

SECOND EDITION



HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF
BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA

ANTE ČUVALO

HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF EUROPE

Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

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To all the innocent victims of the recent
war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina;
to my late father, who was himself an innocent
victim of the “revolution” after World War II;
and to my late mother,
who, despite all misfortunes,
remained a believer in humanity.

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Editor's Foreword

Few areas of the world have had a more painful birth than Bosnia and Herzegovina. Conceived as a home for much of the Muslim population and a haven of multiethnic harmony, it was nearly torn apart during years of hostility, with various domestic groups and their external supporters pitted against one another. Today the future of this still-fragmented country is in doubt, as there are many remaining impediments to economic and social development. Yet Bosnia has recovered from much of its tumultuous recent past and even made some tentative steps forward. The crisis surrounding the birth of this nation shows that what happens in Bosnia is not important only for Bosnians. It concerns its neighboring states, European and Muslim countries, the United States, and the United Nations. Thus, the availability of useful information such as this *Historical Dictionary of Bosnia and Herzegovina* is crucial.

Regarding the country's history, the dictionary emphasizes the present and recent past. Significant leaders are presented, crucial events are described, and political institutions are analyzed. There are also entries on economy, society, culture, and religion. In addition to the comprehensive dictionary section, this book contains an introduction, chronology, and bibliography for further reading.

The author of this updated and expanded edition is the same as the first, Ante Čuvalo. He was born in Bosnia-Herzegovina and received his elementary, secondary, and parts of his tertiary education there and in Croatia. He undertook further academic studies in the United States, where he majored in Eastern European history. Dr. Čuvalo taught at Ohio State University and currently teaches at Joliet Junior College, and he has lectured and written extensively on Bosnia, Croatia, and the former Yugoslavia. This present volume is a thought-provoking survey of a place he knows well, and which is important enough for all of us to know better.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Acknowledgments

In the preparation of this book I received help from a number of people, and I thank all of them. Special thanks go to my wife, Ivana, my son, Mime, and my daughter, Anđelka, for their support and help; to Ivan Runac, Krešimir Šego, Imam Senad Agić, Mario Vukoja, Željko Ivanković, and Tomislav Kaniški for their assistance and suggestions; and to the library staff of Joliet Junior College, especially Barbara Wilson for her patience and cooperation.

Note on Spelling

Three languages are in use in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina: Bosniac, Croatian, and Serbian. Bosniac and Croatian are written in Latin, and Serbian uses the Cyrillic script. Some Latin letters, however, contain diacritical signs or are composed of two joined letters to indicate specific sounds. The same sounds can be found in the Cyrillic alphabet and can be easily transcribed into the Latin alphabet. The original spelling is retained in domestic names and concepts. The following is a pronunciation key for English-speaking readers.

C, c	<i>ts</i> as in <i>nuts</i>
Ć, ć	<i>ch</i> as in <i>cheap</i>
Č, č	<i>ch</i> as in <i>chair</i>
Đ, đ	<i>j</i> as in <i>joke</i>
Dž, dž	<i>j</i> as in <i>joke</i> but harder
J, j	<i>y</i> as in <i>yes</i>
Lj, lj	<i>li</i> as in <i>million</i>
Nj, nj	<i>ny</i> as in <i>canyon</i>
Š, š	<i>sh</i> as in <i>shell</i>
Ž, ž	<i>zh</i> as in <i>seizure</i>

In alphabetizing the dictionary, diacritical signs have been ignored.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AID	Agencija za Informacije i Dokumentaciju/Agency for Information and Documentation
ANUBiH	Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine/ Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina
ARBiH	Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine/Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
AVNOJ	Antifašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije/ Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia
BHPS	Bosanskohercegovačka Patriotska Stranka/Bosnian-Herzegovinian Patriotic Party
BiH	Bosna i Hercegovina/Bosnia and Herzegovina
BOSS	Bosanska Stranka/Bosnian Party
CIN	Centar za Istraživačko Novinarstvo/Center for Investigative Reporting
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DNS	Demokratski Narodni Savez/Democratic People's Alliance
DNZ	Demokratska Narodna Zajednica/Democratic People's Union
DS	Demokratska Stranka/Democratic Party
DSS	Demokratska Stranka Socijalista/Democratic Party of Socialists
DSZ	Demokratska Liga Zelenih/Democratic League of Greens
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force

FBiH	Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine/Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FENA	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina News Agency
FOSS	Federalna Obavještajno-Sigurnosna Služba/Federal Intelligence Security Agency
FNRJ	Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija/Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
HDS	Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka/Croatian Democratic Party
HDU	Hrvatska Demokratska Unija/Croat Democratic Union
HDZ	Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica/Croatian Democratic Union
HKDU	Hrvatska Kršćanska Demokratska Unija/Croatian Christian Democratic Union
HMDS	Hrvatska Muslimanska Demokratska Stranka/Croatian Muslim Democratic Party
HNZ	Hrvatska Narodna Zajednica/Croatian People's Union
HOS	Hrvatske Obrambene Snage/Croatian Defense Forces
HPS	Hrvatska Pučka Stranka/Croatian People's Party
HRHB	Hrvatska Republika Herceg Bosna/Croatian Republic Herceg Bosna
HRSS	Hrvatska Republikanska Seljačka Stranka/Croatian Republican Peasant Party
HSP	Hrvatska Stranka Prava/Croatian Party of Right
HSS	Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka/Croatian Peasant Party
HVO	Hrvatsko Vijeće Obrane/Croat Defense Council
HZ	Hrvatsko Zajedništvo/Croat Unity
HZHB	Hrvatska Zajednica Herceg Bosna/Croat Community Herceg Bosna
ICFY	International Conference on Former Yugoslavia
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IFOR	Implementation Force
IHR	International High Representative

IMRO	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization
ISABiH	Intelligence and Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina
JMO	Jugoslavenska Muslimanska Organizacija/Yugoslav Muslim Organization
JNA	Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija/Yugoslav People's Army
JRZ	Jugoslavenska Radikalna Zajednica/Yugoslav Radical Union
KM	Konvertibilna Marka/Convertible Mark
KOS	Kontra Obavještajna Služba/Counterintelligence Service
KP	Komunistička Partija/Communist Party
KSHS	Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca/Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes
LCY	League of Communists of Yugoslavia
LS	Liberalna Stranka/Liberal Party
MBO	Muslimanska Bošnjačka Organizacija/Muslim Bosniac Organization
MDS	Muslimanska Demokratska Stranka/Muslim Democratic Party
MESS	Male Eksperimentalne Scene Sarajevo/Small Experimental Scenes Sarajevo/
MOS	Muslimanske Oružane Snage/Muslim Armed Forces
MOS	Muslimanska Obavještajna Služba/Muslim Intelligence Agency
MUP	Ministarstvo Unutarnjih Poslova/Ministry of Interior
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDH	Nezavisna Država Hrvatska/Independent State of Croatia
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NHI	Nova Hrvatska Inicijativa/New Croatian Initiative
NRS	Narodna Radikalna Stranka/People's Radical Party
OBS	Obavještajna Bezbjedonosna Služba/Intelligence and Security Agency
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

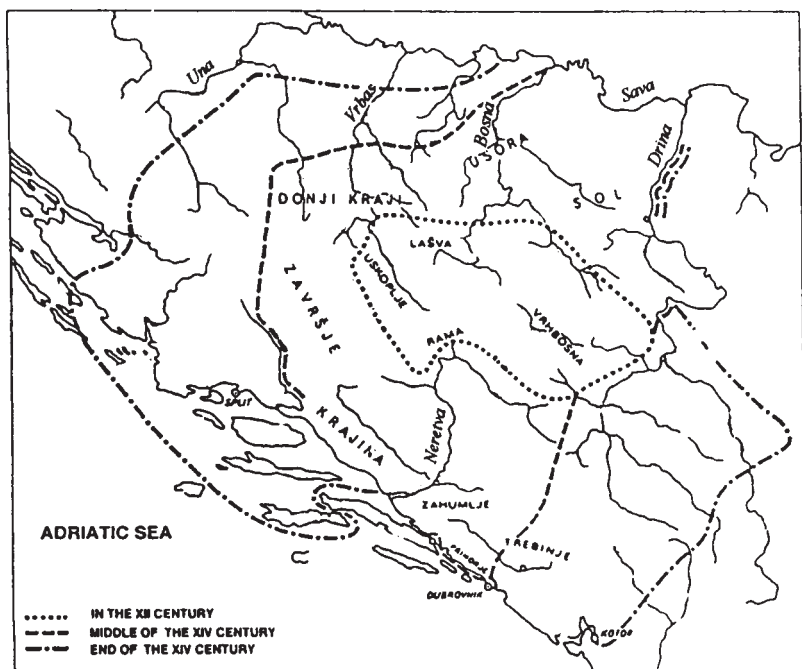
OSRBiH	Oružane Snage Republike Bosne i Hercegovine/Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
OZNA	Odjeljenje za Zaštitu Naroda/Department for the Protection of People
PBSBiH	Public Broadcasting Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina
PDP RS	Partija Demokratskog Progresa RS/Party of Democratic Progress RS
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
PL	Patriotska Liga/Patriotic League
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RS	Republika Srpska/Serb Republic
RS	Republikanska Stranka/Republican Party
RTRS	Radio-Televizija RS/Radio-Television of the RS
RTVBH	Radio-Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine/Radio-Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina
RTVFBiH	Radio-Televizija Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine/Radio-Television of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
SAO	Srpska autonomna oblast/Serb Autonomous Province
SBiH	Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu/Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina
SDA	Stranka Demokratske Akcije/Party of Democratic Action
SDG	Srpska Dobrovoljačka Garda/Serbian Volunteer Guard
SDP	Socijalistička Demokratska Partija/Social Democratic Party
SDS	Srpska Demokratska Stranka/Serbian Democratic Party
SDU	Socijaldemokratska Unija/Social Democratic Union
SFF	Sarajevo Film Festival
SFOR	Stabilization Force
SFRJ	Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija/Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
SFRY	Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
SGV	Srpsko Građansko Vijeće/Serb Civic Council
SIDRA	Savez Islamskih Derviških Redova Alije/Alliance of Islamic Dervish Orders Alija

SKSDP	Savez Komunisti, Stranka Demokratskih Promjena/ League of Communists, Party for Democratic Change
SMPRS	Savez za Mir i Progres Republika Srpska/Union for Peace and Progress Serb Republic
SNO	Srpska Narodna Obnova/Serbian People's Renewal
SNS	Sluzba Nacionalne Sigurnosti/National Security Service
SNSD	Savez Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata/Alliance of Inde- pendent Social Democrats
SPAS	Srpska Patriotska Stranka/Serb Patriotic Party
SPO	Srpski Pokret Obnove/Serbian Renewal Movement
SPRS	Socijalistička Partija Republike Srpske/Socialist Party of the Serb Republic
SPS	Socijalistička Partija Srbije/Socialist Party of Serbia
SRJ	Savezna Republika Jugoslavija/Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SRNA	Srpska Republika Novinska Agencija/Serb Republic News Agency
SRS	Srpska Radikalna Stranka/Serb Radical Party
SRSBiH	Savez Reformskih Snaga Bosne i Hercegovine/ Alliance of Reform Forces of Bosnia and Herze- govina
SRSJ	Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije/Alliance of Re- form Forces of Yugoslavia
SRT	Srpska Radio-Televizija/Serb Radio-Television
SS	Srpska Stranka/Serb Party
SSK	Srpska Stranka Krajine/Serb Party of Krajina
TO	Teritorijalna Obrana/Territorial Defense
UDBA	Uprava Državne Bezbjednosti/State Security Adminis- tration
UN	United Nations
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
VJ	Vojska Jugoslavije/Army of Yugoslavia
VKBI	Vijeće Kongresa Bošnjačkih Intelektualaca/Council of the Congress of Bosniac Intellectuals
VRS	Vojska Republike Srpske/Army of the Serb Republic
ZAVNOBiH	Zemaljsko Antifašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođ enja Bosne i Hercegovine/The Territorial Antifascist

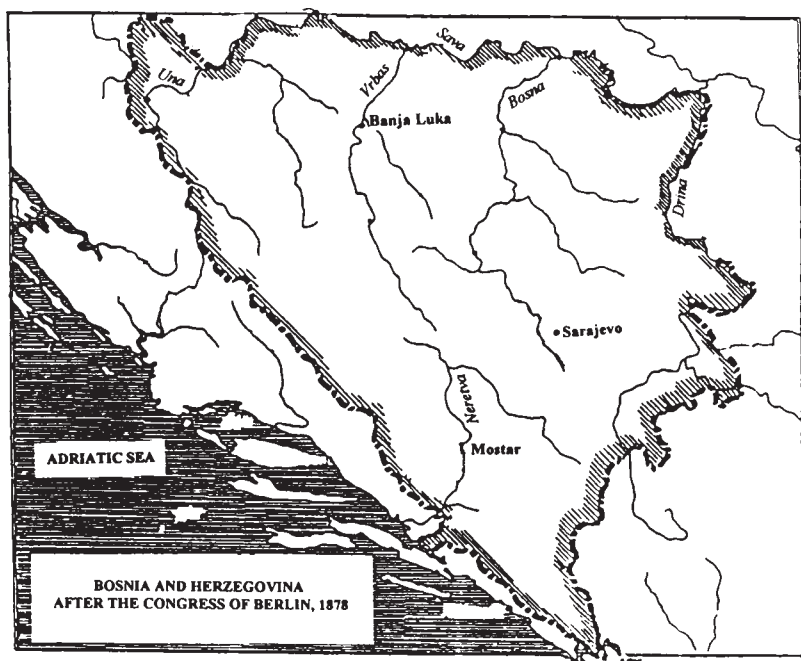
	Council of the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
ZIDRA	Zajednica Islamskih Derviških Redova Alijje/ Community of Islamic Dervish Orders Alijja
ZLBiH	Združena Lista za Bosnu i Hercegovinu/United List for Bosnia and Herzegovina
ZS	Zemljoradnička Stranka/Agriculturalists' Party



Bosnia and Herzegovina



Medieval Bosnia





Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1945



Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Dayton Peace Accords, November 1995

Chronology

Antiquity (before c. 600 AD)

Paleolithic Age First evidence of human dwellings found in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Neolithic Epoch Distinctive culture present in regions of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina. Butmir (near Sarajevo) is best finding from the period.

Bronze Age A number of human settlements present in the region.

c. 1100 BC Indo-European tribes known as Illyrians settle in the Balkans from Macedonia to the Alps.

c. 359 BC Celts invade the Balkans.

229 BC Long struggle between Illyrians and Romans starts.

AD 9 Finally, Romans crush Illyrian resistance. A year later, Caesar Augustus divides Roman province of Illyricum into two provinces, Pannonia and Dalmatia. Today's northern Bosnia belongs to Pannonia, and the rest to Dalmatia.

395 Roman Empire permanently divided into eastern and western halves. Present border between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina becomes a permanent boundary between Eastern and Western Christianity and culture.

Coming of the Slavs (c. 600–1154)

c. 600 First Slavic migration to the Balkan region takes place, together with—or perhaps in service of—the invading Avars.

626–635 Croats from White Croatia, a state around today's city of Krakow in Poland, fight Avars and settle eastern shores of the Adriatic. Present lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina become mostly a part of the Croat domain.

c. 635 Serbs from today's southeastern Germany migrate to today's southern Serbia.

877 First known reference noted to Bosnian Catholic diocese under the Archdiocese of Split.

925 First Croatian king, Tomislav, is crowned in today's Bosnian town of Tomislavgrad.

949–960 Original Bosnian territory is under Serbian ruler Časlav.

960–990 Bosnia is under rule of Croatian kings again.

990 Bulgaria has short rule in Bosnia.

1018–1040 Bosnia is under Byzantium.

1040–1087 Bosnia is part of Croatian rule again.

1060 Catholic diocese of Vrhbosna is established.

1087–1102 Bosnia is under Duklja (Dioclea).

Bosnian Autonomy and Independence (1154–1463)

1154–1163 First known Bosnian, *ban* (viceroy) Borić, rules.

c. 1164–1204 Kulin *ban* rules in Bosnia.

1203 Renunciation of heresy at Bilino Polje by *ban* Kulin and local church leaders.

1219 First Serbian Orthodox episcopate established in Hum (Herzegovina); lasts only a few decades; revived in 1611.

1222 First Hungarian "Crusade" fought against Bosnian "heretics." The country comes under direct Hungarian rule.

1225–c. 1253 Matija Ninoslav *ban* of Bosnia rules.

- 1254–1287** Ban Stipan Prijezda (Kotroman) rules.
- 1287–1302** Stipan I Kotromanić ban of Bosnia rules.
- 1290** Croatian ban, Pavao I Šubić, invades Bosnia.
- 1291** Franciscan friars arrive in Bosnia as missionaries.
- 1302** Mladen Šubić, brother of Pavao Šubić, occupies Bosnia. Ban Stipan I Kotromanić on the run. Mladen is assassinated in Bosnia in 1304.
- 1304–1318** Mladen II Šubić, oldest son of ban Pavao I Šubić, rulers of Bosnia.
- 1312–1353** Stipan II Kotromanić ban of Bosnia rules.
- 1322** Stipan II begins expanding Bosnia's borders to west and south, including region of Hum.
- 1339/40** Franciscans establish Bosnian Vicariate.
- 1350** Ruler of Serbia, Stevan Dušan, invades Bosnia but is not able to keep it.
- 1353–1391** Ban and then King Stipan Tvrtko I Kotromanić resigns.
- 1365/67** Bosnian *kr'stjans* rebel against Tvrtko.
- 1373** Tvrtko I captures Podrinje from Serbs.
- 1377** Tvrtko I declares himself king.
- 1385–1390** Tvrtko I gains the town of Kotor and recaptures Tropolje (Duvno, Livno, Glamoč), Hum, and parts of southern Croatia.
- 1386** Turks undertake first incursion into Bosnian kingdom.
- 1391–1395** King Stipan Dabiša rules.
- 1393** Dabiša recognizes suzerainty of Hungarian-Croatian king Sigismund and promises him Bosnian crown after his own death.
- 1395–1398** Jelena, Dabiša's wife, rules Bosnia.
- 1398–1404** Ostoja reigns as king of Bosnia and again in 1408–1418.
- 1404–1408** Tvrtko II rules Bosnia and again in 1420–1443.

1419–1420 King Stipan Ostojić rules.

1444–1461 King Stipan Tomaš rules.

1448 Stipan Vukčić Kosača, ruler of Hum, takes title of *Herceg* (duke). Later, the land becomes known as Herzegovina or Herzeg's land.

1461–1463 King Stipan Tomašević reigns as last king of Bosnia.

Ottoman Rule (1463–1878)

1463 Medieval Bosnian state ends. Bosnia becomes a victim of Ottoman expansionism in Europe. Turks make Bosnia a military district (*sandžak* or *sanjak*). Parts of the land are temporarily recovered by the Hungarian-Croatian king and Herzeg Stipan.

1470 Turks make Herzegovina a separate military district (*sandžak*).

1482 Last remnant of Herzeg's land (Herzegovina) falls to the Turks.

1529 First printing press introduced in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) territory; operates only for three years in a monastery near Goražde.

1527 Town of Jajce falls to the Turks.

1529 First printing press on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina established in St. George Monastery near Goražde. It was transferred to Romania in 1544.

1557 Seat of Dabar Orthodox episcopate transferred to Bosnia; became known as Dabro-Bosnian.

1580 Bosnia becomes an Ottoman province (*beylerbeylik/eyalet*, better known as *pašaluk*). It includes *sandžak* of Herzegovina and newly established *sandžaks* in Croatia.

1592 Town of Bihać falls to the Turks.

1699 The Treaty of Karlowitz (Srijemski Karlovići) ends Habsburg-Ottoman war (1683–1699). Ottomans start retreating from Europe.

1718 Republic of Dubrovnik grants Ottomans in Bosnia-Herzegovina two exits to the Adriatic Sea, Neum-Klek in the north and Suturina to the south of its territory.

1826 As a part of Ottoman reforms, Janissary corps are abolished. Bosnia greatly dissatisfied with reforms.

1831 Open Muslim revolt occurs in Bosnia, under charismatic leadership of *Kapetan* Husejin Gradašćević, known as “Dragon of Bosnia.” Revolt is crushed a year later.

1832 Herzegovina becomes an independent Ottoman province/*eyalet*.

1835 *Kapetanije* in Bosnia-Herzegovina are abolished.

1849 One of biggest Muslim antireform revolts in Bosnia crushed by Omer-pasha Latas in 1850.

1851 Major revolt of Christians occurs in Bosnia. They demand equality under the law. Christians revolt again in 1857–1858 for similar reasons.

1858 Topal Osman-paša approves opening in Sarajevo of first BiH school for girls.

1858 Telegraph system introduced in BiH. Sarajevo connected to Istanbul two years later.

1864 A capable governor, Topal Osman-paša, implements provincial reforms in Bosnia. Bosnia and Herzegovina are united once again into a single Ottoman administrative province (*vilayet*).

1865 Sarajevo’s first modern printing press starts operating.

1875 Rebellion of Croatian and Serbian peasants against Muslim landlords starts a crisis that brings an end to Ottoman rule in Bosnia.

1876 Serbia and Montenegro declare war on Ottoman Empire. Ottomans win the war.

1877–1878 Russians successfully intervene in the Balkans. The Ottomans suffer a major defeat.

Habsburg Rule (1878–1918)

1878 Congress of Berlin revises Russian dictated Treaty of San Stefano and, among other provisions, entrusts Bosnia and Herzegovina to

Austria-Hungary to “occupy and administer.” **29 July:** Habsburg forces march into Bosnia-Herzegovina, and by end of October take full control over the country. Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a separate province under a shared rule of Austria and Hungary.

1881 Austria-Hungary incorporates BiH military units into imperial army and introduces conscription, because of which brief revolts flare up in Mostar.

1881 Vatican revives traditional Catholic hierarchy in BiH; Sarajevo becomes see of Vrhbosna archdiocese; Banja Luka, Mostar-Duvno, and Trebinje-Mrkanj dioceses founded.

1882 Benjamin Kállay becomes joint imperial finance minister and ex officio in control of Bosnian affairs until 1903.

1908 Austro-Hungary annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina.

1910 Constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is promulgated. Limited base franchise elections to Parliament take place.

1912–1913 First and Second Balkan Wars fought.

1914 28 June: Archduke Francis Ferdinand assassinated in Sarajevo. World War I follows (1914–1918).

South Slavic Union (1918–1992)

1918 1 December: Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (known as Yugoslavia after 1929) formed under Serbia’s Karađorđević dynasty.

1919 Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO) is established.

1928 20 June: Croatian parliamentary leaders assassinated in Belgrade’s Parliament.

1929 6 January: King Aleksandar Karađorđević outlaws all “tribal” parties, declares personal dictatorship, and renames the country Yugoslavia. Shortly after, Ante Pavelić, a member of Parliament, establishes *Ustaša* Croatian Revolutionary Organization and immigrates to Italy.

1939 “Young Muslims” movement begins in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **26 August:** Croat-Serbian Agreement (*Sporazum*) introduced. Croatia becomes an autonomous banate (*banovina*) that includes parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

1941 **25 March:** The Kingdom of Yugoslavia joins the Tripartite Pact. **27 March:** A military coup topples government in Belgrade, declares King Peter II Karađorđević of age, and Gen. Dušan Simović forms pro-English government. **6 April:** Germany attacks Yugoslavia and in a few days crushes its armed forces. **10 April:** Independent State of Croatia (NDH) declared (1941–1945). Bosnia-Herzegovina is part of NDH. **22 June:** Communist Party of Yugoslavia calls the public to resist Fascism and Nazism. First antifascist resistance armed unit formed near the city of Sisak, Croatia.

