhere in this volume remains my own. I have tried to be clearer, if not briefer, about this complex subject which citizens and students seek to understand and about which policy makers have had and still have decisions to make. I have also tried, as the discipline of history demands, to stand back from the conflicting certainties of recent experience remembered, and then used as a path to explain the past. After a decade of dissolution and war, such memories work to deepen ethno-centric divisions across the successor states. And they continue to tempt Western observers with their simplifications. I stand back as well from speaking for the two lost Yugoslavias, let alone encouraging the prospect of a third. I ask only that we seek out the several-sided histories that brought both of them together and broke both of them apart. Neither of them deserves to be left to the single source of recent memory.

John R. Lampe, College Park, Maryland

September 1999

Note on pronunciation

The joint language known as Serbo-Croatian in the former Yugoslavia (and since 1991 divided into the historically separable Serbian and Croatian languages) is spelled phonetically, that is, each letter of the alphabet always represents the same sound. The following guide to pronunciation is based on the Latin alphabet, used in the Croatian variant of Serbo-Croatian. Diacritic marks are used with certain consonants to indicate sounds which have a separate sign in the Cyrillic alphabet, used in Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

A	as in English	a in <i>father</i>
B		b in <i>bed</i>
C		ts in <i>cats</i>
Č		ch in <i>reach</i>
Ć	a sound between	ch in <i>reach</i> and t in <i>tune</i>
D	as in English	d in <i>dog</i>
Dž		j in <i>John</i>
Dj	a sound between	d in <i>duke</i> and dg in <i>bridge</i>
E	as in English	e in <i>let</i>
F		f in <i>full</i>
G		g in <i>good</i>
H	as in Scottish	ch in <i>loch</i>
I	as in English	i in <i>machine</i>
J		y in <i>yet</i>
K		k in <i>kite</i>
L		l in <i>look</i>
Lj		ll in <i>million</i>
M		m in <i>man</i>
N		n in <i>net</i>
Nj		n in <i>new</i>
O		o in <i>not</i>
P		p in <i>pet</i>
R		r in <i>run</i> (slightly rolled)

Cambridge University Press

0521773571 - Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country, Second Edition - John R. Lampe

Frontmatter/Prelims

[More information](#)

Note on pronunciation

xxi

S	ss in <i>glass</i>
Š	sh in <i>she</i>
T	t in <i>tap</i>
U	u in <i>rule</i>
V	v in <i>veil</i>
Z	z in <i>zebra</i>
Ž	s in <i>pleasure</i>