1943 **13 February:** Adolf Hitler approves formation of the 13th Waffen Mountain Division of the SS *Handschar/Handžar*, made up of mostly Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims. **25–26 November:** Territorial Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina formed in Mrkonjić grad (Varcar Vakuf). **29 November:** Second session of Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) takes place. It proclaims second Yugoslavia based on federalist principles under leadership of Josip Broz Tito and Yugoslav Communist Party.

1944 **27 April:** Husein (Huske) Miljković, a Muslim militia leader in western Bosnia (Cazin and Velika Kladuša region), killed.

1946 **31 January:** New Yugoslav Constitution is proclaimed. Bosnia-Herzegovina becomes one of six republics in socialist Yugoslavia.

1948 **28 June:** Soviet-led Cominform expels Yugoslav Communist Party from its ranks. Soviet-Yugoslav split ensues.

1952 Yugoslav “road to socialism” is introduced, including idea of “self-management.” Communist Party of Yugoslavia is renamed League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

1961 Ivo Andrić wins the Nobel Prize for Literature.

1963 **7 April:** Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) changes its name to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ).

1965 Yugoslav economic reforms start.

1966 1 July: The Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia removes Aleksandar Ranković, vice president of Yugoslavia, organizational secretary of the Communist party, head of Yugoslav secret police, and leader of Serbian unitarism, who opposed reforms.

1968 Student protests start at Belgrade University and spread to major universities in other republics, including University of Sarajevo.

1971 1 December: “Croatian Spring” ends. Many students and intellectuals are jailed and the Communist Party in Croatia is purged of “rotten liberalism.” Many Croats from and in Bosnia and Herzegovina are suspects.

1974 21 February: New Yugoslav Constitution is promulgated. It enhances power of the six Republics and two Autonomous Provinces. Tito is confirmed as president for life. Principle of rotating collective presidency is established.

1981 4 May: Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia, dies.

1983 18 July: Trial of Alija Izetbegović and 12 other Bosnian Muslim intellectuals begins. **8 August:** Trial of Bosnian Muslim intellectuals ends; Izetbegović is sentenced to 14 years in prison.

1984 8 February: Winter Olympics open in Sarajevo.

1986 May: Branko Mikulić, from Bosnia and Herzegovina, replaces Milka Planinc as chair of Federal Executive Council in Belgrade. **24 September:** Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences leaks a memorandum written by dissident intellectuals. It is considered an ideological blueprint for the emerging militant Serbian nationalism that strives to achieve a “Greater Serbia.”

1987 15 April: Financial scandal in a well-known business enterprise (Agrokomerc) begins. The affair shakes Muslim ruling establishment in Bosnia-Herzegovina. **April 24:** Slobodan Milošević delivers an inflammatory speech in Kosovo. **23–24 September:** The eighth session of the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists held; the Great Serbian faction prevails, and Milošević takes control of the League of Communists in Serbia.

1988 Some 60 rallies organized by the Serbs take place throughout Serbia and even in other republics. Serbs refer to them as “the happening of the people” and “antibureaucratic revolution.” The rallies are used by Milošević to replace the existing political leadership in Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Montenegro with his cronies and to unite Serbs in a common cause based on principle that “all Serbs must live in one state.” November: Alija Izetbegović released from prison. **29 November:** Yugoslavian Federal Assembly passes 39 political and economic amendments to federal constitution. Milošević speaks before a crowd of between 800,000 and 1.3 million Serbs. **30 December:** Prime Minister Branko Mikulić and cabinet resign.

1989 8 May: Milošević elected as president of Serbia

1990 20–23 January: League of Communists of Yugoslavia disintegrates. Slovene and Croatian Party officials walk out of Fourteenth, and last, Party Congress. **26 May:** Party of Democratic Action (SDA) founded. **12 July:** Serb Democratic Party established. **18 August:** Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) formed. **18 November:** Multiparty elections held in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Muslim, Serb, and Croat nationalist parties victorious. **19 November:** League of Communists Movement for Yugoslavia founded in Belgrade by mostly retired and active Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) officers. **2 December:** Runoff elections held in the country.

1991 30 January: President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, and president of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, express their support for preservation of Yugoslav state. **27 February:** Bosnian parliament deadlocked over sovereignty decree; Serb representatives oppose the move. **2 May:** Muslim Patriotic League established. **7–12 May:** Croats from western Herzegovina stop JNA tanks en route from Mostar to Široki Brijeg. **15 May:** Serbian and Montenegrin representatives in federal collective presidency of Yugoslavia block Stipe Mesić of Croatia from assuming presidency. **6 June:** Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia propose a “union of Yugoslavian republics.” The “Gligorov-Izetbegović Platform” is rejected. **10 June:** Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslim dignitaries meet in Sarajevo. Council of National Defense for the Muslim Nation is formed with the Patriotic League as its military arm. **25 June:** Croatia and Slovenia declare independence. **26 June:** Ten Day War fought between Slovene Defense Forces and JNA. Within a few months, JNA pulls

out of Slovenia. **July–December:** War in Croatia fought between Croatian Territorial Forces on one side and local Serbian rebels plus paramilitary forces from Serbia, backed by JNA, on the other. Serbs consolidate their control over one-third of Croatia. **12 September:** Serb Autonomous Province (Srpska autonomna oblast (SAO) Eastern Herzegovina proclaimed. **16 September:** SAO Bosnian Krajina proclaimed. **19 September:** SAO Romanija proclaimed. **25 September:** UN Security Council imposes an arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia. The action favors the Serbs. **29 September:** Serb and Montenegrin forces attack Croat village of Ravno in Herzegovina; destruction and massacre follow. **15 October:** Memorandum of Sovereignty is adopted by parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina; 73 Serb deputies walk out in protest. Platform of the BiH Presidency on the Position of BiH is adopted on the same day. **22 October:** Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) changes its name to Army of Yugoslavia (VJ). **24 October:** BiH Serb deputies proclaim Serb National Assembly. **9–10 November:** In a separate plebiscite, over 90 percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbs vote to stay within Yugoslavia. **12 November:** Croat Community of Bosanska Posavina formed. **18 November:** Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna is declared in Grude. **6 December:** U.S. President George Bush authorizes trade sanctions on the former Yugoslavia, punishing all the republics for Serbia's aggression. **11 December:** BiH Serb National Assembly calls upon JNA/VJ to defend Serb territories in BiH. **20 December:** Bosnia-Herzegovina asks European Community (EC) for recognition of its independence. **21 December:** Assembly of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina establishes Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Radovan Karadžić elected president. **23 December:** President Izetbegović requests United Nations' peacekeepers for BiH.

Struggle for Survival (1992–1996)

1992 2 January: UN envoy, former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, negotiates agreement between Croatia and Serbs according to which a United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) will separate belligerents, and JNA will pull out of Croatia. Eventually JNA moves most of its troops from Croatia to Bosnia-Herzegovina. **9 January:** BiH Serbs declare an independent Serb Republic/Republika Srpska (RS) of

BiH, with the ultimate goal to join rump Yugoslavia. The RS, according to Serbs, comprises 66 percent of BiH territory and includes five SAO: east Herzegovina, Bosnian Krajina, Romanija, Semberija, and Ozren. **10 January:** Serbs bomb Catholic Church and three restaurants in Mostar. **15 January:** EC and several individual countries formally recognize Slovene and Croatian independence. **25 January:** Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina endorses referendum on republic's sovereignty to be held from 29 February to 1 March. **2 February:** Stjepan Kljuić replaced by Mate Boban as president of HDZ BiH. **21 February:** UN Security Council establishes the UNPROFOR to facilitate peace implementation in Croatia. **25 February:** Directive for defense of BiH adopted by Bosnian Muslim Patriotic League central command. **February–March:** EC sponsors talks in Lisbon, Portugal, on future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. EC plan proposes national cantons within federal Bosnian state. Provisions for central government are so weak that Radovan Karadžić, leader of Bosnian Serbs, endorses plan. President Alija Izetbegović at first accepts plan, than changes his mind and rejects it. **29 February–1 March:** BiH holds referendum on independence, as required by EC. Over 99 percent of participants vote for independence from Yugoslavia. Most of BiH Serbs do not participate in the vote. **2 March:** Serbs set up barricades in Sarajevo. **3 March:** President Izetbegović announces independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and calls on all armed groups to disarm. **4 March:** Fighting breaks out in Bosanski Brod and around Foča; mosque bombed in Prnjavor; Serbs hijack police truck carrying explosives in Visoko. **10 March:** “Club of intellectuals” demonstrate in Mostar, demand resignation of municipal and regional authorities—attempting to prevent defense of the city and the region. **18 March:** Serb, Muslim, and Croat leaders sign agreement in Sarajevo (known as Coutilhero Plan). BiH to be divided into three autonomous units along ethnic lines. A few days later, Muslim leadership rejects agreement. **26 March:** Eleven Serbs massacred in Sijekovac. Muslim Patriotic League suspected. **27 March:** Radovan Karadžić proclaims “Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina” with Banja Luka as its temporary capital, and declares that the republic's loyalty is to an “all-Serbian State of Yugoslavia.” Moslem intellectuals sign declaration on future of BiH; demand territorial integrity and indivisibility of republic. **29 March:** Convention of BiH Serb intellectuals meets in Sarajevo; insists on indivisibility of Serbs wherever they live. Croat refugees flee across Sava River into

Croatia to escape JNA tanks. **31 March:** Serbs form their own police force in their BiH “autonomous areas.” **1 April:** Paramilitaries from Serbia “ethnically cleanse” Bijeljina. **6 April:** Serb irregulars start massive war campaign. Shelling of Sarajevo starts. Yugoslav Army is directly involved in attacks on Muslim and Croat areas. Armed clashes throughout BiH. **6–7 April:** Bosnia-Herzegovina is recognized by EC and United States respectively; U.S. also recognizes Croatia and Slovenia. **7 April:** Assembly of Serbian People in Bosnia-Herzegovina declares in Banja Luka independence of BiH Serbian Republic. **8 April:** Izetbegović and BiH collective presidency declares state of emergency and establishes the main headquarters of BiH Territorial Defense (TO). Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna forms Croat Defense Council (HVO). JNA captures Kupres. **9 April:** Presidency of BiH forms Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Oružane snage Bosne i Hercegovine (OSBiH), under whose command all resistance forces were supposed to unite. **10 April:** Zvornik “razed.” Fighting erupts in many places: Modriča, Mostar, Kupres, Višegrad, Foča, Bosanski Brod, Čapljina, Stolac. **14 April:** BiH foreign minister, Haris Silajdžić, asks for U.S. assistance to prevent mass massacres. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker declares government has sent strongly worded note to Serbs. **18 April:** Serbs capture munitions factory in Vogošća. **21 April:** Sarajevo is completely surrounded by Serb forces. New truce brokered by EC. Serb forces attack Bosanska Krupa in northwest BiH. **22 April:** Street-to-street fighting occurs in Sarajevo—Serbs seek to gain control of downtown. **26 April:** Izetbegović and Belgrade regime sign an agreement for the withdrawal of JNA from BiH, along with its weapons and those it confiscated from TO. **27 April:** FRY, composed of Serbia and Montenegro, is proclaimed in Belgrade. Serb artillery starts shelling Mostar heavily. **28 April:** UN agrees (in principle) to extend its involvement from Croatia to BiH. **30 April:** Last two bridges linking northern BiH with Croatia destroyed by masked commandos; refugees fleeing area killed in explosions. **2 May:** President Izetbegović captured by Yugoslav Army and later released. **4 May:** BiH declares Yugoslavia as aggressor and asks international intervention. **5 May:** With help of EC, BiH presidency and JNA sign peace treaty in Sarajevo, which provides for cessation of conflict throughout BiH, unblocking of barracks and Sarajevo Airport and exchange of dead, wounded, and captives. **6 May:** Under EC sponsorship, Radovan Karadžić and Mate Boban meet in Graz (Austria) to

discuss territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. **12 May:** Assembly of the Serb Nation of BiH establishes the Army of the SRBiH and names Maj. Gen. Ratko Mladić as its commander of the Supreme Staff. U.S. recalls Ambassador Warren Zimmermann from Belgrade in protest against “Serb-led aggression,” declares that use of force “is not an option,” and BiH is not “a national security interest” for U.S. **13 May:** UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reports to Security Council that situation in BiH is “tragic, dangerous, full of violence, and confusing,” and that no conditions exist for UN peace operation in republic. **14 May:** Greeks, French, and British oppose EC discussion on trade sanctions against Serbia. **15 May:** UN Security Council, in resolution 752, demands Yugoslav military forces and Croatian Army to withdraw from BiH or submit to the military command in Sarajevo. BiH foreign minister asks Security Council to create safety zone in country. **18 May:** Red Cross convoy bringing medicine to Sarajevo hit by Serb rockets. **19 May:** JNA starts its evacuation from BiH. **20 May:** U.S. suspends landing rights for the Serbian airline company JAT in retaliation for Serb blockades of emergency food and relief in BiH. **22 May:** Bosnia and Herzegovina (as well as Slovenia and Croatia) admitted to the UN. U.S. closes Yugoslavia consulates in New York and San Francisco; consulate in Chicago and embassy in Washington stay open. **27 May:** Shell hits line of people in Sarajevo waiting to buy bread—16 are killed, more than 140 wounded. EC imposes trade embargo on Serbia. German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, calls for Yugoslavia’s expulsion from UN. Turkey threatens to send troops to BiH. **30 May:** UN Security Council imposes mandatory sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. In agreement with Sarajevo, some units of Croatian army remain in BiH. **5 June:** BiH fighters lift blockade of Marshall Tito Barracks in Sarajevo and allow 800 soldiers and families to evacuate. **6 June:** JNA finally withdraws from Marshal Tito Barracks in Sarajevo. **6–8 June:** Western Mostar and large parts of Herzegovina liberated. **11 June:** European Parliament declares Yugoslavia as a federation of six republics has ceased to exist, and new Serbian-Montenegrin federation could not claim to be its only successor. **15 June:** Dobrica Ćosić elected first president of newly formed FRY. **16 June:** Diplomatic relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina established. **20 June:** Presidency of BiH declares state of war; Serbia, Montenegro, Yugoslav army, and BiH Serb extremists named as aggressors. **28 June:** French President François Mitterrand visits Sarajevo; his

“mediation mission” is seen as an attempt to prevent probable air strikes of the West against Serbs. **29 June:** UN Security Council votes to immediately deploy additional elements of UNPROFOR to ensure security of Sarajevo airport and delivery of humanitarian assistance. **3 July:** Croat community Herceg-Bosna assumes executive powers over territory under its control, but professes its support for sovereignty and territorial integrity of BiH and says HVO is loyal to BiH presidency. **4 July:** Badinter Commission declares the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) no longer exists. Territorial Defense of BiH is renamed Army of BiH. **21 July:** Presidents Izetbegović and Tuđman sign Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It includes joint defense activities of two countries against Serb aggression; acknowledges HVO is part of BiH armed forces. Newsday reports that Serbs are deporting up to 20,000 Muslims and Croats in cattle cars without food or water in order to create an “ethnically cleansed” corridor from Serbia to Krajina in Croatia. **23 July:** Goražde under major Serb attack. **31 July:** BiH forces launch offensive against Serbs around Sarajevo; offensive called off 36 hours later. **2 August:** Bus with 40 orphans attempting to leave Sarajevo is fired upon, two children killed. Newsday reports Serbs maintaining concentration camps. **6 August:** News team from British TV network ITN visits concentration camps of Omarska and Trnopolje. First pictures documenting ethnic cleansing and confirming existence of Serb concentration camps are exposed to the world. **8 August:** BiH Serb leader, Aleksa Buha, threatens kamikaze missions against nuclear plants in Western Europe if there is outside military intervention in BiH. **9 August:** Izetbegović in Pakistan to rally Muslim support; salutes Iranian call for Islamic army to fight Serbs. **10 August:** About 300,000 people are encircled by Serbs in Bihać area; town has been shelled since mid-June. **12 August:** Name “Republika Srpska of BiH” is changed to “Republika Srpska.” **16 August:** After visit to BiH French minister for Social and Humanitarian Affairs, Bernard Kouchner, states there are no death camps in county. **18 August:** U.S. establishes diplomatic relations with Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. **26–27 August:** A multilateral conference on war in Bosnia, sponsored by the EC and UN, takes place in London. British prime minister John Major and UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali preside. **3 September:** First session of UN-sponsored talks in Geneva begins; Cyrus Vance (UN) and David Owen (EC) act as

mediators. **14 September:** UN Security Council authorizes (Resolution 776) enlargement of UNPROFOR's mandate and strength in Bosnia-Herzegovina from approximately 1,500 to up to 6,000 ground troops to protect humanitarian mission. **15 September:** Constitutional Court of BiH decides that Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna is unconstitutional. **22 September:** UN General Assembly expels Yugoslavia from UN for its role in war in BiH. **26 September:** U.S. confirms massacre of 3,000 Muslims and Croats by Serbs in Brčko during May. **6 October:** After Croatian forces withdrew from the region, Bosanski Brod taken by Serb forces and most of Bosnian Posavina with it; mass exodus of Bosnian Croats and Muslims ensues. **7 October:** Muslim Brigade (part of 3rd Corps of the Army BiH) is formed in Zenica, mostly of Muslim volunteers and foreign fighters for Islam. Heavy fighting breaks out around Bosanski Brod; thousands flee across Sava River into Croatia. **9 October:** UN Security Council establishes ban on military flights in airspace over Bosnia-Herzegovina. **21 October:** Sporadic fighting between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia is reported. It escalates into serious conflict during 1993. **24 October:** Croat Community of Bosanska Posavina officially joins Croat Community Herceg-Bosna. **27 October:** Two mediators, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, present a peace plan that would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous, mostly ethnic cantons with common central government. **29–30 October:** Serbs take Jajce. Croat forces (HVO) accuse Muslim defenders of preventing reinforcements to come in defense of town. **31 October:** Serbs issue a Declaration on Cooperation to Unite Republika Srpska Krajina (parts of Croatia) and Republika Srpska. **1 November:** Tuđman and Izetbegović meet in Zagreb; cooperation between the two countries and cessation of hostilities between HVO and Army BiH discussed. **9 November:** Radovan Karadžić announces that his republic and "Serbian Republic of Krajina" in Croatia have established a confederation. **16 November:** UN Security Council authorizes a naval blockade against Serbia and Montenegro. **29 November:** First UN aid convoy comes to besieged town of Srebrenica; first outside assistance since war begins. **7 December:** HVO and Army BiH cause heavy losses to Serb forces near Teslić. **8 December:** At Geneva peace conference, BiH leaders presented maps for cantonization of republic along ethnic lines. **20 December:** Izetbegović refuses to step down as president of rotating BiH presidency; remains president until end of war.

1993 **2 January:** New round of peace talks opens in Geneva, Switzerland. Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance offer various proposals to split BiH into 10 semi-independent cantons. Croat leadership accepts deal on 4 January, Muslims endorse it reluctantly in March, and Serbs reject it in May 1993 referendum. **8 January:** Serbian troops kill BiH deputy prime minister Hakija Turajlić while detaining French UN peacekeeping vehicle at Sarajevo airport. **13 January:** Croat and Muslim fighting occurs near Travnik and Gornji Vakuf. **22 February:** UN Security Council (Resolution 808) approves creation of an International War Tribunal to try war crimes committed in former Yugoslavia. **28 February:** U.S. Air Force begins parachuting humanitarian relief supplies to Muslim towns under siege by Serb forces in eastern Bosnia. **3 March:** Serbs shell refugees in Cerska area; thousands of people flee area. **8 March:** BiH commander orders counterattack against Serbs. Serbs agree to let women, children, and elderly leave Konjević Polje and Srebrenica; shelling continues; Serb forces advance on Srebrenica. **19 March:** First aid convoy in three months reaches Srebrenica. **20 March:** Some 680 wounded Muslims evacuated by UN from Srebrenica to Tuzla. **28 March:** Muslim–Croat truce enforced. **2 April:** Cyrus Vance resigns as UN mediator. **12 April:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) fighters from France, Netherlands, and the U.S. start to enforce no-fly zone as authorized by UN Resolution 816. Serbs shell Srebrenica, killing 56 (including 15 children); Sarajevo also shelled. Serb Gen. Mladić refuses to let UN soldiers enter Srebrenica. **16 April:** UN Security Council (Resolution 819) declares Srebrenica “safe area,” and then extends it to Sarajevo. **20 April:** Violent Muslim–Croat conflicts erupt in central and western BiH. Karadžić refuses to meet with Owen in Belgrade. **27 April:** New Serb offensive opened in Bihać pocket; 1,000 Serbs with tanks invade region from across Croatian border. **28 April:** NATO decides to support implementation of UN Resolution 820, prohibiting all commercial traffic from entering territorial sea of FRY, except on case-by-case basis. **1 May:** Thorvald Stoltenberg, former Norwegian foreign minister, replaces Vance as UN representative and cochairman of International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (ICFY). **1–2 May:** International conference on BiH crisis held in Athens. Under strong pressure Karadžić signs (conditionally) Vance–Owen peace plan. **5–6 May:** Assembly of Republican Party (RS) refuses to endorse Karadžić’s signature and decides to hold referendum

on proposed peace plan. **6 May:** UN Security Council (Resolution 824) declares four more Muslim strongholds (Bihać, Goražde, Tuzla, and Žepa) UN safe areas. **8 May:** Serb and Muslim representatives sign a mutual cessation of hostilities agreement at Sarajevo airport. **9 May:** Truce goes into effect between Muslims and Serbs in eastern Bosnia. New fighting begins between Croats and Muslims in Mostar. **13 May:** Serbs launch new attack on Brčko. **15 May:** Serbs take over Žepa. **15–16 May:** In a referendum, BiH Serbs reject Vance-Owen plan with 96 percent majority and support independence of the Serbian Republic. **16 May:** BiH Serbs and Croat commanders signed at Sarajevo airport agreement on cessation of hostilities. **19 May:** UN human rights investigator Tadeusz Mazowiecki criticizes peace plan for being used for ethnic cleansing. **22 May:** U.S., UK, Russia, France, and Spain propose a new peace plan for BiH. BiH Serbs pronounce military victory, controlling 70 percent of BiH territory. **24 May:** Fifty-one Islamic countries denounce safe area plan; it fails to authorize military force to roll back Serb gains. Serbs oppose UN sending troops into RS. **26 May:** Izetbegović states new UN plan will create ghettos for Muslims in BiH. Serbian Orthodox Church blames nationalist leaders for war, but calls for government that will unite all Serbs, even in neighboring republics. **30 May:** Intensive shelling of Sarajevo by Serbs starts; at least 20 people killed and more than 150 wounded. Other Bosnian towns are shelled also. **7–10 June:** Muslim forces initiate an offensive in central Bosnia against Croats; take control of Travnik. HVO soldiers in area surrender to Serbs. **8 June:** EU foreign ministers declare support for proposal of safe areas. **15–16 June:** Milošević and Tudjman present their joint initiative on revision of Vance-Owen plan that would divide BiH into three ethnic provinces within common confederate or federal BiH state. Izetbegović refuses to participate in any negotiations unless siege of Sarajevo and Muslim enclaves is lifted. **22 June:** Talks resume in Geneva, without Izetbegović, on Serb–Croat plan for partition of BiH between three ethnic communities. **23 June:** Talks in Geneva on a peace plan that would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic federated states with a powerless central government. Owen and Stoltenberg recommend plan as only “realistic alternative.” **28–29 June:** Geneva talks continue; Karadžić and Boban agree on “interim arrangements” for BiH. **29 June:** BiH presidency appoints task force (Ejup Ganić, Miro Lasić, and Miro Lazović) to prepare proposal on future

arrangement for Bosnia-Herzegovina. **4 July:** Intense fighting in central Bosnia. **9 July:** BiH presidency rejects Karadžić-Boban proposals for ethnic division of BiH. **18 July:** Muslim-dominated presidency of BiH decides to participate in ongoing peace negotiations. Serbs break government defenses in three places on Mt. Igman. **26 July:** Army of BiH takes control of Bugojno. **30 July:** Agreement reached in Geneva on proposal for Union of Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Milošević declares war “was worth it.” **5 August:** Bosnian peace talks are suspended due to Serbian seizure of strategic positions on Mt. Bjelašnica and Mt. Igman. Izetbegović refuses to compromise at peace talks in Geneva. **10 August:** Izetbegović withdraws from negotiations; Geneva talks suspended; Karadžić warns of all-out war. **15 August:** Serb forces complete evacuation of mountains above Sarajevo. **17 August:** Muslim–Croatian fighting intensifies in Mostar. **18 August:** Opposition to Tuđman’s alliance with Serbs in Bosnia growing in Croatia and among many BiH Croats. **21–23 August:** Main Command of Army of BiH presents “Neretva ’93” military plan to destroy HVO in Neretva Valley. **28 August:** Croat leadership accepts Owen-Stoltenberg peace plan and proclaims Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna. Muslim-controlled parliament of BiH rejects peace plan and puts forward new demands. **31 August:** Negotiations resume in Geneva; new Owen/Stoltenberg plan is accepted unconditionally only by Serbs. **14 September:** In Geneva, Tuđman and Izetbegović sign agreement to end hostilities, release all prisoners, and allow passage of humanitarian convoys. **16 September:** Izetbegović and Momčilo Krajišnik (Bosnian Serb representative) agree on establishing BiH as a union of three nations. **20 September:** On British aircraft carrier *Invincible*, international mediators present peace plan for BiH. Serbs would get 53 percent, Muslims 30 percent, and Croats 17 percent of BiH territory. **27 September:** Fikret Abdić, leading Muslim politician and member of Bosnian collective presidency from Kladuša region, dissociates himself from Sarajevo government. His local “assembly” votes to create Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia. Fight with Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (government forces) over control of Bihać pocket follows. **28 September:** Izetbegović declares military rule in Bihać pocket. **29 September:** Muslim-dominated Bosnian parliament rejects Owen-Stoltenberg peace plan of three ethnic ministates under the name of Union of the Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By 15 October, negotiators concede that peace efforts have

failed. **30 September:** Pro-Izetbegović troops take control of much of Bihać area. **1 October:** Assembly of Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna decides to deny “all territorial concessions” granted to Muslims if they would not accept the Geneva peace plan by 15 October. **2 October:** Assembly of Republika Srpska denies all “concession it had given during the peace process” to BiH Muslims. **22 October:** Fikret Abdić signs separate peace agreement with Milošević and Karadžić. **25 October:** BiH foreign minister Haris Silajdžić becomes prime minister. **3 November:** Croat troops abandon Vareš; 15,000 townspeople flee Muslim onslaught. Izetbegović fires army Chief-of-staff Gen. Sefer Halilović; Gen. Enver Hadžihasanović is appointed new commander. **6 November:** HVO headquarters in Sarajevo shut down. **17 November:** War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague opens. **3 December:** Yasushi Akashi, former Japanese diplomat, becomes UN secretary-general’s special representative for former Yugoslavia. **21 December:** Another peace plan is proposed by Tuđman and Milošević. Muslims reject it. **24 December:** Muslims launch attacks on Lašva Valley, shell Vitez. Serbs shell Sarajevo.

1994 **3 January:** Muslim-dominated Sarajevo government threatens to besiege Lašva Valley unless 65,000 Croats living there leave. **5 January:** High-level talks between Croatia’s and BiH officials held in Vienna result in a cease-fire in central Bosnia and cessation of all military activities between Muslim and Croat forces. **12 January:** Muslim forces attack Croat positions in Lašva valley. **26 January:** Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose of Britain takes command of UN forces in BiH, replacing Lt. Gen. Francis Briquemont of Belgium. **5 February:** Serb bombardment of crowded open market in Sarajevo leaves 68 people dead and more than 200 wounded. **6 February:** More than 400 of BiH’s leading Croats meet in Sarajevo, mainly those who oppose HDZ policies in BiH. **8 February:** Mate Boban, leader of Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, resigns. **9 February:** Serbs and Muslims sign agreement in Sarajevo on cessation of hostilities. NATO gives Bosnian Serb forces besieging Sarajevo 10 days to pull back heavy guns from Sarajevo exclusion zone (a radius of 20 kilometers/12 miles from center of the city) or place their heavy weapons into the hands of UNPROFOR, or face air strikes. But air strikes to take place only at UN’s request. **15 February:** Germans detain Serb concentration camp guard on genocide charges;

first accused war criminal to be arrested. **23 February:** HVO and Army BiH sign agreement on cessation of hostilities. **24 February:** Tudjman endorses idea of Croat-Muslim BiH federation. **25 February:** Croat and Muslim leaders meet in Sarajevo; express support for cease-fire. **26 February:** U.S.-initiated negotiations between Croats and Muslims take place in New York; creation of future common Croat-Muslim BiH state discussed. **28 February:** Four Serb military jets shot down by NATO fighters moments after Serb jets bomb a hospital and two military targets around Travnik; first NATO military action in its history. Karadžić visits Moscow. **1 March:** Croats and Muslims sign framework agreement on uniting their territories into a state organized according to Swiss-like canton model. **12 March:** Croat and Muslim commanders sign agreement to merge armies. **18 March:** Constitution on Muslim–Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Declaration on Confederation with Croatia is signed in the presence of President Bill Clinton and other U.S. high officials in Washington. **26 March:** BiH Croat Assembly approve pact with Muslims; Krešimir Zubak (Croat) to head new government. UN says Serbs intensifying ethnic cleansing in northern Bosnia. **29 March:** Serb forces start major assault on UN safe area of Goražde, where about 65,000 people are besieged. **3 April:** U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry says air strikes will not be used to prevent Serbs from overrunning Goražde. Gen. Rose tells BBC Serbs: “do not pose a serious threat” to Goražde. **8 April:** Serbs capture Gradina ridge area overlooking Goražde. **10 April:** Two NATO (U.S.) jets carry out very limited air strike against Serb positions near Goražde. **11 April:** Vienna Agreement negotiated by Croats and Bosniacs/Muslims (signed in Geneva, 14 May). **14–17 April:** A number of UN troops abducted by Serbs near Sarajevo; movement of UN troops restricted. Serbs shell a UN observation post, Tuzla airport, and town center. **15 April:** Serbs renew offensive against Goražde despite UN warnings. **16 April:** British reconnaissance plane shot down by Serb surface-to-air missile near Goražde. **18 April:** Situation in Goražde is grim; UN asks NATO to authorize use of air strikes. **19 April:** Serbs take back 18 anti-aircraft guns from UN collection points around Sarajevo that were taken earlier as part of creating Sarajevo “exclusion zone.” **22 April:** NATO alliance issues two sets of demands. First, it requires Serbs to pull back three kilometers from center of Goražde, which would coincide with cease-fire and free access to the town by medical workers and

UN peacekeepers. Second, removal of all Serb artillery from 20 kilometers in the radius of exclusion zone around the town. A day later, Gen. Michael Rose, commander of UN forces in Bosnia, precludes the use of NATO air strikes. **23 April:** NATO resolution on exclusion zone and air power umbrella issued on Goražde is extended to four other safe areas, Bihać, Tuzla, Srebrenica, and Žepa. **25 April:** United States and Russia join UN and EU in agreeing to establish Balkan Contact Group to coordinate international efforts to bring about end of war in BiH. Group consists of United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. **27 April:** UN Security Council approves dispatch of another 6,550 peacekeepers to Bosnia. This raises total number of peacekeepers in former Yugoslavia to 44,870, of which over 23,000 are in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sending an additional 150 observers and 275 policemen is also approved. **30 April:** Serbs build up in Brčko area; plan to expand corridors between Serbia and Croatia. **2 May:** Shelling and fighting near Brčko, Bihać, Tuzla, Doboj, Tešanj, and others. **5 May:** Silajdžić demands Akashi be replaced; UN refuses. **13 May:** Five members of contact group unveil joint Bosnian peace plan in Geneva, according to which BiH is to be divided into two parts. Serbs would get 49 percent and Muslim-Croat Federation, 51 percent of country's territory. **31 May:** Newly formed constitutional Assembly of Muslim-Croat Federation elects Krešimir Zubak (Croat) as federation president and Ejup Ganić (Muslim) as vice president. **14 June:** Croatia's president Tuđman visits Sarajevo. **29 June:** Contact group negotiators agree on Bosnia peace plan, including 51 percent of territory to go to Muslim-Croat Federation and 49 percent to Serbs. **7 July:** BiH government endorses peace plan. **8 July:** UN Security Council names Richard J. Goldstone from South Africa to be chief prosecutor for war crimes committed in former Yugoslavia. **12 July:** Serbs refuse to accept peace plan; Karadžić states Serbs do not and will not accept BiH state. **18 July:** BiH parliament accepts peace plan. Karadžić urges his assembly to reject it. **20 July:** Serb leadership rejects contact group peace plan that gives them 49 percent of BiH. **21 July:** Shelling and sniper attacks in Sarajevo resume. **23 July:** EU takes over administration of Mostar; Hans Koschnick (mayor of Bremen) appointed city administrator. **30 July:** Contact group countries decide to tighten economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, after Bosnian Serbs reject peace plan. **3 August:** Serb government in Belgrade sends an ultimatum to Serbs in BiH to accept

latest peace plan. BiH Serb leaders unanimously reject peace plan; decide to hold a referendum. **3–11 August:** BiH government forces make considerable gains on three fronts, most of all in western Bosnia. **18 August:** BiH Serb leaders announce they will formally seek RS unification with Yugoslavia and Krajina in Croatia. **27–28 August:** Referendum held in RS on contact group peace plan. According to Serb reports, 90 percent went to polls; out of those, 96 percent were against. **5 September:** Two U.S. jets hit antitank weapons near Sarajevo, after Serbs took heavy guns from UN-guarded depot. **6 September:** Pope John Paul II postpones his planned visit to Sarajevo, scheduled for 8 September; UN officials state they could not guarantee his safety in the city. **18 September:** Heaviest shelling and gunfire in six months in Sarajevo; Gen. Rose accuses government of starting it, threatens to call for air strikes. **19 September:** Gen. Rose threatens Muslim-dominated Bosnian forces around Sarajevo with air strikes. Some Western officials are appalled by his threats. **22 September:** NATO jets bomb Serb tank in response to their attack on French UN contingent near Sarajevo and for Serb refusal to remove heavy weapons violating exclusion zone around the city. **23 September:** UN Security Council votes to lift some sanctions against Yugoslavia. The resolution reopens Yugoslavia to international civil air traffic and allows its participation in international sporting and cultural activities. **25 October:** BiH parliament calls for removal of Gen. Rose as commander of UN forces in Bosnia. **26 October–3 November:** BiH Croat forces join Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in an offensive against Serbs and make gains on several fronts. **1 November:** Serb forces from Croatia enter western Bosnia to fight Muslims and Croats. **3 November:** Croat forces take control of Kupres, taken by Serbs in April 1992. UN General Assembly adopts resolution to ask UN Security Council to lift arms embargo against BiH government. **7 November:** The ICTY in The Hague makes its first indictment, charging Dragan Nikolić, former commander of Bosnian Serb-operated Sušica detention camp, with war crimes against humanity. **12 November:** U.S. unilaterally withdraws from enforcing UN-imposed arms embargo against BiH and Croatia. **14 November:** Serb forces retake much of territory lost to government troops in Bihać area two weeks earlier. **21 November:** NATO planes bomb Udbina air base in Croatia used for Serb attacks on UN safe area of Bihać. **21–30 November:** Serbs hold close to 500 UN peacekeepers as hostages in order to pre-

vent NATO air strikes. **22 November:** Serb missiles attack two British planes on NATO patrol mission over Bosnia. **23 November:** NATO jets bomb two Serb surface-to-air missile sites near Bihać. **28 November:** NATO and UN paralyzed over question of bombing Serb positions. **29 November–24 December:** Croatian forces HV and HVO take control of Livno Valley. **30 November:** Serbs surround Muslim-held enclave of Bihać. International community unable to stop assault on this safe area. **3 December:** Boutros Boutros-Ghali says UN and NATO are preparing for possible withdrawal of UN troops from Bosnia. **4 December:** More than 2,000 U.S. marines on way to the Adriatic Sea to assist possible evacuation of UN forces from Bosnia-Herzegovina. **5–6 December:** Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) meets in Budapest. It issues declaration calling for a cease-fire in order to allow passage of humanitarian aid to Bihać pocket. Russia blocks CSCE's other efforts concerning crisis in Bosnia. **8 December:** Clinton administration indicates willingness to pledge 25,000 troops to aid possible evacuation of UN forces from BiH. **17 December:** Serb forces from Croatia and Abdić's supporters push back Army of BiH (5th Corps) and enter Velika Kladuša. **18 December:** Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter arrives in Sarajevo. After three days of meetings, he announces cease-fire agreement between Muslim-led government and Serbs in Pale to begin on 1 January, to last four months. Croats join accord on 2 January 1995. Fikret Abdić's troops and Serbs from Croatia do not join truce. Fighting around Bihać area continues.

1995 8 January: Mladić says he will not lift Sarajevo blockade until government troops leave Mt. Igman. Aid flights resume. **24 January:** Gen. Rose's tour of duty officially ends; British Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith is his successor as commander of UN forces in BiH. **26 January:** BiH Serbs and Serbs from Croatia press assault on Bihać. **11 February:** Serb assault on Bosanska Krupa begins. **12 February:** Heavy fighting takes place in Bihać pocket; over 1,000 Serbs crossing over from Croatia in order to push Army of BiH 5th Corps away from border. **13 February:** The ICTY indicts 21 Serbs for atrocities against Muslims and Croats; only one of them in custody. **14 February:** Croat forces (HVO) liberate several villages near Bihać. **19 February:** Milošević rejects proposal by five-nation contact group to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in their internationally recognized borders. **6 March:** Croatia and

Croat-Muslim Federation of BiH agree to set up military alliance. **8 March:** Army BiH kidnap and kill HVO commander in Bihac region, Gen. Vlado Šantić. **9 March:** Central Intelligence Agency report says Serbs committed 90 percent of war crimes; Serbs alone are involved in systematic use of ethnic cleansing; this is not civil war, but Serbian aggression. **10 March:** BiH Croats and Muslims conclude pact in Bonn to strengthen federation. **14 March:** Serbs attack in Gradačac, Stolac, Orašje, and Mostar areas. **16 March:** BiH Muslim and Croat leaders meet in White House; Clinton promises economic aid and military advice. **20–30 March:** Army BiH launches offensive against Serbs and takes about 35 square miles of territory, including Majeвица TV tower. Serbs respond by attacking government installations and by shelling Tuzla, Goražde, Sarajevo, and other towns. **31 March:** UN Security Council votes to renew, until 30 November, peacekeeping mission in former Yugoslavia, hours before mandate expires. UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina to retain UNPROFOR name, those in Croatia to be called UN Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO), and troops in Macedonia to be named UN Prevention Deployment Force (UNPDF). **11 April:** Contact Group members visit Belgrade; Milošević rejects their peace proposals again. U.S. and Germany want to limit UN relief on sanctions against Yugoslavia while Britain, France, and Russia urge easing of the sanction. **24 April:** The ICTY names Serb leader Radovan Karadžić; Gen. Ratko Mladić, commander of Bosnian Serb army; and Mićo Stanišić, former chief of Bosnian Serb secret police, as suspects in war crimes. **30 April:** BiH government and Bosnian Serbs refuse to extend four-month cease-fire that expires 1 May 1995. **10 May:** Serbs attack Orašje, Posavina corridor. **14 May:** Croat forces shell Brčko after Serbs fire 5,000 shells on Orašje. **17 May:** Major fighting around Sarajevo; city is heavily shelled. **23 May:** Serbs defy UN-ultimatum by seizing heavy weapons near Sarajevo from UN-guarded depots. Next day, UN orders Serbs to return weapons to UN control and remove all heavy weapons around Sarajevo. **25 May:** Serbs ignore UN orders. NATO military jets hit Serb ammunition arsenal near Pale. Serbs respond by shelling safe areas, including Tuzla, where 71 young people are killed while sitting in a cafe and more than 150 are injured. **26 May:** NATO fighter jets attack more ammunition depots. Serbs take 370 UN peacekeepers as hostages and threaten to kill them if air strikes do not cease. Some of the hostages are used as human shields. UN personnel

abandon many of their posts. **28 May:** Irfan Ljubijankić, BiH foreign minister, and six others killed when their helicopter is shot down by Serb guns near Cetingrad in Serb-held territory in Croatia; 33 British in Goražde and eight Canadians in Ilijaš seized; Serbs hold total of 325 hostages. **30 May:** Seven U.S. ships, a nuclear submarine, and 12,000 marines and sailors sail into the Adriatic Sea. **1 June:** David Owen announces his resignation from peace-seeking efforts in former Yugoslavia. **2 June:** Serbs shoot down American F-16 fighter jet near Serb stronghold of Banja Luka; pilot, U.S. Air Force Capt. Scott F. O'Grady, is rescued on 8 June by U.S. marines. **3–4 June:** NATO defense chiefs meet in Paris and establish a 10,000-strong Rapid Reaction Force in order to strengthen UN mission in BiH; U.S. to provide the force with AC-130 attack gunships, attack helicopters, and cargo aircraft. **4–11 June:** Croatian forces HV and HVO push Serb lines back toward Grahovo and Glamoč; entire Livno Valley is secured. **7 June:** Serbs free 111 hostages; claim that NATO promised to halt air strikes. **9 June:** U.S. refuses BiH request to lift arms embargo. Former prime minister of Sweden Carl Bildt replaces David Owen as cochairman of the ICFY. **15 June:** Bosnian Serb assembly votes to unify Serb-held territory in Bosnia with Serb-held territory in Croatia. Bosnian government forces begin an ill-prepared offensive in order to break the siege of Sarajevo, but attack is halted a few days later. Serbs step up shelling of safe areas. **2 July:** Serbs shell UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo. **8 July:** Serbs attack Dutch UN peacekeepers' observation posts near Srebrenica. Dutch soldiers taken as hostages and one is killed. **11 July:** Bosnian Serb forces capture town of Srebrenica, so-called safe area for about 40,000 Muslims. After two NATO air strikes, UN calls strikes off because of hostages. Thousands of refugees are on the run. Mass executions of thousands of Muslim men and boys, and other means of ethnic cleansing are implemented by Serbs. **16 July:** High military officials from U.S., Britain, and France meet in London to discuss response to Serb assaults on safe areas, but fail to reach an agreement. **19 July:** Serbs from occupied parts of Croatia and Abdić's forces initiate major offensive on UN protected Bihać area. **21 July:** Western allies meet in London, and 16 nations promise "decisive and substantial" air strikes to protect safe areas, particularly Goražde, and a timely use of Rapid Reaction Force. NATO authority increased to commence air strikes without asking permission from UN officials. **22 July:** Military alliance be-

tween Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina signed in Split by Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović. **23 July:** Serbs kill two French peacekeepers. In response, France is suspected of bombing Pale in a secret mission on the same day. Rapid Reaction Force is deployed for the first time on the road to Sarajevo over Mt. Igman to protect relief convoys. Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) declares arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina “invalid.” **25 July:** Safe area of Žepa falls to Serbs. About 15,000 civilians flee from the region. Men aged 16–55 are taken as prisoners of war, but most of them are executed. The ICTY indicts Karadžić and Mladić for genocide and crimes against humanity. **25–31 July:** Bihać region comes under fierce attack from three sides: Bosnian Serbs, Serbs from Croatia, and Fikret Abdić’s troops. **26 July:** U.S. Senate votes to lift arms embargo against BiH government. Gen. Bernard Xavier, French commander of UNPROFOR and the Rapid Reaction Force, is given veto power over calling NATO strikes in Bosnia. Boutros Boutros-Ghali agrees to take this power from Yasushi Akashi. NATO threats become more credible. **27 July:** Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN’s human-rights investigator in the former Yugoslavia, resigns in disgust over international community’s “hypocrisy” and inaction after Serbs attack Srebrenica and Žepa. **28–29 July:** BiH Croat forces (HVO) and troops from Croatia (HV) capture Grahovo and Glamoč, key positions in western Bosnia. **1 August:** U.S. House of Representatives passes bill that would require U.S. president Clinton to end American participation in international arms embargo against BiH. **4 August:** Croatian troops start successful blitz operation to liberate Serb-controlled Krajina region in Croatia. U. S. government expresses support for Croatian action. Serb military forces and civilians on the run from Croatia. NATO warplanes fire missiles at Serb radar site in Croatia, after being threatened by surface-to-air missiles. Karadžić dismisses Mladić as commander of Bosnian Serb forces but Mladić, who has backing of Serb military establishment and Milošević, refuses to step down. **5 August:** Croatian troops link up with Army of BiH near border; siege of Bihać is relieved. **6 August:** BiH Serb parliament meets in Banja Luka; supports Karadžić; 18 top generals back Mladić. **7 August:** Army of BiH 5th Corps enters Velika Kladuša; Abdić troops surrender. **10 August:** U.S. reveals photographs as evidence of mass graves of executed Bosnian Muslims after the fall of Srebrenica and calls upon ICTY to investigate. **11 August:** President Clinton vetoes bill passed by the House and Senate to end U.S. partici-

pation in arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina. **12 August:** Croatian and BiH forces launch new offensive in Bosnia-Herzegovina. **13 August:** Russian Duma passes resolution to lift international trade sanctions against Yugoslavia. **14 August:** U.S. launches new diplomatic offensive in order to reach peace in Bosnia. Croatian and BiH military successes seen as new opportunity for peace. U.S. shuttle diplomacy in the Balkans begins. UN personnel pulled out of Goražde. **19 August:** Three key diplomats from U.S. peace-seeking team, Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel, and Nelson Drew, killed on the way to Sarajevo, when armored personnel carrier they were riding in slipped off Mt. Igman road. **28 August:** Two Serb-fired mortar shells kill 37 civilians and injure many in a busy Sarajevo marketplace. UN secretly pulls out last peacekeepers from Goražde enclave. **30 August:** NATO fighter jets, supported by UN Rapid Reaction Force, launch massive air strikes to silence Serb guns around Sarajevo. The largest action by NATO force in its history starts. Croat and Muslim offensive continues in northwestern Bosnia; Serbs losing ground. **5 September:** NATO launches hour-long bombing mission in response to Serb unwillingness to pull back weapons from around Sarajevo; renews bombing around Sarajevo and other cities next day. Russia condemns NATO bombings. **8 September:** Croatian, Bosnian, and Yugoslav (Serbian) foreign ministers in Geneva agree to a U.S.-brokered peace plan that would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into two entities within a single state: a Muslim-Croat Federation and Serb Republic. Milošević government acting on behalf of Bosnian Serbs. **10 September:** U.S. warship USS *Normandy* under NATO command fires 13 self-propelled *Tomahawk* cruise missiles at Serb military targets near Banja Luka. **11 September:** Croats and Muslims launch an offensive in western Bosnia; Serb army and civilian population on the run. **19 September:** West pressures Croats and Muslims to stop their successful offensive by which they took control of more than 50 percent of the country's territory. **20 September:** NATO and UN announce halt to air strikes after Serbs complied with UN-NATO demands. **26 September:** Agreement to establish collective presidency and common parliament is reached by Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Serbs under the assistance of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard C. Holbrooke. **27 September:** Army of BiH very near to Mrkonjić Grad, within shelling distance of Banja Luka. Serbs shell Travnik with cluster bombs, killing two; hit Zenica in retaliation for

government offensive. **1 October:** Army of BiH 7th Corps amasses on Mt. Manjača, only 20 kilometers away from Banja Luka. **4 October:** NATO forces bomb Serb targets after Serb surface-to-air missile sites locked their radar on NATO planes flying over Bosnia. **6 October:** Army of BiH, supported by Croatian artillery, repel Serb advance west of Bosanska Krupa. **8 October:** Serb planes bomb refugee camp at Živinice near Tuzla with cluster bomb, killing at least six, wounding 30; NATO planes respond but call off strikes due to bad weather. **9 October:** NATO planes bomb Serb bunker, which has been directing shelling of Tuzla for two days (16 dead, 90 wounded). Željko Ražnjatović-Arkan's forces expel 3,500 non-Serbs from Prijedor and Bosanski Novi. **10 October:** It is announced that Yasushi Akashi will be recalled as special UN envoy to former Yugoslavia effective 1 November 1995, and replaced by UN Undersecretary General Kofi Annan. UN reports that Serbs expelled about 10,000 Muslims and Croats from Banja Luka region. Paramilitary forces of Željko Ražnjatović-Arkan involved in this latest ethnic cleansing. **12 October:** A 60-day cease-fire agreement goes into effect. Army of BiH 5th Corps commander Dudaković meets with 7th Corps commander Gen. Mehmed Alagić in Sanski Most to plan next advances. **16 October:** Karadžić fires four generals (Milan Gvero, Zdravko Tolimir, Đorđe Đukić, and Grujo Borić). **19 October:** Fighting breaks out around Sanski Most. **20 October:** UN gives BiH government 24-hour deadline to allow UN observers to monitor cease-fire or be condemned for obstruction. **27 October:** Russian Defense Minister Pavel S. Grachev and U.S. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, in joint news conference, announce that Russian troops will take part in implementing peace agreement in Bosnia. **1 November:** U.S.-sponsored peace talks open at Wright-Patterson Air Base outside Dayton, Ohio. Presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia are there to hammer out a peace settlement after four years of war. Besides U.S. participation, negotiations include EU, Russia, Britain, France, and Germany. Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher opens the talks. **16 November:** The ICTY indicts Karadžić and Mladić on war crimes for the second time for the July massacre of civilians at Srebrenica region. **21 November:** Presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia agree to a comprehensive settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to end a nearly four-year-long war that claimed about 100,000 human lives and forced 2.7 million people from their homes. The agreement is to be

implemented by UN-NATO 60,000-strong Implementation Force, out of which 20,000 will be U.S. troops. **22 November:** UN Security Council votes to suspend its economic sanctions against Serbia and also to lift arms embargo against all former Yugoslav republics commencing in March 1996. **29 November:** UN issues a report on atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina in which Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali states Bosnian Serbs have engaged in “a consistent pattern of summary execution, rapes, mass executions, arbitrary detentions, forced labor, and large-scale disappearances.” **4 December:** A contingent of NATO troops arrives in Bosnia to prepare for deployment of nearly 60,000 NATO-led international forces to come to Bosnia to enforce the Dayton peace accords. **9 December:** Peace Implementation Conference in London begins; appoints Bildt as coordinator of civil effort. **13 December:** U.S. Senate votes to support U.S. troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina but limits their deployment to approximately one year. **14 December:** Presidents Alija Izetbegović, Franjo Tuđman, and Slobodan Milošević, in the presence of U.S. president Bill Clinton, President Jacques Chirac of France, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, Prime Minister John Major of Britain, and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia, sign in Paris agreement initialed in Dayton, Ohio, on 21 November 1995. Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović also sign Agreement on Establishment of Joint Cooperation Council between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. **20 December:** UN officially hands over peacekeeping duties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to NATO. Admiral Leighton Smith formally takes command, replacing UN commander Gen. Janvier.

Post-Dayton Era

1996 3 January: U.S. secretary of defense William J. Parry; U.S. Army gen. George Joulwan, NATO’s supreme commander; and chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. John Shalikashvili, visit Sarajevo and Tuzla. **7 January:** It is reported that Serbs are exhuming bodies from mass graves in northwest Bosnia and destroying them in the iron-mine pits near Ljubija. **10 January:** Croats and Bosniacs elect Izudin Kapetanović as new prime minister of BiH Federation. **13 January:** President Clinton visits U.S. troops in Bosnia; makes stop

in Zagreb, Croatia. **14 January:** U.S. secretary of defense Perry says U.S. ready to begin training BiH troops. **15 January:** BiH government announces it is not going to take part in exchange of prisoners until Serbs disclose whereabouts of more than 24,000 Bosnian Muslims who have been missing. Irishman Thomas Fitzgerald named to head UN police force in BiH. **19 January:** Opposing military forces in BiH complete their withdrawal of heavy weapons and most of their troops from 2.5-mile-wide “zone of separation,” as compelled by Dayton agreement. **21 January:** BiH prime minister Haris Silajdžić announces his resignation. U.S. assistant secretary of state John Shattuck inspects a number of sites near Srebrenica where it is believed thousands of Muslim men perished after fall of Srebrenica in July 1995. **30 January:** Hasan Muratović appointed as prime minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Two senior Serb officers, Gen. Đorđe Đukić and Col. Aleksa Krsmanović, arrested by Bosnian government forces. **2 February:** Carl Bildt, head of the international civilian peace effort in Bosnia, makes a deal with Serbs, according to which their officials could retain power in Sarajevo suburbs until late March 1996 in order to avert mass exodus from city. **3–4 February:** U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher tours Balkan states. **5 February:** Momčilo Krajišnik states Serbs do not recognize new BiH government since RS did not participate in its formation. **13 February:** Presidential Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna approves measures to transform itself from a quasistate into a political organization. **16 February:** NATO troops seize terrorist training camp near Sarajevo; 11 people arrested, five of whom are Iranians. **18 February:** A two-day conference that includes the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, and various international representatives ends in Rome; fulfillment of Dayton treaty is reaffirmed; Croat-Muslim disagreement over fate of Mostar is settled. Holbrooke’s role as a Balkan peace negotiator ends. He resigns his position as assistant secretary of state on 21 February. **20 February:** Joint Croat-Bosniac police force created in Mostar. **22 February:** UN secretary-general Boutros-Ghali appoints Louise Arbour, a judge of Ontario provincial Court of Appeals in Canada, to succeed Richard J. Goldstone as chief prosecutor of the Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and also for Rwanda. BBC reports 20,000 Serbs left Sarajevo suburbs since BiH government forces began to take control; houses and buildings stripped and set on fire. **26 February:** Bosnian Muslims take control of Vogošća,

suburb of Sarajevo; many return to their homes for the first time in four years; most Serbs flee the area. **27 February:** UN Security Council lifts sanctions against BiH Serbs as reward for their compliance with Dayton agreement. **29 February:** BiH government announces siege of Sarajevo is officially over. World Bank approves \$45 million for reconstruction of Sarajevo. **13 March:** U.S. government officials state military equipment will not be given to BiH government unless all foreign fighters have left the country. **14 March:** Sarajevo mayor Tarik Kupusović resigns after BiH government decides to make the city a canton and names 45 Muslims to the 47-member city council. **15 March:** Under U.S. pressure, Bakir Alispahić dismissed as head of BiH secret service because of his ties to Iran. **17 March:** “Train and Equip” Donors Conference in Ankara ends; United States and Turkey pledge \$100 million and \$2 million, respectively. **22 March:** Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the UN, while visiting suspected mass grave sites in eastern Bosnia, releases spy satellite photographs that indicate mass graves of Muslims who had been executed by Serbs in July 1995. **24–25 March:** Hillary Rodham Clinton, U.S. first lady, visits U.S. troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **31 March:** Karadžić assures Serb parliament in Pale that he will continue to work for unification of “Serb lands” with Serbia. **3 April:** U.S. secretary of commerce Ronald H. Brown and 32 other Americans and two Croats are killed in plane crash near Dubrovnik. **7 May:** The ICTY in The Hague opens its first trial case. **15 May:** Radovan Karadžić dismisses Rajko Kasagić, moderate premier of the self-styled RS. Kasagić is replaced by Gojko Kličević, an ally of Karadžić. **18 May:** Biljana Plavšić is named Karadžić’s spokesperson because the international community will not deal with him, an indicted war criminal. **2 June:** U.S. secretary of state Christopher meets in Geneva with presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia and puts pressure on all sides to implement Dayton peace agreement. **13 June:** International conference on BiH opens in Florence; disarmament agreement signed by all sides next day. **17 June:** U.S. Supreme Court says victims of war crimes in former Yugoslavia can sue Radovan Karadžić in U.S. federal courts. **19 June:** Parliament of RS moves to set up its own war crimes court. **27 June:** The ICTY defines rape as a war crime and on the same day indicts eight Bosnian Serbs on rape charges. **29 June:** Serb Democratic Party (SDS) in BiH reelects Radovan Karadžić as its chairman for four more years; he gets 353 of 354 votes. His goal is se-

cession from BiH and unification with “other Serb lands.” Next day Karadžić delegates his presidential powers to his deputy, Biljana Plavšić, known as the “Iron Lady of the Bosnian Serbs.” **30 June:** Municipal elections take place in the city of Mostar. Muslim-dominated List of Citizens for a United Mostar wins 48.9 percent and HDZ list receives 45.8 percent of a vote. Croat side refuses to accept results alleging election fraud on the part of the Muslims. **3 July:** Biljana Plavšić is nominated as SDS candidate for president of the RS and Momčilo Krajišnik, speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament, as SDS candidate for presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the September elections. **11 July:** The ICTY issues international arrest warrants for Bosnian Serb political and military leaders Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić. **16 July:** U.S. and Muslim–Croat Federation sign an agreement that will secure military aid to the federation worth up to \$360 million, in order to establish a military balance between BiH Federation and RS. **17–19 July:** Richard Holbrooke negotiates with Serbia’s president Slobodan Milošević for resignation of Radovan Karadžić as president of RS and head of ruling Serb party (SDS) in BiH; Karadžić signs agreement but remains man of influence in RS. **23–24 July:** An official delegation from Muslim–Croat Federation, led by Vice President Ejup Ganić, visits Serbia’s capital, Belgrade; first such visit since war began in 1992. Serbia and BiH Federation agree to restore telephone, rail, bus, and air links. **30 July:** First train since before war leaves Sarajevo for Mostar and Ploče. **6 August:** Bosniac and Croat sides reach an agreement on joint administration of the city of Mostar. **14 August:** Izetbegović, Milošević, and Tuđman meet with Warren Christopher in Geneva; give guarantees for free elections in BiH. **15 August:** Sarajevo airport, closed to civil air traffic since 1992, opens for commercial flights. **14 September:** Elections for three-member presidency, national parliament, and separate legislatures for Muslim/Bosniac–Croat Federation and RS take place in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Municipal elections were postponed earlier because of loophole in Dayton agreement regarding voter registration rules. Regardless of widespread criticism of election irregularities, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which organized and supervised the voting, declares elections valid at the end of September. **30 September:** Newly elected three-members of BiH presidency, Alija Izetbegović (Bosniac), Krešimir Zubak (Croat), and Momčilo Krajišnik (Serb), meet for the first time. Krajišnik promises to

cooperate with newly elected Sarajevo leadership. **3 October:** Presidents of BiH and Serbia, Izetbegović and Milošević, after a one-day meeting in Paris, agree to establish full diplomatic relations between two countries. **5 October:** Newly elected Bosnian Serb representatives boycott inaugural meeting of BiH national assembly and multiethnic presidency. **15 October:** U.S. Army troops start arriving in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **22 October:** Second full meeting of the BiH presidency held in Sarajevo Land Museum. Momčilo Krajišnik promises to uphold and defend BiH constitution. Municipal elections, scheduled to take place on 23–24 November, postponed by Provisional Election Commission; they will take place “as soon as possible” in 1997. **9 November:** Gen. Ratko Mladić, leader of Bosnian Serb army and an indicted war criminal, is fired by Biljana Plavšić, president of RS. **12 December:** UN Security Council approves an 18-month mandate for 31,000-strong Stabilization Force (SFOR) to replace Implementation Force (IFOR). **20 December:** SFOR is deployed in BiH under command of NATO.

1997 January: Bosnia-Herzegovina’s parliament, elected in September 1996, meets for the first time. SDA admits it had received \$500,000 in funding from Iran. **8 January:** Edhem Bičakčić named premier of the Bosniac/Muslim–Croat Federation. **11 January:** Bosniacs and Croats agree on forming a joint Muslim/Bosniac–Croat army to consist of between 30,000 and 35,000 full-time troops. **25 January:** After shooting himself in the head nine days earlier, Nikola Koljević, former vice president of the self-proclaimed Serb Republic, dies. **12 February:** Robert Owen, U.S. arbitrator in Bosnia-Herzegovina, announces that Serb-controlled, strategically located town of Brčko will remain under international supervision until March 1998. **28 February:** Agreement on Special Parallel Relations signed between RS and FRY. **6 March:** BiH municipal elections postponed until 13–14 September 1997. **18 March:** Bosniac–Croat Federation appoints Vladimir Šoljić and Ejup Ganić Federation president and vice president, respectively. **20 March:** Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Parliament in Belgrade ratifies RS-FRY Agreement on Parallel Relations; condemned by High Representative in Sarajevo next day. **13–14 April:** Pope John Paul II visits Sarajevo; calls for forgiveness and reconciliation. **15 April:** BiH presidency introduces new BiH currency, convertible mark (KM), worth one German mark. **24 April:** International commercial air traffic over Bosnia-Herzegovina

resumes after five years. **30 May:** Peace Implementation Council (PIC) for BiH nominates former Spanish foreign minister Carlos Westendorp as International High Representative in BiH, to replace Carl Bildt. **June:** At Venice Biennial, international exhibition “Artists for Sarajevo” takes place. **1 June:** U.S. secretary of state Albright meets with Biljana Plavšić, president of RS, in Banja Luka; first visit by a senior U.S. official to RS. **1 July:** Tensions rise between Karadžić (Pale) and RS president Biljana Plavšić (Banja Luka). Plavšić denounces her Pale colleagues for corruption. Ambassador Jacques Paul Klein appointed new principal deputy High Representative. **2 July:** Plavšić dissolves RS parliament and announces new elections for 1 September. **7 July:** Mate Boban, president of former Croat Republic Herceg-Bosna, dies; under investigation by ICTY. **20 July:** Serb Democratic Party expels Biljana Plavšić from its ranks. **24 August:** Serb TV and Radio in Banja Luka, in support of Plavšić, splits from Pale, Karadžić stronghold, and for the first time broadcasts their own program. **28 August:** Plavšić forms her own political party: Serb National Association. **13–14 September:** Local elections held in the country. **23 September:** Irish rock group U2 performs a benefit concert in Sarajevo; first massive gathering event held in the city since 1984 Winter Olympic Games. **22–23 November:** Parliamentary elections in RS; SDS wins 24 and Plavšić’s Serb National Association wins 15, out of 83 seats.

1998 **5 January:** Multiethnic Brčko government meets for the first time. **8 January:** New Mayor of Sarajevo, Rasim Gačanović, elected. **17 January:** OSCE condemns previous day’s attack by 600 Serbs on UN police and Muslim politicians in Srebrenica. RS National Assembly elects Milorad Dodik (Independent Social Democratic Party) as RS prime minister. **6 February:** New BiH flag hoisted outside UN Headquarters in New York. **15 June:** Security Council extends mandate of UN Mission in BiH until 21 June 1999. **22 June:** New BiH currency (convertible mark) put in circulation. **24 June:** RS Assembly votes to move its seat from Pale to Banja Luka. **27 June:** Political party, New Croatian Initiative (NHI) launched by Krešimir Zubak. Aleksa Buha, president of Serb Democratic Party, resigns; replaced by Dragan Kalinić. **7 July:** After more than six years, Mostar airport opens to civilian traffic. **30–31 August:** U.S. secretary of state Albright visits BiH; meets with government officials and visits U.S. troops. **12–13 September:**

General elections take place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **25 September:** OSCE releases election results; Alija Izetbegović, Ante Jelavić, and Živko Radišić elected new members of BiH presidency. Nikola Poplašen (Serbian Radical Party) elected new RS president.

1999 10 January: BiH Interior Ministry issues arrest warrant for Fikret Abdić for alleged war crimes. **10 February:** Joint parliament in Sarajevo approves the composition “Intermezzo” as official BiH anthem. **5 March:** High Representative removes Nikola Poplašen as RS president. Brčko Arbitral Tribunal announces that neither entity has “lost” or “won” Brčko; it is placed under neutral administration. Milorad Dodik, RS prime minister, resigns over Brčko decision. **6 March:** UN vehicles and Western-funded radio station in Banja Luka attacked. **7 March:** RS National Assembly rejects arbitration on Brčko, withdraws five delegates from BiH Parliament House of Peoples, and rejects dismissal of Nikola Poplašen. **15 March:** Mirko Šarović claims Poplašen has transferred his authority to him and nominates Mladen Ivanić as RS prime minister designate. Dodik withdraws his resignation. **16 March:** Federation deputy minister of interior Jozo Leutar (Croat) seriously injured in a car bomb blast in Sarajevo; dies on 28 March. **13 April:** BiH Federation House of Representatives ratifies Special Relations Agreement with Croatia; approved by Federation House of Peoples. **23 April:** First privatization vouchers issued to some BiH citizens. **7 May:** Independent Media Commission instructs TV *Kanal S* in RS to “immediately cease broadcasting its programs until further notice.” **12 July:** PIC appoints Wolfgang Petritsch as new High Representative. **13 July:** UN secretary-general appoints Jacques Paul Klein as his special representative and coordinator for UN mission in BiH. **23 July:** BiH Federation and RS parliamentarian and military representatives meet to formulate common aims for military security and regional stability. **30 July:** Alija Izetbegović and Franjo Tuđman sign border agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Croatia. U.S. president Clinton and Secretary of State Albright meet with members of BiH presidency and Council of Ministers. **11 August:** UN Security Council nominates Swiss prosecutor, Carla Del Ponte, as new chief prosecutor of ICTY; she takes office on 15 September, replacing Louise Arbour. **15 November:** UN issues 155-page report in which it accepts major share of responsibility for failing to stop 1995 massacre in Srebrenica;

names Karadžić and Gen. Ratko Mladić as architects of the massacre. **29 November:** High Representative and OSCE announce removal of twenty-two BiH public officials from public offices for “blocking the peace process.”

2000 1 January: Ejup Ganić becomes BiH Federation president and Ivo Andrić-Lužanski becomes vice president. **15 January:** Serb warlord and indicted war criminal Željko Ražnatović-Arkan assassinated in Belgrade; thousands attend funeral on 20 January. **3 April:** Momčilo Krajišnik, leading BiH Serb politician charged with war crimes, is arrested in his home in Pale, near Sarajevo. **20 April:** Five BiH journalist associations, OSCE, Irex ProMedia, and Independent Media Commission, agree to establish Press Council for BiH. **28 August:** U.S. senator Bob Dole, chairman of International Commission for Missing Persons, opens BiH Missing Persons Institute in Sarajevo. **17–19 October:** Serb students in Brčko demonstrate; demand expulsion of Muslims and an end of multiethnic government in Brčko district. **14 October:** Živko Radišić (Serb) replaces Alija Izetbegović as president of BiH presidency. Izetbegović resigns from presidency; replaced by Halid Genjac (Bosniac). **28 October:** Self-styled Croat National Assembly BiH held in Novi Travnik; decides to hold all-Croat referendum on constitutional protection of Croats in BiH on 11 November; it rejects election rules adopted by OSCE in October 2000, according to which members of other ethnic groups can easily influence selection of Croat delegates to Federation House of Peoples. **11 November:** General elections held for BiH House of Representatives, RS presidency and RS National Assembly, Federation House of Representatives, Federation Cantonal Assemblies, and Municipality of Srebrenica; “nonnationalist parties” win. **11 December:** Alliance for Change (Social Democratic Party [SDP], Party for BiH, and New Croat Initiative [NHI]) invites smaller opposition parties to join Alliance. **13 December:** Muhamed Šaćirbegović, BiH ambassador to UN, resigns; dissatisfied with the international community’s work in BiH. **20 December:** Former Yugoslav republics end talks in Brussels on succession of former SFRY property. **29 December:** Biljana Plavšić, a leading BiH Serb politician, summoned to The Hague to face war crimes charges.

2001 1 January: Croatia-BiH Free Trade Agreement comes to effect. **9 January:** Biljana Plavšić, 1996–1998 RS president, surrenders to the

ICTY in The Hague; pleads not guilty. **January 11:** High Representative Wolfgang Petritsch establishes Constitutional Commissions in both BiH Federation and RS to protect interests of the three peoples and others in BiH. **13 January:** Democratic Alliance for Change widens to include 10 parties—SDP, Party of BiH, NHI, Bosnian Patriotic Party, Republican Party, Civic Democratic Party, Croat Peasant Party, Federation Pensioners Party, Liberal Democratic Party, and Democratic Party of Pensioners—to form new government. **16 January:** Newly formed RS government inaugurated in Banja Luka. **19 January:** Yugoslav president Vojislav Koštunica's first official visit to BiH. **8 February:** Koštunica announces that in 10 days, a special and parallel relations agreement will be signed in Banja Luka between FRY and RS; BiH government not informed about it; agreement signed on 5 March. **13 February:** Federation Parliament Constitutional Commission constituted in Sarajevo; RS National Assembly Constitutional Commission formed in Banja Luka a day later. **22 February:** New BiH government formed; first government in a decade without the three nationalist parties; Božidar Matić new chair of the Council of Ministers (prime minister). **23 February:** Federation Parliament's House of Peoples constituted. **3 March:** Croat National Assembly declares interim "Croat self-rule" in BiH; dismissed by international representatives in BiH as unconstitutional. **7 March:** High Representative Petritsch bans Ante Jelavić, member of BiH presidency, and three other BiH leading Croat politicians from all elected and party (HDZ) functions because of implementing obstructionist policies of HDZ-dominated Croat National Assembly. **11 March:** Alliance for Change parties form BiH Federation government, dominated by SDP, Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH), and NHI and led by Alija Behmen (SDP). **16 March:** Croat National Assembly postpones creation of Croat self-rule in BiH for two months. **20 March:** BiH Parliament's House of Peoples is constituted. **March:** Number of BiH Croat state officials and army officers declare their loyalty to Croat National Assembly and leave their posts. **27 March:** BiH Parliament's House of Representatives elects Jozo Križanović (Croat) and Beriz Belkić (Bosniac) as candidates for BiH Presidency; confirmed three days later. **28 March:** Following orders from Croat National Assembly, large number of Croat officers and soldiers leave their posts; three Croat commanders are dismissed. **23 May:** BiH House of Peoples passes laws on BiH coat-of-arms, the flag, national anthem, single passport, and State Border Service. **25 May:** Five successor states of SFRJ reach agreement on division

of assets and liabilities of the former state. **15 June:** Croat military component is fully reintegrated into federation armed forces. **28 June:** Slobodan Milošević handed over by Belgrade government to ICTY in The Hague. **21 August:** House of Representatives passes BiH Permanent Election Law; House of Peoples follows two days later. **25 September:** Sefer Halilović, former commander of BiH Muslim-dominated army and highest-ranking Bosniac to be charged with war crimes, surrenders to ICTY. **13 December:** BiH and FR Yugoslavia sign free-trade agreement.

2002 **8 January:** Two separate public railway companies in BiH Federation, Railway Herceg-Bosna Mostar and BiH Railways Sarajevo, merge into Federation Railways. **18 January:** BiH government hands over six suspected al-Qaeda members to United States; Islamic and local human rights organizations protest the move. **5 March:** UN Security Council endorses Paddy Ashdown as next High Representative in BiH, starting 1 January 2003. **11 March:** BiH Federation government adopts draft law on Federation Intelligence Security Service (FOSS). Two existing intelligence agencies, Bosniac Agency for Investigation and Documentation (AID) and the Croat National Security Service (SNS), will cease operating within two months from date law takes effect. **19 March:** BiH police raid Islamic Charity offices in Sarajevo; suspected of helping Islamic terrorists. **24 March:** Danis Tanović's Film *No-Man's Land* wins an Oscar. **27 March:** Eight BiH political parties (without HDZ and SDA) agree on new institutional arrangements in RS and federation that would turn the two entities into multiethnic communities; known as Mrakovica-Sarajevo Agreement. **4 April:** RS National Assembly adopts constitutional changes in accordance with Mrakovica-Sarajevo Agreement; BiH Federation House of Peoples does the same on 18 April, but House of Representatives fails to do the same. A day later, the High Representative promulgates constitutional amendments in both entities. **24 April:** BiH becomes a member of Council of Europe. **31 July:** Court in Croatia sentences Fikret Abdić, former BiH Krajina leader, to 20 years in prison for war crimes. **2 October:** Biljana Plavšić, former RS president, pleads guilty to charge of crimes against humanity. **5 October:** General elections held in BiH; first elections held without foreign supervision since 1992; offices to be held for four- instead two-year turns; West favors ruling Alliance for Change, but nationalist parties win. **11 October:** NATO-led peacekeeping troops

raid Orahovac facilities (Bijeljina, RS). **22 October:** United States accuses Jugoslavija (Serbia) and Orahovac of selling military equipment to Iraq in defiance of UN sanctions.

2003 1 January: Peacekeeping duties in BiH officially transferred from UN to EU. Sarajevo airport is handed over to BiH authorities. **24 February:** Vojislav Šešelj, leader of Serbian Radical Party, surrenders to the ICTY in The Hague, accused of war crimes in BiH and Croatia. **27 February:** The ICTY sentences Biljana Plavšić to 11 years in prison. **25 March:** Former BiH ambassador to UN, Muhamed Šaćirbegović, arrested in New York City for embezzling BiH government funds. **2 April:** Mirko Šarović, Serb member and chairman of BiH presidency, resigns; he is implicated in arms sales to Iraq scandal. **22 June:** Pope John Paul II visits Banja Luka; boycotted by Serbian Orthodox Church and unheeded by local Serb media. **20 September:** Former U.S. president Clinton opens Potočari Memorial and Cemetery dedicated to 1995 Srebrenica massacre. **19 October:** Leader of Bosnian Muslims and former president of the presidency, Alija Izetbegović, dies in Sarajevo. **31 December:** UN ends its mandate to monitor and train BiH police.

2004 28 January: International administrator decrees unification of ethnically divided city of Mostar. **9 February:** High Representative fires three RS police officials; accuses them of helping Karadžić. **10–11 January:** NATO-led troops raid Orthodox church and medical facility in Pale in order to capture Karadžić. **1 April:** Another raid by NATO-led troops to capture Karadžić fails. **5 April:** Six former political and military Croat leaders surrender to ICTY, plead not guilty. **17 April:** High Representative fires RS army chief, Gen. Cvjetko Savić, and Dejan Milić, responsible for RS cooperation with ICTY, for obstruction in apprehending war crimes suspects. **11 June:** RS government finally admits that Serb forces committed 1995 Srebrenica massacre; official apology issued on 10 November. **25 June:** NATO-led troops raid hotel in Pale, fail to get Karadžić. **30 June:** High Representative fires 60 Serb officials in RS, accuses them of corruption and obstructing efforts to catch Karadžić. **23 July:** Ceremony marks reopening of Old Bridge in Mostar, destroyed by Croat forces in 1993. **24 November:** U.S. military officially ends peacekeeping role in BiH; keeps a small contingent in the country. **25 November:** International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reports that it still has 16,500 unresolved missing persons cases

in BiH. **2 December:** EU takes control over peacekeeping in BiH from NATO. **16 December:** U.S. freezes assets and imposes travel bans on two ruling BiH Serb parties and their leaders; High Representative fires a number of Serb police officials for helping fugitive war crimes suspects. Two days later, Dragan Mikerević (RS premier), Mladen Ivanić (BiH foreign minister), and Borislav Paravac (Serb member of BiH Presidency) resign in protest.

2005 15 February: RS Parliament confirms new cabinet headed by Pero Bukeylović, member of SDS. **25 March:** High Representative dismisses Dragan Čović, Croat member of Bosnia and Herzegovina's presidency because of corruption charges. **4 May:** Ivo Miro Jović appointed Croat member of presidency. **8 August:** Milan Lukić, Bosnian Serb, captured in Argentina on war crimes charges. **4 October:** RS government commission states that more than 17,000 Bosnian Serb soldiers, police officers, and officials were involved in the 1995 Srebrenica massacre. **17 October:** Radovan Karadžić, an indicted war criminal on the run, releases a collection of poems titled *Under the Left Breast of the Century*. **25 November:** EU enlargement commissioner officially opens Stabilization and Association Agreement talks with Bosnia and Herzegovina that could lead to full EU membership. **17 December:** The Old Bridge in Mostar is placed on the UNESCO's list of protected World Heritage Sites.

2006 31 January: Christian Schwarz-Schilling, former German cabinet minister, becomes the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **27 February:** The International Court of Justice (ICJ) opens hearings in a Bosnia and Herzegovina's lawsuit accusing Serbia and Montenegro of genocide. **11 March:** Slobodan Milošević found dead in his cell at the UN Detention Center in The Hague. **26 April:** After a two-day debate, the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina fails to pass U.S.- and EU-sponsored constitutional amendments. **3 May:** EU suspends the Stabilization and Association Agreement talks with Serbia and Montenegro for failing to capture Gen. Ratko Mladić, suspected to be hiding in Serbia. Carla Del Ponte, chief prosecutor of ICTY, accuses Serbia's premier Vjekoslav Koštunica of unwillingness to apprehend Mladić, as he promised a month earlier. **3 June:** High Representative Schwarz-Schilling announces that his office will close in June 2007. **27 September:** Momčilo Krajišnik, a leading Bosnian Serb

politician, sentenced by ICTY to 27 years in prison for crimes against humanity. **1 October:** Voters of Bosnia and Herzegovina elect members of three-member presidency, the national parliament, parliament of the two entities (federation and Serb republic), and assemblies in the federation's 10 cantons.

Introduction

Diversity has long been at the heart of Bosnia and Herzegovina's character. Even its dual name and physical geography display a particular heterogeneity. The medieval Bosnian state never enjoyed lasting political and ideological unity. Its rifts were feudal, regional, and religious in nature, sometimes a combination of all three. Because of its location and by a quirk of history, three major world religious and cultural traditions (Catholicism, Islam, and Orthodoxy) became cohabitants in this small Balkan country. The recent rebirth of its statehood has been exceptionally bloody, and its diversity has been shaken. Even eleven years after the guns were silenced, the country is still under the "benevolent" protection of the international community, whose officials have bungled the state-building process, with no final result in sight.

TERRITORY, POPULATION, AND NAME

The country of Bosnia and Herzegovina is situated in the northwestern part of the Balkan peninsula and the southeastern end of the Alpine region. The northern parts of Bosnia are located on the southern boundaries of the Pannonian plains.

This triangle-shaped country is embraced by Croatia from two sides. The border in the north is the Sava River. The Una River, the spurs of the mountains Zrinski and Petrova Gora, the Korana River, and the mountains Plješevica and Dinara separate it from Croatia in the west and southwest. In the southeast, it is separated from Montenegro by a mountain range and the Tara River. In the east, its natural border with Serbia is the Drina River. Near the town of Neum, the country has a narrow exit to the Adriatic Sea. Presently, it includes most, but not all,

of the territories consolidated in the middle ages, as well as regions in the northwest that were gained during the Ottoman conquest.

Today's confines of Bosnia and Herzegovina are approximately those of 1878, when the Habsburg Monarchy took over the land from the failing Ottoman Empire in accordance with the mandates of the Berlin Congress of 1878. The country comprises 51,129 square kilometers (19,741 square miles), of which 20.9 percent of the land is arable, 10.4 percent is pasture, and 46 percent is forest.

In 1991 Bosnia and Herzegovina had 4,364,574 inhabitants. Bosnian Muslims (Bosniacs) had a relative majority of 43.6 percent; the Serbs 31.4 percent; the Croats 17.3 percent; the "Yugoslavs" 5.5 percent, and other minorities 2.2 percent.

The word *Bosnia* as a geopolitical term is found for the first time in the middle of the eighth century. The original Bosnian territory, however, consisted only of the area around the upper flow of the Bosna River as well as the region from Ivan Mountain in the south to Zavidovići in the north, and from the Vlašić and Vranica Mountains in the west to the Drina River in the east.

The southeastern part of the country was known as Hum or Zahumlje in the Middle Ages. After the Ottoman conquest in the 15th century, the region became known as Herzegovina (Herzeg's land). It was named after a well-known local ruler, Herzeg (Duke) Stipan, who ruled on the eve of the Turkish onslaught.

In the Middle Ages, the feudal districts of the Lower Regions (Donji kraji), Usora, Soli, Hum or Zahumlje (Herzegovina), Završje or the Western Regions (Zapadni kraji), Travunja, and some other parts of neighboring lands were not part of Bosnia. These regions were incorporated into the Bosnian medieval state during the 13th and 14th centuries.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Bosnia and Herzegovina is mainly a mountainous land. The lowlands (Posavina), located in the northern regions along the Sava River, make up only about 5 percent of the total territory. These northern Pannonian lowlands gradually rise to about 2,000 meters (6,560 feet) above sea level along a mountain chain that separates Bosnia from Herzegovina through the middle of the country. From that point, contours slowly de-

cline toward the Adriatic Sea. For that reason, the gateway into Bosnia is from the northern (Pannonian) perimeter and into Herzegovina from the southern (Adriatic). Western Bosnia and almost all of Herzegovina, about 29 percent of the country, is made up of an arid limestone, known as karst. In this area, the only lands suitable for cultivation are small depressions, karst fields, between barren mountains.

The two principal regions in the country, Bosnia and Herzegovina, are separated by a chain of mountains. The two parts are connected by the pass at Ivan Mountain. This is a natural junction between the valley of the Bosna River and the canyon of the Neretva River, and the only gateway that links the northern Pannonian plains and the southern Adriatic parts of the country. The most important communication line between the north and the south has been, since ancient times, along the rivers Bosna and Neretva. Both Sarajevo, the capital, and Mostar, the main city in Herzegovina, are located on this important route.

Rivers, Lakes, and Mountains

Because of the high mountains in the middle of the country, the waters of Bosnia and Herzegovina flow either into the Sava River in the north, then via the Danube River into the Black Sea, or into the Adriatic Sea in the south. Generally speaking, the Bosnian rivers belong to the Black Sea, and the Herzegovinian to the Adriatic confluence. Exceptions are the underground rivers in southwest Bosnia and small rivers in northeast Herzegovina.

The main rivers in Bosnia are Una (213 km/132.2 mi.), Vrbas (253 km/157.1 mi.), Ukrina (129 km/80.1 mi.), Bosna (308 km/191.2 mi.), and Drina (339 km/210.5 mi.). Other less-known rivers in the region are Vrbaska, Tolisa, Tinja, and Brka. The largest river in Herzegovina is Neretva (228 km/141.5 mi.), which springs at the foot of Mount Grdelj and flows into the Adriatic Sea. A number of underground rivers flow through the karst regions in the south and southwestern parts of the country.

All of the rivers in Bosnia and Herzegovina flow through picturesque canyons and gorges. Some of them create beautiful cataracts, torrents, rapids, and waterfalls. For the most part, these rivers are not suitable for navigation, except in the Pannonian region, but they are a very important source of hydroelectric power. Moreover, most of the main roads in

the country are built along the rivers, and in that way the rivers provide accessibility to all parts of the country.

While the country Bosnia and Herzegovina is blessed with rivers, the land has only a few lakes. Worth mentioning are the Boračko Lake near the town of Konjic; Jablaničko Lake (artificially accumulated for a hydroelectric power plant); Deransko Lake in Hutovo Blato; and a number of mountain lakes in the central part of the country.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has numerous mountains that are well known for their magnificence and contrasts, including features like very high snowy peaks, thick forests, gentle pastures, and sheer rocks. These mountains are rich in natural resources, especially those that are closer to the Pannonian lowlands, while those that stretch toward the sea are rugged and less friendly.

The highest mountains in the country are Maglić (2,387 m/7,830 ft.), Čvrsnica (2,228 m/7,308 ft.), Prenj (2,123 m/6,964 ft.), Vranica (2,107 m/6,911 ft.), Treskavica (2,088 m/6,849 ft.), Vran (2,074 m/6,803 ft.), Bjelašnica (2,067 m/6,780 ft.), Lelija (2,032 m/6,665 ft.), and Zelen-gora (2,016 m/6,613 ft.).

Climate

Two main types of climate, continental and Mediterranean, meet on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The northern part of the country is on the periphery of the Pannonian continental zone and has moderately cold winters and hot summers. In contrast, the southern part is under Mediterranean climatic influences and has very hot and long summers and mild winters. Temperatures can reach as high as 50° C/122° F in the Mostar region. The high mountain range in the middle of the land, however, has the attributes of alpine climate: very long and cold winters, a large amount of snow fall, and short cool summers. Temperature as low as -40° C/-40° F was recorded at Veliko Polje on Igman Mountain.

HISTORY

The Ancient World

The first evidence of human dwellings in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina dates from the period of the Paleolithic Age (before 7000 BC).

During the Neolithic Age (7000–3000 BC), the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina had numerous settlements. The best-known Neolithic culture in the region is found at Butmir near Sarajevo. To which branch of the human family these and other dwellers in the area belonged will, in all probability, remain unknown. But they do attest to a highly developed stone culture in this part of Europe. New and higher cultural development is noticed with the introduction of copper in the area around 2500 BC and of bronze about 2000–1800 BC.

The first known state-building inhabitants in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina were the Illyrians, an Indo-European people who migrated to the Balkan region in the 11th century BC. In the fourth century BC, Celts from the Alpine zone invaded the territory of today's Croatia and western Bosnia. Their sojourn resulted in a blend of Illyrian and Celtic cultures. Illyrian tribes, especially the ones living in present-day Herzegovina, also came (after 600 BC) under Greek cultural and economic influence. It would be, however, under the Romans that the Illyrian Kingdom, culture, and people would fade away.

Roman armies began to attack Illyrian lands in the third century BC (229 BC), but it took them over two centuries to subdue the fierce Illyrian resistance. The final Illyrian rebellion was crushed (AD 9) by Emperor Augustus. The conquest was followed by the establishment of Roman cities, administrative units, and the Romanization of the indigenous people. The Illyrians entered into the higher echelons of the Roman world mainly through military service, and a number of them became Roman emperors, including Diocletian (AD 284–305) and Constantine (AD 306–337).

In the occupied Illyrian territories, the Romans established the province of Illyricum (c. 80 BC). In order to have better control over the rebellious region, Augustus divided Illyricum into two provinces (AD 10), Pannonia and Dalmatia. The lowlands of today's northern Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged to Pannonia, and the rest of the country belonged to mountainous Dalmatia in the south.

The Emperor Diocletian, in his administrative reforms (AD 297), separated the land east of the Drina River (present-day Serbia) from Dalmatia and created a new Roman province (Praevalis). In AD 395, the Roman Empire was permanently divided into eastern and western halves. The regions of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina were allotted to the Latin west, while the land east of the Drina River came under

Byzantine or Eastern rule. That ancient boundary between east and west became a European political and cultural fault line with significance even today.

The Germanic Goths, Monogolo-Turkic Huns, and other invaders passed through the Balkans during the fourth and fifth centuries. Another wave of invaders, Turkic Avars and Indo-European Slavs, appeared in Southeastern Europe in the sixth century. But while the Avars, consisting mostly of raiding hordes, were able to maintain their power in the region for a relatively short time, the Slav immigrants came to stay. The Slavic presence in the Balkans was strengthened at the beginning of the seventh century, when Croats from White Croatia in the trans-Carpathian region (as allies of Byzantium in the struggle with the Avars) settled on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. The Serbs, too, migrated from the north to the eastern Balkans soon after the Croats.

Medieval Period

Very little is known about the history of Bosnia from the time of the Slavic migrations in the sixth and seventh centuries to the beginning of Bosnian autonomy in the 12th century. Early church affiliation, spoken idiom, art form, political association, and terminology attest that during the second Slavic migration (seventh century), most of Bosnia was settled by the Croats, or at least that the newly arrived Croats imposed their rule over the previous settlers and indigenous peoples. We also know that the territory around the upper flow of the Bosna River (the original Bosnia) changed hands a number of times before it became an autonomous state. It was a part of the Croatian Kingdom until the middle of the 10th century. Bosnia's local ruler (*ban*) was one of the electors of the Croatian kings. The province came under the control of Serbia (949–960), of Croatia again (960–990), of Bulgaria (990), of Byzantium (1018–1040), of Croatia (1040–1087), and of Dioclea (Duklja) (1087–1102). Only after the decline of regional powers—Croatia in the west and Duklja in the southeast—did Bosnia begin to assert its autonomy. But even then, the country was compelled to recognize the suzerainty of the Hungarian-Croatian kings for most of its autonomous life.

Before Bosnia became a kingdom in 1377, its rulers were called *ban*, a title also held by Croatian governors. The first known autonomous

bans in Bosnia were Borić (1154–1163) and Kulin (c. 1164–1204). For his wise, long, and noble rule, Kulin became a nearly mythical figure among the people of Bosnia. This “great *ban*,” as he is called in a papal document from 1180, successfully used the conflict between the two competing regional powers, Byzantium and Hungary (the latter holding nominal sovereignty over Bosnia), and advanced his autonomy, expanding the original Bosnian territory to the north (Usora, Soli, and Donji Kraji) and to the south (Neretva region). He laid the foundations for future Bosnian statehood.

The rise of Bosnian independence, however, was constantly challenged by the Hungarian-Croatian sovereigns, who, a number of times, used religious justifications for attacking the Bosnian state. Under the pretext of combating the spread of an unorthodox and/or heretical Christian teaching, Hungarian armies marched for the first time into Bosnia in 1222, and the country came under direct Hungarian rule. However, the capable *Ban* Ninoslav (1225–c. 1253), while recognizing Hungarian suzerainty, exploited the Mongol attack on Hungary (1241) and enhanced Bosnian power and self-rule.

Other important *bans* who increased Bosnian power and self-rule were the *bans* of the Kotromanić dynasty. It seems that *Ban* Stipan Prijezda (1254–1287) was the ruler who took the name Kotroman, and thus, he is considered to be the founder of the Kotromanić lineage. The rule of his son, *Ban* Stipan I Kotromanić (1287–1302), was cut short, however, because Croatia’s *Ban* Pavao I Šubić invaded Bosnia (1302) in response to the Bosnian support of Venice, Croatia’s traditional enemy. Because of this invasion, the Croatian Šubić family ruled over Bosnia until 1318.

In contrast to Stipan I Kotromanić’s short reign, the long reign of *Ban* Stipan II Kotromanić (1312–1353) was exceptionally successful. In the struggle between the Hungarian king and Croatian nobility, Stipan supported the king in order to advance his expansionist aims at the expense of the neighboring Croatian nobility, mainly his Šubić cousins. Hum (later known as Herzegovina), Krajina (coastal region between Hum and the Cetina River in today’s western Herzegovina and southern Croatia), and Završje or Tropolje (region around the town Livno) recognized at that time the Bosnian *ban* as their ruler. In 1350, the Serbian ruler Stevan Dušan (1331–1355) invaded Bosnian territories, but Stipan II was able to free his lands from a short Serbian incursion. This able

ruler signed treaties with Dubrovnik (1334) and Venice (1335), invited Franciscans to Bosnia in 1340 when he had the support of the independent Bosnian Church; coined the first Bosnian money; and extended the borders of his realm from the Sava River to the Adriatic Sea and from the Cetina River in the west to the Drina in the east. It was Stipan II who set the stage for the rise of the Bosnian Kingdom.

Religious and Cultural Orientation

Since the division of the Roman Empire into western and eastern parts (395), the present-day territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been on the periphery of the Roman Church and of Western civilization. The Drina River, the present border between Bosnia and Serbia, was traditionally the boundary between the Roman and Byzantine worlds.

The Roman form of Christianity was brought to medieval Bosnia from the cities along Croatia's sea coast. While the religion spread much earlier, the first-known reference to a local Bosnian Catholic diocese dates back to 1089, under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Split. The clergy in Bosnia used the Roman rite, the Old Slavonic language, and Glagolitic script in church practices, as did the rest of southern Croatia.

For various reasons, however, Catholic institutions in Bosnia remained weak and neglected. The native bishop was replaced (1232) by a foreigner. Even the diocesan seat was moved (1252) from Bosnia to Dakovo, a town in northern Croatia, from where the bishops seldom, if ever, ventured into Bosnia. These and other factors precipitated diverse and unorthodox religious practices and beliefs, and even the appearance of a heretical Bosnian Church, whose adherents were known as "Bosnian Christians" (they were also referred to as Bogomils and Patarens). The first accusations of heretical practices against Bosnian rulers date from 1199.

This Bosnian Church was similar to the neo-Manichean (dualistic) heresy that appeared in a number of European countries at the time. The best-known of such groups were the Albigensians in France, Cathars or Patarens in Italy, and Bogomils in Bulgaria. There is still much debate among scholars about the nature and strength of the Bosnian Church. It seems that the lines between the "native," and most probably deluded, Roman Catholicism, and the Bosnian Christians were very blurred. It

will probably remain impossible to determine whether there was a clear demarcation line between the two.

For political and expansionist reasons, the Hungarian kings undertook “crusades” against the schismatic and/or heretical believers in Bosnia. With the coming of the Franciscans in the middle of the 14th century, the Catholic institutions were strengthened, and by the end of Bosnian independence, most of the people adhered to the Roman Catholic Church. There was exceptional religious tolerance in medieval Bosnia. Toward the end of Bosnia’s independence, however, the remaining Bosnian Christians were under strong pressure to embrace Catholicism. Faced with lurking Ottoman threats, Bosnian rulers wished to have a unified country and to make a better case in their quest for help in the Catholic West.

Besides Roman Catholicism and the Bosnian Church, Greek Orthodoxy appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 13th century. At this time, an intrusive Serbian political authority crossed into present-day Montenegro and eastern Herzegovina, which threatened traditional political and religious boundaries. This Serbian expansion, however, was checked and rolled back by the rising power of Bosnia and by the republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa). However, when the first Bosnian king, Tvrtko, occupied the Lim and Drina valleys in 1376, the Orthodox presence became visible in the Bosnian state again. But only after the Turkish invasions (1463) did Orthodoxy, along with Islam, significantly spread to Bosnia. It came with the major waves of migrations from the southeastern Balkans to the deserted regions of Bosnia and Croatia.

Summit and Fall

Bosnia reached the apex of its medieval power under the rule of Stipan Tvrtko I Kotromanić (1353–1391), son of Stipan II’s brother Vladislav and Jelena Šubić. At the beginning of his reign, the youthful Tvrtko lost parts of his realm to the Hungarian-Croatian king, Louis I (1357). In spite of his initial military successes against Louis I, he had to recognize the king’s suzerainty, and even found refuge at Louis’s court in 1365. Some Bosnian nobles, supported by the adherents of the Bosnian Church, forced Tvrtko and his mother out of the country and recognized his brother Vuk as their king.

With the help of King Louis I, Tvrtko overpowered his opponents (1367), consolidated his power, and then began to expand Bosnian borders. First, capitalizing on Serbian aristocratic feuds, he occupied southwestern parts of Raša (Serbia) and in 1377 proclaimed himself king of Bosnia and the Serbs. Then he conquered the coastal regions of Zeta (Montenegro) and Croatia (from the Bay of Kotor to the region of Zadar) and in 1390 proclaimed himself also king of Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Littoral. His royal seat was at the town of Bobovac.

Along with his successful territorial expansion Tvrtko also set the stage for the political instability that emerged after his death. The newly acquired feudal principalities were never solidified into a stable state. Moreover, ominous events for the Bosnian Kingdom appeared even during his reign: The Ottoman Turks were already well established in the eastern part of the Balkans, and Tvrtko's realm came under Ottoman attack for the first time in 1386.

The new king, Stipan Dabiša (1391–1395), Tvrtko's half-brother, was an incompetent ruler. Besides the Turkish threat, the newly acquired coastal cities in Croatia and some other parts of the kingdom broke away. Feudal lords began to assert their autonomy, and the Bosnian kings were constantly caught up in a regional power struggle. Dabiša also recognized the suzerainty of the Hungarian-Croatian king and had to pledge (1393) the Bosnian crown to King Sigismund. In order to evade this agreement, however, Dabiša's wife Jelena (1395–1398), and not the oldest male member of the ruling family, became his successor.

Jelena's reign was challenged by a number of noblemen, the most powerful among them were Sandalj Hranić and Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić. This noble faction recognized Ostoja (1398–1404), another illegitimate brother of Tvrtko I. But his political ambitions got him in trouble with the high nobility, and he had to flee the country. Tvrtko II (1404–1408), son of Tvrtko I, was proclaimed the new king of Bosnia. After losing a war with Hungary (1408), Tvrtko II also was removed by the aristocracy, and Ostoja came to power again (1408–1418). But Ostoja had to run for his life (1416) one more time because of his disputes with some of the magnates, who turned to the Turks for help in their struggle with Ostoja. Ostoja's son, 17-year-old Stipan Ostojić (1419–1420), succeeded his father to the throne. He received the support of most of the Bosnian nobility until the next major crisis.

Turkish forces raided eastern Bosnia (1420) under the pretext of punishing the local Pavlović family for their disloyalty. Namely, the Pavlovićs had attempted to rebuff Turkish suzerainty, which they had acknowledged in return for Turkish help they received at the time of the family's struggle with the former King Ostoja. This Turkish assault sparked a new round of political crisis in the country that resulted in the election of Tvrtko II (1420–1443) to the royal throne for the second time. After a short period of peace, however, some of the nobility, with Turkish acquiescence, endorsed Radivoj, an illegitimate son of the late King Ostoja, and declared him king of Bosnia in 1432. Despite obvious external dangers, the Bosnian nobility was unable to unite around the royal throne, and the feudal kings lacked the competence to unify and lead the country. Meanwhile, internal political and religious disunity, Ottoman incursions, and Hungarian-Turkish regional rivalry were tearing the country apart.

The legitimate successor of Tvrtko II was another illegitimate son of the late King Ostoja, Stipan Tomaš (1444–1461). While he was recognized as ruler by most of the Bosnian nobility, Radivoj, the pretender to the throne, continued to serve (until 1447) the interests of the centrifugal feudal forces in the country and of the Turks. Moreover, King Tomaš's foremost enemy and his father-in-law, Stipan Vukčić Kosača (ruler of Hum), in order to emphasize his independence from King Tomaš, took the title of "Herceg" (from the German *Herzog* for duke) in 1448. He asserted his independence from the Bosnian king while becoming a vassal to the Turks. His lands are known today as Herzegovina, or the Herzog's land. His aggressive and expansionist policies got him in trouble with his neighbors, his own son, and the Turks.

While Bosnian rulers and the nobility were bickering among themselves, the Ottomans were laying the ground for their decisive assault on Bosnia. They continued raiding the country frequently, establishing a permanent foothold in 1448 in the vicinity of today's Sarajevo, and fostering political and religious strife inside the country. In order to prevent the Ottoman aggression, Stipan Tomaš turned to the pope for understanding and help. He also suppressed the schismatic, or as some think, heretical Bosnian Church, recognized the suzerainty of the Hungarian-Croatian king, Vladislav, and relied on his assistance. Even in such a difficult situation, the Bosnian king did intend to regain the territories that were lost after the death of Tvrtko I. His ambitions and

his unsuccessful attempts to fulfill them only increased the number of Bosnian enemies.

King Tomaš was succeeded by his son, Stipan Tomašević (1461–1463). Faced with the immediate danger of an Ottoman onslaught, the new king turned entirely to the West in his political and ideological orientation. He was rewarded by being crowned king in the town of Jajce in 1461 with the crown sent to him by the pope. Even Herceg Stipan Kosača pledged his support and allegiance to the new king. Bosnia was now clearly in the West's political sphere. Moreover, the king refused to pay the imposed tribute to the Turks. These factors and the Ottoman hatred of the West set the stage for the Turk's decisive strike against Bosnia.

Realizing the immediate threat from the East, the Bosnian king asked for a 15-year truce with Istanbul. After giving a positive but deceitful answer, Mehmet II with a large Turkish army invaded Bosnia in the spring of 1463. The country fell to the Turks without much resistance. The last Bosnian king was captured in the fortress of Ključ, and, despite the grand vizier's written promise to spare his life, Stipan Tomašević was beheaded near the town of Jajce. In the same year, the original medieval Bosnia became a Turkish military district (*sancak* or *sandžak*).

The main force of the invading Turkish army withdrew from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the autumn of 1463. A counteroffensive, led by the Hungarian-Croatian king Mathias, Venice, and Herceg Stipan, began immediately after the departure of the principal Ottoman military forces. Mathias took the northern half of the country and established two banates (*banovine*) there, Jajce and Srebrenica. He even installed one of his men, Nikola of Ilok, as the "king" of Bosnia (1471). The banates did serve for a few decades as a line of defense in the Croatian-Hungarian efforts to slow down Ottoman expansion to the West. Herceg Stipan and his sons, on the other hand, were able to reestablish their control in the southern part of the Bosnian Kingdom, at least for a short while.

A new Turkish offensive a year later to reconquer the rest of Bosnia did not bring the desired results. For reasons of political expediency, the Ottomans also paraded a "king of Bosnia" of their own (1465). The Turkish "Bosnian kingdom" was abolished in 1476, after the "king" asked of Hungary an official recognition of his title. The Turkish struggle with Herceg Stipan (died in 1466) and his sons continued until 1482. In that year, the last of Herceg's military holdouts, Novi, fell under the

Turks. This marked the end of the medieval Bosnian Kingdom and the land was ruled by the Ottomans until 1878.

Under the Ottomans (1463–1878)

There are no indications that conversions took place en masse in Bosnia after the Turkish occupation. A considerable percentage of the native upper class, however, and a smaller proportion of the peasantry did accept Islam. By becoming Muslims, members of the Christian aristocracy in many cases saved not only their heads, but also their hereditary possessions and privileges, too. At the beginning of Turkish rule, some noblemen entered the sultan's service as feudal cavalry (*sipahis*) while remaining Christians, but with the passing of time all of them became converts or died out. The most intense period of Islamization in Bosnia and Herzegovina took place mainly during the first hundred years of Ottoman rule, while the Empire was still exuberant and expanding, but conversion was initially inspired more by economic and social incentives than by religious zeal. The process was also linked to the beginning of urbanization, sparse as it was. The converted or Muslim-born administrative and commercial class settled around the new business centers (*čaršija*) and the Christian peasants remained in the countryside.

The Bosnian administrative and military elite, during the entire Ottoman period, came mostly from the Islamized population. Moreover, a large number of high dignitaries in the Ottoman Empire came from Christian families in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of these ascended through the system of boy-tribute, known as *devşirme* (collection, blood tax). About 3,000 young men were levied from the Balkans annually and, after their conversion to Islam, they were trained in military or administrative skills. Most of the enslaved young men became *Jeni Çeri* or Janissaries, regular infantry troops. The brightest ones were placed in the sultan's administrative service. Some of these were fully Ottomanized and served in the highest offices of the government (the Sublime Porte).

The levy of Christian boys was abolished in the middle of the 17th century. The fighting zeal and discipline of the Janissaries weakened as the empire fell into decline. They were permitted to marry, and the service became hereditary. Moreover, these former elite troops became

increasingly obsolete and a major obstacle to the empire's necessary military reforms. For that reason, the Janissaries were abolished in 1826.

With the Turkish invasion, the traditional feudal relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, officially at least, disintegrated. The land legally became the sultan's possession; the military and bureaucratic aristocracies were directly responsible to the executive offices (the Sublime Porte) in Istanbul. In the eyes of the Ottomans, following the Middle Eastern tradition of statecraft, society was divided into two basic categories: the ruling class (the military, administrative, judicial, and educational elite), and the subjects or *raya* (flock), which consisted of all (non-Muslims and Muslims) who, by their work, sustained the state. The sultan, with his military and bureaucratic servants, had an obligation to accumulate and protect the wealth that was his patrimony, keep law and order, ensure security and justice for his subjects, and promote Islam. In return, the sole duty of the *raya* was to provide material support for the state, the ruling class, and the sultan.

Socioeconomic relations in Ottoman Bosnia were initially founded on the ruling class and the *raya* structure of society. The native Muslims and converts, and also a number of Christian nobles who remained in the country, became the sultan's feudal cavalry (*sipahis*). Their hereditary lands were converted into fiefs (*timars*) in return for their military or other services to the state. These former Bosnian nobles became the lower military aristocracy of the Ottoman Empire.

There were three categories of land holdings: *timar*, *zeamet*, and *hass*. The smallest was *timar* and the largest *hass*. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, *timars* were given not only to the feudal cavalry (*sipahis*), but also to the defenders of the frontier fortresses. Because of constant warfare in the region, *timars* changed hands quite often. But at the end of the 16th century, the process of *timar* privatization began, and the number of small holdings multiplied while the number of larger ones decreased.

Some peasants in Bosnia and Herzegovina were freeholders and owned small plots of land. They were mainly Muslims. Others, mainly Christian peasants, were sharecroppers or customary tenants (*kmets*), similar to serfs in the West. Generally speaking, during the first hundred years of Ottoman rule, the life of the peasant, Christian and Muslim, was relatively stable and secure. However, as Ottoman power and the military fortunes of the Bosnian feudal aristocracy began to dwindle,

so did the living conditions of the peasants, especially the Christians. While originally many were leaseholders, Christian peasants became overwhelmingly sharecroppers (*kmets*) to the local Muslim feudal lords, who gradually appropriated state lands and made them hereditary. While the *sipahi* was once the sultan's reliable soldier and an efficient treasury agent, his military skills became outdated. He became a liability to the state and a despotic landlord to the peasant. Tax collection was entrusted more often to tax farmers, who became hereditary owners of the sultan's land (*çifliks*), and to local nonmilitary notables. The peasants' fortunes slipped from the ostensible security of Islamic Law (*Şeriat*) into the hands of corrupt state bureaucrats who were trying to retain their economic and social position by exploiting the *raya*, as well as defrauding the state. Besides paying the land and poll tax to the sultan, the Christian peasants' assessments increased from one-tenth to one-third, even to a half, of the annual yield. Labor obligations and numerous other assessments were increased or newly imposed. The declining status of the peasant in turn resulted in revolts, banditry, and an increase in religious intolerance.

After the Turks occupied the central and southern parts of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, they kept the basic local administrative divisions found at the time of the conquest. Two military districts (*sandžaks*), however, were established in the former kingdom: the Bosnian in 1463 and Herzegovinian in 1470. Both *sandžaks* belonged to the Rumeli (Rumelian) province (*beylerbeylik*), which included all of the occupied Balkan lands at the time.

Those Bosnian lands that were not occupied in 1463, as well as Croatia and parts of Hungary, became a line of defense against Turkish expansion into Central Europe. Those defenses, however, began to disintegrate at the beginning of the 16th century, especially after the fall of Belgrade (1521) and the battle of Mohacz (1526).

As the Ottomans expanded their possessions to the north and west, they established more districts (*sandžaks*) in the region and, as a result, Bosnia became an Ottoman province (*beylerbeylik/eyalet*, better known as *paşaluk*) in 1580. At the apex of Ottoman power, the Bosnian *paşaluk* had eight military districts (*sandžaks*): Bosnia, Herzegovina, Zvornik, Klis, Pakrac-Cernik, Krk-Lika, Bihać, and Požega. Districts were divided into judicial and administrative units (*kazas* or *kadiluks*) in which the judges (*kadis*) dispensed the holy law of Islam or the *Şeriat*.

As the power and stamina of the Ottoman Empire began to decline in the 17th century, the borders of the Bosnian province (*pašaluk*) gradually shrank. After the liberation of Ottoman Hungary and parts of occupied Croatia from the Turks in 1699, the Bosnian *pašaluk* lost large portions of its northern and western territory. Thus, at the beginning of the 18th century, its territory consisted of four districts (*sandžaks*): Bosnia, Herzegovina, Klis, and Bihać. This administrative division lasted until the time of Ottoman reforms in the middle of the 19th century.

The seats of the chief Turkish administrators (*beglerbeg/beylerbey*) in Bosnia were at first in Sarajevo, then Banja Luka (1554–1638), Sarajevo again (1639–1697), Travnik (1697–1850), then back to Sarajevo (1851–1878). From that time to the present, Sarajevo has remained the center of political power in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A peculiar local military and administrative structure evolved in Bosnia from the Ottoman *timar* (state service) system. In the border zones, mainly in and around the military forts, officials known as *kapetans* or *kapudans* (captains) performed a mix of military, administrative, and border police duties. They also went to war when the sultan called upon them. The districts they controlled were known as *kapetanije* (captainies). While at the end of the 17th century there were 12 of such districts, all of them along the borders, a hundred years later there were 39 *kapetanije* throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Because the imperial center was so formidable, the *kapetans* were successfully kept in check. During the 16th and 17th centuries, however, the *kapetans* were able to convert the land into private holdings, make their office hereditary, treat the local peasants as they pleased, diminish the power of the governor (*beglerbeg*), and make Bosnia a state within the state.

Ottoman Reforms in Bosnia

Ottoman Bosnia, from the outset to the end of its existence, was an imperial borderland. During the empire's expansion, it served as a staging ground for continuous onslaughts into Central Europe. During the period of decline (17th and 18th centuries), Bosnia became a defensive outpost against Western powers (the Habsburgs and Venice). In the 19th century, however, during the time of Ottoman reforms, Bosnia's fate was entangled in a number of difficulties that, instead of making it a po-

litically viable unit, turned the province into a battlefield for a variety of combating forces. There was the imperialistic power struggle between Russia and the Habsburgs, the revolts of the neighboring Christian peoples, and the aspirations and revolts of Bosnia's own Christian subjects. Furthermore, there was pressure from the central government to reassert its power in the province and, at the same time, Bosnia's ruling class struggled for survival and protection of its privileges. These and similar forces proved to be detrimental in shaping the history of Bosnia in the last two centuries.

The long distance from the capital of the empire (Istanbul), its mountainous geography, its lack of communications, and the power structure that evolved during the two centuries of Ottoman decline, all helped Bosnia to become a semiautonomous country. However, the Turkish retreat from Central Europe was a great disappointment for Bosnian elites. They began to see themselves as defenders of Islam from the Christian West. The reforms of Sultan Muhamed II (1808–1839), which emulated Western models, were perceived by Bosnia's feudal lords as a betrayal of Islam and a grave threat to their political and economic power. Thus, resistance to change and religious conservatism prevailed in Bosnia. The central government in Istanbul had to undertake seven military campaigns to implement its reforms and break the power of the landed aristocracy.

From the first violent clash between the newly appointed governor and the Bosnian aristocracy in 1813, to the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, there were numerous uprisings and violent disturbances in the province by both Muslims and Christians. While the Christian rebellions were directed mostly against the burdensome obligations of taxes and assessments, the semi-independent landlords revolted in defense of their local autonomy and against the imposition of the central government's reforms and obligations.

Serious discontent erupted with Sultan Mahmud II's decision in 1826 to abolish the Janissaries, which by that time was more of a privileged layer of society than an army. Bosnians also refused to enlist in the sultan's new-style army. Their opposition to changes in the military and to the reforms in general escalated into an open revolt in 1831. Under the charismatic leadership of Captain Husejin Gradašćević, known as the Dragon of Bosnia, the Bosnians were initially successful in their military campaign. Their army marched as far as Kosovo, where a similar

rebellion among the Albanians was taking place. Bosnian forces wanted to extort from the grand vizier guarantees of self-rule and prevent the intended modernization. It seemed that the rebels were on the verge of political victory, until the Ottomans were able to entice the landlords of Herzegovina to abandon the cause and their Bosnian brothers. Because of the split, the rebellion was crushed in 1832. Herzegovina became an independent province (*elayet*), Husejin Gradašćević went into exile, and the sultan was able to impose limited reforms in the region. The most important was the abolishment of the *kapetanije* in 1835. Many of the former *kapetans*, however, and other feudal lords, were appointed as local representatives of the governor or *musselims*.

The second major period of insurrections of the Muslims in Bosnia came after the promulgation of Sultan Abdülmecid's famous Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber (*Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane*) on 3 November 1839. The decree proclaimed liberal principles: the security of life, honor, and property; equality before the law; public trials; the abolishment of tax-farming; better methods of recruitment into the armed forces; and an end of abuses by the landlords. This edict and a similar one issued in 1856 (*Hatt-i Humayun*) is collectively known as the Reorganization or *Tanzimat* period in Ottoman history. These reforms, however, were either ignored or circumvented in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After several antireform revolts in the 1840s, the one in 1849 was especially remembered for the man who crushed it in 1850. Omer-Pasha Latas, an Islamized former sergeant in the Austro-Hungarian army, came with a large military force from Istanbul and defeated the local Muslim forces. Some Muslim notables were executed and many others exiled to Anatolia. Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into nine new districts under the command of governor's representatives or *kajmaks*. Latas finally crushed the political power of Bosnia's landed aristocracy.

The high hopes of the Christian peasants, however, were not fulfilled. Latas was not kind to them either. Although Muslim elites were subjugated, most of their privileges were still assured. The burdens of the peasants became even greater. This resulted in Christian revolts in 1851 and again in 1857–1858. Among other demands, they wanted equality before the law (officially guaranteed in 1839) and the abrogation of the poll tax. In 1855, the tax was eliminated and replaced with a new tax for not serving in the Ottoman armed forces. These and

other changes did not in reality alleviate the burdens on the peasantry. Still, in the 1860s the living conditions of the peasants (*kmets*) did slightly improve.

The man responsible for implementing progressive changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina was Topal Osman-Pasha, who served as governor from 1861 to 1869. Through the provincial reform law of 1864, he made administrative, judicial, and military changes in Bosnia. The two provinces, Herzegovina and Bosnia, were again joined into one, now called the Bosnian *vilayet*. The governor (*valiya*) was nominated by the central government in Istanbul. An elected 28-member council met once a year and served as an advisory body. The unified province was divided into seven districts (*sandžaks* or *lives*). In addition to the Islamic courts, civil courts were introduced in the province. With some minor changes, this legal and administrative setting remained until the end of Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The duration of Topal Osman-Pasha's service in Bosnia was known as the "period of peace and work," but after his departure the situation deteriorated sharply. Neither the provincial nor the imperial leadership was competent enough to resolve the internal and external complexities that had evolved in Bosnia by the second half of the last century.

In the last nine years of Ottoman rule in Bosnia, 15 governors served in the province. There were new revolts caused by social and economic grievances, and ethnic aspirations. National consciousness among the Christian population steadily intensified; Serbian nationalism was growing among the Orthodox and Croatian nationalism was growing among the Catholic population. Each side desired to be unified with their conationals in Serbia or Croatia and claimed Bosnia and Herzegovina to be their land. As Serbia and Montenegro were strengthening their autonomy in the second half of the century, they were increasingly active in instigating revolts among their religious brothers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There were also sporadic incursions from Montenegro into Herzegovina to "liberate" the land. In turn, the Muslims became increasingly suspicious of the Christians and their activities as ethnic discontent and differentiation were exacerbated.

As it became clear that the Ottoman reforms would not revive the empire, European powers, specifically Russia and Austria, were eager to fill the power vacuum that was growing in the Balkan region. Under

the pretext of protecting the Christians, they were meddling in Ottoman affairs and projecting their influence among the peoples in the empire. It seemed that Russia's great project of assembling a large "sister" Orthodox state in the Balkans and getting the straits would finally be achieved. Austria, on the other hand, after losing the contest for the primacy among the Germans, turned to the Balkans to secure its interests.

The rebellion of Croatian and Serbian peasants in 1875 inaugurated a crisis that brought an end to Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It started in Herzegovina in response to a brutal tax collection that followed a disastrously poor harvest a year earlier. The revolt spread to other regions of the province. Volunteers from various Christian countries came to assist the rebels. But the rebellion was ruthlessly quelled during the winter months of the following year by the Muslim forces. The peasants paid a heavy price in life and property. Estimates are that about 5,000 peasants were killed and over 100,000 became refugees.

The events in Bosnia and Herzegovina reflected the immense predicaments facing the Ottomans domestically and on the international scene. The Bulgarians also rose against the Turks in 1875. Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Turks in June 1876 in the hope of acquiring Bosnia and Herzegovina, respectively. But they were badly beaten by the Ottomans, and their hopes of procuring Bosnia and Herzegovina were shattered. Only Russian intervention saved them from a complete disaster. A year later, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire, with an understanding that Austria-Hungary would remain neutral and, in return, Russia would recognize the Habsburgs' right to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. Alarmed by the Russian victory and the San Stefano Treaty that created a large Bulgarian state, the European powers at their meeting at the Congress of Berlin in July 1878 prevented Russia from projecting its power into the eastern Mediterranean and blocked the Bulgarians from fulfilling their dream of an independent Greater Bulgaria. The Berlin Congress also recognized the full independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania. Bosnia and Herzegovina, while still under the sultan's suzerainty, was to be administered by Austria-Hungary. On 29 July 1878, Austro-Hungarian army units crossed Bosnia's borders, crushed a weak Muslim and partially Orthodox resistance, took Sarajevo on 19 August 1878, and subdued all of Bosnia and Herzegovina by October of that year.

Under the Habsburgs (1878–1918)

From the outset, Bosnia and Herzegovina's new rulers were faced with three major difficulties regarding the administration of the land. First, there was the question of which of the two imperial partners, Austria or Hungary, would formally acquire the occupied land. The second concern was how to govern three already quarrelsome religious groups in an underdeveloped and neglected former Ottoman province. The third and more delicate issue was how to establish a workable governing relationship between a European Christian empire, which for centuries had been a bulwark against Islam, with the ruling Muslim elites in the provinces.

After pacifying Muslim and some Orthodox armed resistance and crushing local banditry, the first problem was resolved by making Bosnia and Herzegovina neither an Austrian nor a Hungarian possession, but a crown land administered by the Joint Imperial Finance Ministry. The resolution of the second and third predicaments, to govern a land with three diverse peoples and religions with conflicting political aspirations, and to bring the Muslim community to accept the rule of a Christian power, was entrusted to a Hungarian official of noble descent, Benjamin Kállay. After seven years in Belgrade as an Austro-Hungarian diplomat, he was named Joint Imperial Finance Minister from 1882 to 1903. Kállay effectively controlled the fate of Bosnia for more than 20 years.

The Habsburgs continued the Ottoman administrative divisions of the land, only changing the terminology: *sandžak* became *Kreise* (regions) and *kadiluks* were named *Bezirke* (districts). The *Şeriat* (Muslim religious) courts were kept along with the civil justice system. The provincial administration was headed by a general, the commander-in-chief of the Fifteenth Army Corps in Sarajevo. He was aided by a deputy for civil affairs and four directors in charge of political, judicial, financial, and economic matters.

Although there were no major institutional changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the occupation, Kállay did aspire to bring administrative practices in the provinces up to the imperial standard. That is why the Austro-Hungarian period in the country is best remembered for its large and relatively efficient bureaucracy, which was a drastic improvement over Ottoman practices. Through the efforts of ardent

public servants, Bosnia and Herzegovina became, in relation to the periods before and after Habsburg rule, a good example of an efficient government and conscientious public service. Austro-Hungarian (that is, Kállay's) policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina were centered on administrative efficiency, economic and educational improvements, the reduction of Serbian and Croatian national influences, and, in turn, the affirmation of Bosnian identity as a separate political and ethnic unit.

Along with the active building of new roads and some railroads, economic initiatives were undertaken in order to industrialize and link Bosnia and Herzegovina with the rest of the empire. Initiatives were also made to improve agricultural production. There were, however, some major problems with the economic transformation. First, major capital investments from other parts of the empire never took place. Second, in order to gain the loyalty of the Muslim landlords, the government hesitated to carry out a meaningful land reform. Furthermore, lack of technology and peasants' resistance to new ideas prevented any significant increase in agricultural production.

As part of an effort to bring about economic and social changes, the government also encouraged settlers from other regions of the empire to move to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Economic stimuli were provided to a few thousand settlers who did come to live and work in the provinces. Furthermore, attempts were made to establish educational institutions in order to lower a very high illiteracy rate in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A few hundred primary and some secondary schools were founded, as well as a technical school, a teachers' training college, and some other cultural institutions. Although much of Austro-Hungarian efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina were motivated by geopolitical interests, the fact is that substantial advancements were made in the country's infrastructure, education, and public services. Long-range economic projects, however, produced mixed results.

The national awakenings of the 19th century caught Bosnia and Herzegovina in a crossfire between Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim identities. The European civilization fault line, which separated the Latin West and Byzantine worlds for centuries, became visible in Bosnia and Herzegovina once again. The Orthodox population, which either migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina or was converted after the Turkish occupation, embraced Serbian nationalism. Catholics, who lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the Ottoman conquest, linked

their revival to Bosnian medieval history and to the national movement in Croatia. The Muslim population, mostly indigenous to the region, was in a difficult situation regarding their ethnic identity. Their previous imperial Ottoman pride was becoming irrelevant. Rising Turkish nationalism was not an option because they were not of Turkish origin. Furthermore, the Muslim concept that Islam is all inclusive (*Umma Muslima*) was an ideal and not a political reality. This situation resulted in uncertainty and confusion.

By the beginning of the 20th century, a considerable number of Bosnian Muslim intellectuals identified themselves as Croats, a smaller number as Serbs, but most of the people remained ambiguous regarding their national orientations. Islam, not ethnicity, remained for them the main identity. While the Croats and the Serbs wanted to be unified with their “mother” countries, the Muslims had no desire to unify either with Serbia or Croatia, or to form a larger Slav state. Their main goal was to retain Bosnia and Herzegovina as a separate political unit in which they could preserve their Islamic tradition and hopefully maintain their privileged status.

The Serbian national ideologues claimed not only that the Orthodox were Serbs, but that all three groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina were actually Serbs. Therefore, according to them, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as most of Croatia, should be united with Serbia. The Croatians also claimed Bosnia and Herzegovina as their land on the principle of historical rights and the argument that the Muslims were Islamized former Croats. The concept of Yugoslavism, an attempt to create a new and supranational identity with a program of unifying all of the South Slavs in a single state, complicated ethnic relations even further.

The idea of unifying Bosnia and Herzegovina with Croatia and making the two an equal partner to Hungary and Austria under the Habsburgs, known as trialism, was circulating as a possibility. This would have provided a balance among the German, Hungarian, and Slavic segments of the Empire. But it was unacceptable to the Hungarians, Serbs, and most of the Muslims. The Hungarians did not want to strengthen Slav power in their realm. For the Serbs, it would end the dream of unifying Bosnia with Serbia. And in the eyes of the Muslims, trialism would threaten their Islamic tradition and their privileged status.

Because of such a variety of nationalist aspirations and political speculations, Minister Kállay wanted to make Bosnia and Herzegovina

a separate entity (*corpus separatum*) within the monarchy and isolate it from other Balkan political and ethnic forces. His main project was to cultivate a separate Bosnian ethnicity that would melt all the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina into a new nationality.

In order to assure the cooperation of the religious leaders, especially Muslim and Orthodox ones, the new rulers fully respected the freedom of religion and subsidized Christian and Muslim schools. However, imperial authority gained ultimate control of all institutions in the province, including the power to appoint the bishops of the Catholic and Orthodox dioceses, the religious head of the Muslim community (*reis ul-ulema*), and a four-man Muslim council (*mejlis al-ulema*). As Catholic rulers, the Habsburgs were especially careful to avoid making Catholics a privileged group in the province.

To advance the Bosnian or Bosniac identity, Kállay banned political and even cultural activities under national names. His efforts, however, did not bring about the desired results. Even the Muslims, who remained cool to Croatian or Serbian nationalism, did not think in terms of an all-inclusive Bosniac national identity. They saw themselves as distinct. Besides religious exclusiveness, however, one should not forget the socioeconomic differences that for centuries separated Muslim elites from the Christian peasantry. Religious and economic differences, plus the already developed national consciousness of the Serbs and the Croats, were detrimental to integration processes.

The legitimacy of a Christian monarchy to rule Bosnia and Herzegovina was constantly resisted by the Muslim community there. It was seen as a temporary setback and not as a permanent solution. A dream remained that either the Ottoman Empire would do something to alleviate their dissatisfaction or a solution would be found in which Bosnia and Herzegovina would remain an Islamic region of Europe. The sultan's sovereignty in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1908, although on paper only, gave a ray of hope to the Muslims that better times might yet come.

Because the new rulers retained the old structures, the Muslims worked at first through traditional religious and cultural institutions. Petitions and grievances concerning religious matters were constantly raised in order to protect their interests. The question of the conversion of some Muslim members to Christianity became a mobilizing issue for all segments of Muslim society. While, in the eyes of Vienna, conver-

sions were a private matter, this was portrayed by the Muslims as detrimental to their survival. Such issues became the means through which they put pressure on the government to achieve better political status.

In 1881, Bosnian military units from the Ottoman period were merged with the Austro-Hungarian imperial armed forces, and a general conscription was ordered in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There were strong objections by the Muslims to service in a Christian army. This, along with some other grievances, resulted in a short-lived Muslim revolt in the Mostar region.

Muslims also fought the government over control of charitable, religious land foundations (*vakufs* or *vakifs*). By the end of Ottoman rule, the use of the *vakufs* had deteriorated so much that they were little more than tax-free family possessions. The Habsburgs made major reforms in this area, but the question of *vakuf* control became a political issue. Finally, in 1909, control of these institutions was given to the Muslim leadership. This victory contributed greatly to Muslim political and nationalist aims.

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, in the Balkans and in Europe, witnessed a series of political crises and shifting alliances. The demise of the Alliance of the Three Emperors (Germany, Russia, and Austria), formation of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, and Italy) and of the Triple Entente (England, France, and Russia), and growing tensions among the old and the new European colonial powers greatly affected the fate of the Balkan region. Suspicions among the formerly allied Russians and Habsburgs were growing, and hostile activities in the Balkans were intensified. Events in Serbia and Croatia, and the ensuing Balkan wars, all had an impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In Serbia, a group of zealous Serbian nationalist officers eliminated the ruling Obrenović dynasty and installed the Austrophobe Karađorđevićs to the Serbian royal throne. They also organized and sponsored secret societies (Unification or Death, better known as the Black Hand) and paramilitary groups like the *četniks* in order to carry out the Serbian nationalist program, which was formulated in the following three sentences: "Serbia is wherever the Serbs live. All the Serbs must live in Serbia. Serbia for the Serbs." Serbian foreign policy, because of the shared culture and common expansionist interests, shifted openly to the Russian sphere of influence. Furthermore,

both Bulgaria and Serbia were competing for Macedonia. And Serbia relied on Russian help.

In Croatia, a hated *ban* (viceroy), Kuen Hedervary (1883–1903), used the Serbian minority in an attempt to keep Croatia in his firm grip and to deprive it of political autonomy and cultural identity. This contributed greatly to Serbian–Croatian tensions. Serbs were seen as a minority willing to be used by Hungarians against Croatian interests. In 1903, however, a political coalition was formed in Croatia between Croatian and Serbian political forces, and among the intellectuals, the idea of Yugoslavism was fostered. But the two peoples had different, and in many ways incompatible, visions of their national futures. Developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina were also growing more complex, especially after Kállay's death in 1903. His successor, Stephen Burián (1903–1912), realized that Kállay's ethnic policies were not working, and he opened the door to organizational structures under ethnic labels. Significant religious autonomy for the Orthodox Church was secured in 1905. It officially became known as the Serbian-Orthodox Church. This greatly stimulated Serbian nationalism and provided it with an organizational instrument. From that point on, all three groups, Muslim, Serb, and Croat, established ethnic institutions that shaped and sharpened their national goals and programs.

The first crisis of significant proportions erupted when Austro-Hungary, prompted by the 1908 revolution of the Young Turks, decided to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. Within less than a year, the matter was resolved with the Turkish government. The Turks were given monetary compensation for the provinces, the *sandžak* of Novi Pazar (also known just as Sandžak) was left in Turkish hands, and Bosnian Muslims were guaranteed freedom of religion. The tensions between Austria and Serbia, however, increased to the breaking point. If the Russians had not suffered defeat in the war with Japan in 1905, Serbia most probably would have kindled a war with the Habsburgs in 1908 over the annexation of Bosnia. The First Balkan War erupted less than four years later. The Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, and Greeks made an alliance and wanted to drive the Turks from the Balkans. They defeated the Turks in the war of 1912. The victory, however, brought about another war among the allies over the spoils. In the Second Balkan War (1913), Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece, joined by Romania, defeated Bulgaria, depriving it of sizable territories. Victory in both

Balkan wars and more than doubling the size of its territory encouraged Serbia to pursue its expansionist policy. While the pro-Yugoslavs among the Croat and Muslim intelligentsia in Bosnia and Herzegovina looked toward Serbia as the Piedmont of the South Slavs, the others saw it as an aggressor and wished to achieve their national aspirations within the Habsburg dominion.

The Serbian nationalist forces, however, were eager to provoke a conflict over Bosnia and Herzegovina and enlarge its territory. Their efforts and desires were fulfilled on 28 June 1914, when a young Serb nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, killed the Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo. This ignited World War I, in which Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself on the side of Austria-Hungary. At the end of the war, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire placed Bosnia and Herzegovina in a newly created South Slavic state.

From 1918 to 1992

The creation of the South Slav state in 1918 (the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, known as Yugoslavia after 1929) was more a calculated result of the post-World War I peacemakers than a yearning of the people who became a part of it. It was stitched together from parts of Austria-Hungary (Slovenia, Croatia, Vojvodina, and Bosnia and Herzegovina) and the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro.

Various peoples that made up the new country had antithetical national and political visions and perceptions of what the new state should be. To the Croatians and their Slovene and Bosnian Muslim neighbors, the common state was to be a loose union of equal partners. To the Serbs, the new state was a substitution for a Greater Serbia, their paramount dream that dissipated with the fall of their champion, imperial Russia. To the Western peacemakers, the newly created state was to serve as a link in a chain of new states designated to be a buffer zone against the spread of the Bolshevik revolution. This creation of the Versailles Treaty (1918) was a quick fix to a very complex and unstable region of Europe. The forced union of various peoples with different cultures and religions was from the very outset susceptible to failure.

During World War I, the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina was envisioned by some in Vienna and by leading Muslim politicians as either an autonomous entity directly under the Hungarian crown, or indirectly

under the crown through an affinity with Croatia. But as soon as some Slovene and Croatian politicians established a National Council for the unification of the South Slavs (5 October 1918), a branch of the same National Council was constituted in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The governor of the province, Baron Sarkotić, handed over power to the members of the council on 1 November 1918. Two days later, the first national government of Bosnia and Herzegovina was formed. Serbian and Montenegrin armies moved into Bosnia and Herzegovina a few days later, and violence erupted in many places.

As in the past, politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina continued to follow along mostly ethnic lines. The Bosnian Serbs were strong supporters of the Serbian-controlled, central government in Belgrade. They voted exclusively for Serbian political parties. They were free to orient their cultural and economic activities toward Belgrade. To belong to the ruling nationality in the country definitely had its rewards, and the Serbs from the former Habsburg regions utilized that advantage to the fullest. The Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina were of federalist political orientation and strongly opposed Serbian unitarism. Most of them were followers of the Croatian (Republican) Peasant Party. Culturally and economically they were Zagreb-oriented. The Muslim leadership, meanwhile, maneuvered between the two camps. Although there were some pro-Serb enthusiasts, the overwhelming majority of the Muslim population was in the federalist camp with the Croats and Slovenes.

The Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO) established in 1919 became the largest Muslim political formation. It politicized the Muslim masses and attempted to protect their interests in the new South Slavic state. At the beginning of the new country, the JMO leadership had a pro-Serb orientation. By collaborating with the ruling Serbian party, the Muslims attempted to secure Bosnia's territorial unity, to retain Muslim unity, to have freedom in Muslim religious and educational institutions, and to diminish the impact of the impending land reforms on the Muslim landlords. In return, the JMO, with its Muslim allies from Kosovo, Sandžak, and Macedonia, voted for the unitarist constitution that was promulgated on 28 June 1921, the day of the Kosovo battle (1389) and of the Sarajevo assassination (1914).

Whereas the constitution stated that "Bosnia and Herzegovina would be divided into districts within her present [1921] borders," in actuality Bosnian administrative integrity was only an appearance. It did not

have political or ethnic significance. Pan-Serbian policies also caused a split among the Bosnian Muslims. A small and older group of politicians remained faithful to Belgrade, while the majority, under the leadership of Mehmed Spaho, moved close to the federalist camp. All the Muslim deputies to the parliament in Belgrade from this faction, except Spaho, went so far as to declare themselves in 1924 to be of Croatian nationality. Spaho, who resigned from the Belgrade government in 1922, claimed to be a “Yugoslav.” There was a strong pro-Croatian wing in the JMO, and in the mid-1920s, a number of Muslims voted for the Croatian Peasant Party.

After the 1923 elections, the main Croatian, Slovene, and Bosnian Muslim political parties formed a Federalist bloc. A year later, the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) joined the Federalists and together they formed an Opposition bloc. This contributed to the fall of the Serbian Radicals and to the formation of a new coalition government under the leadership of Serbian Democrats. During this short-lived government (July 1924–October 1924), the Bosnian Muslims (JMO) enjoyed considerable power. But with the increase of their power in Belgrade came Serbian anti-Muslim (and anti-Croatian) violence in the Bosnian countryside.

Regardless of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s central location in the country and a strong Serbian unitarist force in it, and despite a relatively cooperative Muslim leadership, the region underwent economic and cultural stagnation in the interwar period. The Belgrade regime chose oppression and exploitation rather than magnanimity as its overall policy in the newly consolidated lands.

In 1927, Spaho joined the unitarist Serbian Radical government and remained faithful to it even after the assassination of the Croatian political leadership in the Belgrade Parliament (1928). King Aleksandar, however, outlawed all “tribal” parties in January 1929, declared a personal dictatorship, renamed the country Yugoslavia, and, under the disguise of official Yugoslavism, continued to advance the Serbian cause.

In the same year, the administrative boundaries of the country were redrawn. Instead of the existing (more than 30) districts, nine *banates* (*banovine*) were created. Traditional administrative districts in Bosnia and Herzegovina were divided up and consolidated with neighboring regions in such a way that a Serbian majority could be assured in all of them except one, which had a Croatian majority. Even the pretense of

Bosnian integrity retained in 1921 vanished in 1929. Furthermore, the king's appointments to his personal cabinet indicated that he favored JMO renegades and pro-Serb Muslims. Genuine Muslim or Croatian political representatives were excluded from power. Such policies only contributed to the radicalization of the Croatian and Muslim politics and masses in the 1930s. Out of such despotic rule, a revolutionary (*ustaša*) movement arose among the Croats and began to advocate the breakup of Yugoslavia by any means. This movement found sympathy among the Bosnian Muslims, and some joined it.

After King Aleksandar's assassination (1934) by Croat and Macedonian separatists from revolutionary groups (*ustaše* and IMRO), the JMO joined the ruling Yugoslav Radical Union under the leadership of Prince Pavle's regency, and it remained a part of the regime until 1939. Spaho died in June of that year, and in August the regent struck an agreement (*Sporazum*) with Vladko Maček, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, by which Croatia became an autonomous banate (*banovina*). The Croatian Banovina included parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The interests of the Bosnian Muslims and their goals to safeguard the unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina were ignored by the Serb-Croat deal. The agreement was vehemently opposed by Serbian nationalist forces, and as predicted by Spaho's successor, Dr. Džafer-beg Kulenović, the banovina was only a temporary arrangement. In April 1941, the Yugoslav state disintegrated. It became a victim of its own Serbian despotism and of German and Italian aggression.

During World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina became an integral part of the Independent State of Croatia (1941–1945), a state that was established by the *ustaša* revolutionaries under the "protection" of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The unification of Bosnia and Herzegovina with Croatia was justified by the claim that those were Croatian historic lands and also by an ideology that the Muslims were Croats of Islamic faith.

Persecutions of the non-Serbs in the interwar period and the Serbian struggle against the Croat state led to mutual retaliations and slaughters among the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. Persecutions of Jews in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in Serbia, began in 1941. Most of the Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina welcomed the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the unification with Croatia, and many of them joined the *ustaše* forces. Numerous Bosnian Muslims

supported the Independent State of Croatia, while others simply accepted the reality and adjusted to the new situation. Even many sympathizers of the state were not pleased with the policies of the *ustaše* regime and attempted to distance themselves from it. Leading Muslims complained about their underrepresentation in state offices and military ranks. There were also moves on their part to make Bosnia and Herzegovina an autonomous province within the German political configurations in the region. This proposal did not go through, but the Germans did organize a separate volunteer Muslim military division in 1943. At the end of April 1944, a group of leading Muslims in Sarajevo openly protested to the Zagreb government against the *ustaša* policies and demanded “equality for everyone, justice for all, and the rule of law above everything.”

There were mainly three antagonistic local forces operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war. They formed a lethal triangle that cost an enormous number of human lives in the country during World War II. The Croatian regulars and *ustaše* volunteers fought the Serbian *četniks* and the Communist-led partisans. The *četniks* stood for the restoration of Serbian-controlled royalist Yugoslavia and a homogeneous Greater Serbia and fought the Croats and Muslims. The third force, the partisans, stood for a new and socialist Yugoslavia. Their promises of freedom, federalism, and national equality attracted a considerable following from all the ethnic groups. All three turned to mass killings in order to achieve their goals. The partisans, however, due to the support of the Allies, emerged as the winners at the end of the war.

The Yugoslav Communists were not consistent in their pronouncements regarding the national question in the country. Being faithful to the Comintern, their teaching on this issue followed the interests of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the mid-1920s, they advocated the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but by the end of the 1930s, they championed a federalist cause. Furthermore, they were not sure on the question of Bosnian Muslim identity. Although there was an understanding among the Communists before and during the war that the Muslims were not a nation, they remained vague in defining their ethnic status.

Toward the end of the war, the Communist leadership had a heated debate on the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the new state. Forces from Serbia demanded that Bosnia and Herzegovina be absorbed into

their republic, but Bosnian forces with the help of Tito, the head of the party and Communist government, were able to prevent this, and they secured for Bosnia and Herzegovina the status of a federal republic.

The postwar period brought terror and new reprisals throughout the whole country. It was the duty of the state secret police, controlled by the Communist Party, to destroy the “enemies of the people” and force everyone to appreciate the new regime. Thousands were executed and many more jailed. Ethnic cultural institutions were banned and their property nationalized, religious activities were curtailed, and no independent activities of any kind were tolerated.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was even worse than in the other republics. Much of the war took place on its territory, which resulted in major destruction and population losses. There was a great distrust of the Croats and Muslims, and the Serbs were given a dominant role in the republic. It was openly admitted in the late 1960s that postwar development of some regions, like western Herzegovina, was neglected as a part of collective punishment. The Muslims were given “equal status” to the others in the country, but they were denied a chance to declare themselves as a separate national entity. It was expected that in time, Serbian identity would prevail among them. From the end of the war until the end of the 1960s, the leading Muslims declared themselves as either Serbs or Yugoslavs, and a few as Croats, but the majority of the Muslim populace remained ethnically undeclared.

After the Serbian hardliners were subdued (1966) and Croatian nationalist voices silenced (1967 and 1971), Tito began to favor the affirmation of Bosnian Muslims as a new political base. Under Communist leadership, they finally gained full national status in 1971. On the census form of that year, they were allowed to declare themselves as “ethnic Muslims.” During that decade, they also became the most influential group in the republic. Furthermore, a number of Bosnian Muslims became a part of Tito’s inner circle. The best-known among them was Džemal Bijedić, the prime minister of Yugoslavia from 1971 to his death in a plane crash in 1977. Many claimed that his death was not an accident, but the work of his opponents in Belgrade. Whether an accident or not, it was a symbolic indication of a growing feeling among Serbian forces that the Muslims were getting too much power. Croats were also not pleased with their situation in the republic or the country. They complained that their political and economic position

in the republic was growing more and more negligible in relation to the Serbs and Muslims. They were underrepresented at every level of the state's infrastructure, and the primary path of their social and economic advancement was to find a job in Western Europe.

In the 1970s, the Yugoslav state system underwent two opposing processes. One was centripetal in nature—Communist Party discipline and its control of society were tightened. The other was centrifugal—the new constitution of 1974 permitted greater self-rule in the republics and in the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. This was also the period when Yugoslavia borrowed billions of dollars from the West in order to prove to its citizens and to the world its economic and political viability. Bosnia and Herzegovina, after being neglected for a few decades, enjoyed a fresh infusion of economic growth as well as enhanced political importance.

After Tito's death in 1981, however, besides acute economic difficulties, the Yugoslav republics began to move in two opposite directions: The Serbs pushed for recentralization, and the non-Serbs, primarily Croatia and Slovenia, championed further decentralization. The intranational relations in the country deteriorated rapidly during that decade. The cracks that had always been there began to surface. While Croats were relatively quiet at the time, Albanian ethnic disturbances took place in Kosovo, and Slovenes began to demand greater autonomy and personal liberties. A group of Muslim intellectuals in Bosnia and Herzegovina, headed by Alija Izetbegović, undermined the position of their secular Muslim leaders by publishing an *Islamic Declaration*. In it, the group indicated its displeasure with Muslim secularism, stressed the superiority of Islam over Christianity and Communism, and called for a return to the basic teaching of the Koran in order to achieve a true Islamic society. The supporters of the *Declaration* were tried in 1983 and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The leading members of the group once belonged to the Young Muslim organization that was condemned as an antistate organization in 1946 and 1949. This fact indicated that a quest for a Muslim religious orientation and identity was simmering under the surface, even under Communist rule.

Another blow to Bosnian Muslim influence in Yugoslav politics came in the late 1980s. A financial scandal that involved a well-known business enterprise in western Bosnia (Agrokomerc) and its boss, Fikret Abdić, was identified as a sign of Muslim misuse of power. Abdić

was a member of the Bosnian Central Committee and too close to the all-powerful Pozderac family. While economic embezzlements were common practice in Yugoslavia, many believed that the Agrokomerc affair was used by the Serbian forces to push the Muslims from political prominence. As a result of this affair, Hamdija Pozderac, the vice president of Yugoslavia, in line to become the president in May 1988, was pressured to resign from his position.

The most powerful nationalist tide in the 1980s, however, came from the Serbs. While the Yugoslav constitution of 1974 promoted decentralization, Serbian political and nationalist forces began to advocate a “strong Serbia in a strong Yugoslavia.” The blueprint for reviving Serbian nationalism was drawn up in the 1986 *Memorandum*, which was written by leading members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade. It accused Tito and non-Serb Yugoslav leaders of an anti-Serbian conspiracy. It was a call for the defense of Serbian culture and national interests “wherever Serbs live,” especially in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia.

At first, the “protection” of the Kosovo province from the Albanians, who made up 90 percent of the local population, became the rallying point for the Serbs. This coincided with the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo (1389), where the Serbs and their allies were defeated by the Ottoman Turks. The leader of the Communist Party in Serbia, Slobodan Milošević, took the struggle for “Serbia and all the Serbs” to the masses in 1989. His populism was a new type of politics in a Communist country. In the atmosphere of triumphalism, militarism, and a general nationalist euphoria, Milošević crushed the provincial governments in Vojvodina and Kosovo. Through his proxies he also took control of Montenegro, and exported his movement into Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cry was the “unification of all Serbian lands.” This was the prelude to the war in Slovenia (June 1991) that quickly spread to Croatia (June–December 1991) and then to Bosnia and Herzegovina (April 1992). These were also the final moments of the Yugoslav state.

Road to Independence and War for Survival

Besides the cult of Tito, president of socialist Yugoslavia, there were two vital institutions that were holding the South Slavic state together:

the Communist Party, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY); and the Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA, *Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija*). The party had been cracking along national lines ever since Tito's death (1980) and the demise of its central hub in Belgrade finally came in January of 1990. The army, on the other hand, did not disintegrate but merely transformed itself into an all-Serb military force in 1991.

Once the Communists gave up the monopoly of power (1990), new ethnocentric parties were quickly organized, and they easily defeated the "reformed Communists" in the first post-Communist elections in all of the former Yugoslav republics except in Serbia and Montenegro. In the last two, the Communists were already at the forefront of the nationalist movement.

Forty-one registered parties and associations in Bosnia and Herzegovina were formed, and 1,551 candidates from 18 different parties ran for the National Assembly in the first free elections (November 1990). The three ethnic parties, (Muslim) Party of Democratic Action (SDA), SDS, and Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), became the most important political formations in Bosnia. After the November–December 1990 elections, there were 99 Muslims, 85 Serbs, 49 Croats, and seven "Yugoslavs" in the 240-seat bicameral legislature (Chamber of Citizens with 130 seats and a Chamber of Municipalities with 110 seats). The leader of the SDA, Alija Izetbegović, became the president of the nine-member, multiethnic collective presidency. A principle of ethnic parity was to be maintained in all branches of government.

Although the new government was formed from all three political and ethnic groups, it became clear from the outset that the Serb-dominated municipalities in the republic refused to recognize Sarajevo's preeminence. At the same time, Serb representatives in the assembly declined to cooperate in anything that would increase Bosnia's self-rule, claiming that a sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina would become an Islamic state. Already in October 1990, the Serbs set up a Serbian National Council in the city of Banja Luka, soon to become a Serb nationalist stronghold. This led to the formation of a Serb Community of Municipalities of Bosnian Krajina (April 1991) and the signing of a "treaty of cooperation" (June 1991) with the self-proclaimed Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina in Croatia. The two entities even announced a "declaration of unification." In fact, by November 1991,

Bosnian Serbs proclaimed six *krajin*as, Serbian autonomous regions, in Bosnia and Herzegovina that claimed to be parts of a “Greater Serbia.” It was clear that such moves were not the work of the Bosnian Serbs alone, but a component of a larger plan concocted by Serbian national leaders in Belgrade.

Muslim leadership in Sarajevo was caught in the middle between Serbian centralism and the Slovene and Croatian drive for independence. In the fall of 1991, President Izetbegović, together with the Macedonians, made a last-ditch effort to stop the Croatian and Slovene move to independence and promoted Yugoslav confederalism. But this was a dead issue. Thus, conscious of the consequences if Bosnia remained a part of truncated Yugoslavia, the Muslim leaders with the help of the Croats finally began to move toward the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On 15 October 1991, SDA and HDZ adopted a memorandum on the sovereignty and neutrality of Bosnia and Herzegovina without declaring independence. The Serb representatives rejected the move and walked out of the assembly. A referendum on independence, however, followed in February 1992. More than 64 percent of the eligible voters participated, and 99.7 percent of them answered affirmatively to the question, “Do you support a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina?” Thus, the country was proclaimed independent, and international recognition by the European Community (EC) and the United States followed on 6 and 7 April 1992, respectively.

Serbian leadership rejected the referendum as illegal and immediately turned to military operations in order to consolidate territories already declared autonomous and to occupy other parts of the country they claimed to be theirs. The previously local, violent “incidents” now turned into a full-fledged war of Serb rebellion-cum-aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is often perceived that the EC recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, and then of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as independent states precipitated the outbreak of war in Bosnia. The fact is, however, that Bosnia and Herzegovina was involved in a war from the time the JNA attacked Slovenia and Croatia in June 1991. The republic became a staging post for the Yugoslav army, its factories were producing arms for the Serbian forces, a number of Bosnian Serb and Muslim officers participated in JNA units on various fronts in Croatia, and many Serb and Croat volunteers from

the republic were fighting on the sides of their conationals. Also, the SDA was getting ready for a war by organizing and arming its paramilitary units, while the JNA disarmed the Bosnian Territorial Defense force by the November 1991 elections and left the Muslims and Croats helpless. Furthermore, major Serb attacks, especially against Croat villages in eastern Herzegovina, began to take place in the fall of 1991. Moreover, by creating autonomous *krajin*as, the Serbs had already divided the country, except for Sarajevo, before the end of 1991. However, the Sarajevo leadership and the media ignored these events. Nothing was done to prepare the country for war until the brutal attacks of Serbian paramilitary forces on Muslim settlements in northeastern Bosnia began on 2 April 1992, and until the mask of calm in Sarajevo was shattered by Serbian heavy artillery a few days later. The recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina (6 April 1992) was only an excuse for the Serbs to sever ties with the rest of Bosnia and declare an independent Serb Republic (RS) of their own.

Possessing overwhelming superiority in military might, within a month the Serbs took control of more than two-thirds of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After accomplishing this, their leadership engaged in a waiting game in which, they hoped, the international community would coerce the Sarajevo government to concede capitulation and legitimize the creation of a Greater Serbia. The conquest of land, however, was not enough. By mid-summer 1992, it had become clear that the Serbs were engaged in the systematic “ethnic cleansing” of non-Serbs, namely Muslims and Croats, in the regions under their control. Besides the expulsion of people from their homes, villages, and towns, numerous concentration and detention camps were operated as a part of the warfare, which was accompanied by mass rapes. The war in Bosnia essentially was a war against civilians in order to create “pure” ethnic areas.

By the end of the summer 1992, it was obvious that the Serbs were not able to conquer the whole country. Despite a weak and improvised military organization, the Croats and Muslims were able to halt the assault. The Croats even pushed the Serb forces from the Mostar region in June 1992. Although Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized as a sovereign and independent state, it was abandoned by the international community. Moreover, while the JNA and the Serbs inherited the entire arsenal of the former Yugoslavia, the leading world powers would not even consider lifting the United Nations (UN) arms embargo imposed (September 1991) on all former Yugoslav republics.

The response of the world, particularly of the EC and the UN, to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of ambivalence, impotence, and, some would say, even deceitfulness. The leading European powers never admitted the true nature of the war. For them this was a “civil war” and an eruption of “ancient Balkan feuds,” not an aggression on a sovereign state and its democratically elected government. Only the horrifying pictures from concentration camps and the public outcry that followed forced the EC and UN leaders to convene the London Conference at the end of August 1992 to address the crisis. The rhetoric at the conference and its framework for stopping the war were encouraging, but no one was willing to do anything about implementing its decisions. Two mediators, Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, on behalf of the EC and UN, respectively, as a part of the Geneva Conference (a continuation of the London meeting), attempted to find a formula that would preserve the Bosnian state, at least on paper, determine the minimum arrangement acceptable to the Serbs, and then pressure the Muslim-led government and the Croats to accept it. The two came up with a peace plan (end of 1992) that would divide Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous cantons, mostly along ethnic lines, with a loose central authority. This, and three more international peace proposals that followed, indicated the apparent willingness of the West to accept “reality,” abide by the law of the stronger, and dismantle Bosnia into “ethnically cleansed” areas. The EC–UN plans did not bring any beneficial results. On the contrary, they greatly helped to push the Croats and Muslims, reluctant allies, into a war over the remaining 30 percent of the land under their control. Their conflict, however, provided a strong argument for those who claimed that this was a civil war and that, therefore, the outside world should not get involved.

Already at the end of 1991, Bosnian Croats began to organize a self-defense that proved to be crucial in protecting at least some parts of the country. But as the war was evolving and the Sarajevo government proved to be impotent, the Bosnian Croats filled the power vacuum in the regions where they constituted the majority, and began to play two political cards. First, if Bosnia and Herzegovina survived, they wanted to secure their national equality with the Muslims/Bosniacs and Serbs, and possibly gain regional self-rule. Second, if the country collapsed as an independent state, they were ready to take “their part” and unite with Croatia. Among the Croats themselves, there were differences as

to which option should be at the forefront. The Croats from Bosnia proper stood mostly for the first option, and those from Herzegovina for the second option. As the Herzegovinian faction dominated Croat politics, they began to push a separatist plan and proclaimed their own Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna in August of 1993. The West's apparent willingness to divide the country was an incentive and justification for such moves.

The Muslim leadership desired a unitary state. It perceived the Muslims as the fundamental people in Bosnia, and therefore the only trustworthy guardians of the state. Furthermore, as the Croats had Croatia and the Serbs Serbia, the conclusion of the Muslims was that the Bosniacs (Bosnian Muslims) should have Bosnia as their nation-state. This sometimes explicit but more often implicit integralist message contributed to the mistrust and the growing gap between the Muslims and Croats and others who remained willing to support the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of national/ethnic equality. Realizing the (in)actions of the EC and UN and the seeming willingness of the world to accept the result of military conquest, the Muslims began to grab the land held by the Croats (1993) and were even on the verge of proclaiming a separate Bosnian Muslim Republic at the beginning of 1993. Moreover, a leading Bosnian Muslim in northwestern Bosnia, Fikret Abdić, declared his own Autonomous Region of Western Bosnia in September 1993 and began to fight the Sarajevo government. Thus, by the end of 1993, the situation looked hopeless. The world was staring at the worst human disaster in Europe since World War II and was seemingly helpless to do anything about it.

The UN's involvement in Bosnia focused mainly on humanitarian needs. Besides some 1,500 UN troops already in Bosnia, in September 1992, the UN Security Council approved the expansion of the existing 15,000 UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia by six thousand in order to protect humanitarian aid in Bosnia, including the opening of the Sarajevo airport. By the summer of 1995, there were approximately 23,000 "peacekeepers" from 18 nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the UN Security Council decisions regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina, however, were a reaction to some major human disaster (the May 1992 breadline massacre in Sarajevo, for example) with no meaningful force or willingness to make a difference. The resolutions imposing economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro (May 1992), creating the no-

fly zone over Bosnia (October 1992), and establishing six UN “safe areas” in Bosnia (May 1993) lacked a clear mechanism of implementation, a well-defined command, or a measure of response to provocations. These and other resolutions were passed to pressure the Serbs to accept a negotiated settlement, while being careful to avoid any direct UN involvement in the war. Even after the “discovery” of concentration and rape camps, mass executions, and blatant genocide, the UN and EC did nothing meaningful to stop the Serb onslaught. One has to recognize, on the other hand, that the UN and other humanitarian organizations did, with great sacrifices, keep most of the Bosnian population alive and helped to sustain the life of the state itself.

The fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina was also complicated by the political positions of the international power players: the UN, United States, EC, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and Russia, to name the main ones. Each had its own agenda in the Balkans. The UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, wanted to be at the forefront and not to be bullied by the United States on the Bosnian question. The British and the French demanded that Europe should resolve its own problems and resented American encroachments on “their turf.” The Russians not only remained Serb advocates, but also used the Bosnian war as a stage for their international visibility. By the agreement with the UN, NATO was authorized to patrol the declared no-fly zone and use air strikes when called upon. But in order to prevent a more decisive solution to the problem and to lessen the impact of U.S. leverage, the key command to air strikes was in the hands of the UN civilian chief in the former Yugoslavia until July 1995. For such reasons, it took the international community almost three years into the war to undertake a direct action against Serb military targets. In February 1994, NATO (U.S.) jets shot down four Serb military planes over Bosnia. Yet even that was not a turning point of the war but merely a reaction to a Sarajevo market massacre two weeks earlier. It seems that the main concern of the international players was to contain the war and hopefully choke it off in Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of human suffering, rather than resolve the Bosnian question in a meaningful manner.

A major change came in March 1994 when Presidents Alija Izetbegović of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Franjo Tuđman of Croatia, in the presence of U.S. president Bill Clinton, signed an agreement in Washington by which Bosnian Muslims and Croats entered into a

common federation, to be linked to Croatia in the future. This not only ended the one-year-long Muslim–Croat war, but most importantly, indicated direct American involvement in the region. Furthermore, a month later, a five-nation Contact Group was assembled (United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia) with UN and EC approval to revive the peace talks, which had temporarily collapsed. But the Contact Group did not have much success. The Bosnian Serbs were not willing to accept anything less than a victory on their own terms.

Meanwhile, some major shifts were in the making regarding the Bosnian peace initiative. Slobodan Milošević, the prime mover of the war in the former Yugoslavia, shifted his policy and became “an advocate of peace,” in order to preserve his hold on power in Serbia and to salvage for the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia through peace what he could not gain through war. At the same time, the United States began to support Croatia in order to attain a balance of power in the region. As a result, by mid-August 1995, the Serbs lost almost all of the territory they held in Croatia and large parts of western Bosnia. Moreover, the Bosnian Serb attacks on the UN safe areas in eastern Bosnia (July 1995), which resulted in one of the worst human disasters of the war, and a Sarajevo marketplace massacre (28 August 1995) prompted massive NATO air raids, under U.S. initiative, against Serb military positions and installations. Thus a combination of NATO actions, a successful Croat and Muslim ground offensive, and active U.S. diplomatic efforts finally brought some concrete results to the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs were not ready to make a deal, it was done for them by the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević. Finally the fighting was over.

Dayton Peace Accords

After some arduous negotiations and a period of shuttle diplomacy by American emissaries, the American peace proposal was initiated by the presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and rump-Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in Dayton, Ohio, on 21 November 1995 and signed by the involved parties in Paris on 14 December 1995. The agreement confirmed the sovereignty and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina in its internationally recognized borders. It established two autonomous political entities in the country, the Muslim–Croat

Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serb Republic. The first controls 51 percent and the second 49 percent of the total territory. The central government has responsibility over foreign policy and trade, customs, immigration, monetary policy, international law enforcement, communications, transportation, and air traffic control. The accord established a bicameral legislature consisting of a 15-person upper chamber, a 42-person lower chamber, and a three-member collective presidency. Furthermore, it provided for a common constitutional court and a central bank.

In order to set in motion the peace accords, a 60,000-strong international peace Implementation Force (IFOR), including 20,000 U.S. soldiers, descended on Bosnia and Herzegovina to make sure that each side fulfilled its promises. The Dayton agreement also resulted in the UN lifting trade sanctions, with some conditions, against Serbia and Montenegro, and the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Post-Dayton National Elections

Since the guns were silenced and the Dayton Peace Accords signed, Bosnia and Herzegovina has had four national elections. The first one was held in September 1996 under the supervision of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). It did not surprise anyone that the three leading nationalist parties (SDA, SDS, and HDZ) were the winners. Although there were many irregularities and manipulations, the elections were declared valid by the OSCE. For many, the success of the elections was not in numbers and percentages but in the fact that they did take place and in a relatively peaceful atmosphere.

The next national elections were held two years later (September 1998), and they did not bring about significant changes to the existing political landscape, as many, especially the international community, had hoped. The nationalist parties were again clear winners.

The November 2000 elections, however, were a sign that some political changes were beginning to take place in the country. A coalition made up of the Social Democratic Party and a few smaller parties (the Alliance for Change) was victorious and able to form a new government. The elections were interpreted by the international community as a major shift from nationalist to “reform-oriented” parties. However, the October 2002 elections proved that that was a vote against incumbents

rather than a significant change in voters' attitude. Thus, the nationalist parties were the winners across the country.

The last national elections took place in October 2006. This time, the question of constitutional amendments sponsored by the international community, primarily by the U.S. and the EU, became an issue that resulted in a new political configuration in the country, especially among the Bosniacs and Croats.

As expected, virtually all Serb political parties and institutions supported the proposed constitutional changes. In their eyes, the amendments contributed to legitimization and preservation of the Serb Republic.

On the other hand, the Bosniacs and Croats were split on the issue. This led to the victory of the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH), which opposed the amendments, among the Bosniacs. The SDA, which has been the leading party among the Bosniacs, supported the amendments, lost the elections, and its dominance among the Bosniacs has been shaken. The principal Croat party, the Croatian Democratic Union BiH (HDZBiH) split into two factions over the amendments issue; it is losing the dominant position among the Croats, and the crisis secured the election of the Croat member of the collective presidency from the ranks of the Social Democrats. The proposed amendments were rejected in April 2006, before the elections, but this issue contributed significantly to a new configuration on the political scene in the country, primarily among the Bosniacs and Croats.

In the last few years, significant shifts in party politics among the Bosnian Serbs have occurred. The leading nationalist party, SDP, which had an overwhelming support among the Serbs during the war and the postwar period, has lost its prominence. The biggest winner in the last elections was the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD), led by Milorad Dodik. It won more than 40 percent of seats in the RS Assembly and its candidate for the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina won more than 50 percent of the popular vote among the Serbs.

At the end of 1995, it seemed that the SDS had secured the ultimate possible goal for the Serbs at the time: an autonomous and ethnically pure Serb Republic, gained by war and legitimized by the Dayton Peace Accords. However, the internal factional disputes, unstable and incoherent power structures, endemic corruption, defections, loss of control over public broadcasting (1997) and over some key economic

resources (1998), ideological fanaticism, indictments of its leadership by the ICTY, international isolation of the entity, and significant changes in the political landscape in the post-Milošević Serbia have led to a sharp decline of the party and its influence among the Serbs in Bosnia.

One of those who split from SDS (1997) was Milorad Dodik, who formed a political coalition and became the prime minister of the RS, 1998–2001. He became an instant favorite of the international community. His political transgressions were forgiven and his (mis)deeds were not treated according to the usual standards applied to other political leaders in the country. The hope was that he would cooperate with the international community and assist it in implementing the Dayton requirements. Dodik became prime minister of the RS a second time (February 2006) and led his party to an overwhelming victory in October of 2006. In assessing Dodik's performance, however, one might conclude that he and his party have introduced a more acceptable style and rhetoric to RS's politics, but no substantial changes. The keystone of his political platform is the same as that of SDS, the preservation and supremacy of the RS over the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Dayton's Successes

The implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords was set on two main tracks, military and civilian. The military portion was successfully accomplished by the NATO-led IFOR, which was guaranteed the necessary military might and legal power to carry a well-defined mission. It secured the end of the fighting and separated the opposing military forces along the demarcation lines between the two state entities. However, to avoid any potential long-range entanglement in Bosnia and the Balkans, and to preserve political unity among the participating peace-enforcing countries, the IFOR leadership interpreted its role in the narrowest possible sense.

The responsibility to oversee, coordinate, and facilitate the civilian aspects of the Dayton Agreement was entrusted to the Office of the High Representative (OHR). The office is under the authority of the Peace Implementation Council (PIC), an international body that solicits support, supervises, sets the goals, and reviews peace implementation policies. The High Representative is nominated by PIC's executive (Steering Board) and confirmed by the UN Security Council.

Interestingly, the High Representative also serves as the chair of the Steering Board.

In order to put the peace process on a faster track, the PIC granted far-reaching controls to the OHR in December 1997, known as the “Bonn powers.” By the use of such “sovereign” rights, the OHR has achieved some noteworthy results.

While at the end of the war (1995), the country had three antagonistic armies (Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatian Defense Council, and Army of the Serb Republic), today, a military force of 12,000 professional soldiers under the single Ministry of Defense and the supreme commander of the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the final phase of formation.

Besides various military intelligence services, each of the three warring sides had its own security agencies. In 2002, however, a single agency was negotiated in the Muslim/Bosniac–Croat Federation. Because of the Serb resistance to a single-state agency, the High Representative stepped in and issued a law (2004) by which the Intelligence and Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ISABiH) was established.

The OHR formed the Police Restructuring Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina in mid-2004 to come up with a single police structure for the country under the supervision of the central government in Sarajevo. Although lengthy negotiation took place and an agreement on the restructuring was even signed (October 2005) by the representatives of the two entities, District of Brčko and the Federation cantons, finalization and implementation of the reconstruction plan has been stalled by the Serb Republic, in order to retain as much autonomy as possible.

By imposing the use of new license plates (1998) that did not indicate in which part of the country the car was registered, the OHR helped greatly to increase freedom of movement of people and goods throughout the country, hence preventing hardening of the borders between the two entities and/or ethnically divided communities.

With the help of international financial institutions, the Central Bank was formed (1997), and a new stable currency (Konvertibilna Marka [KM]) was introduced successfully throughout the country. The bank and the common domestic currency not only were one of the economic successes, but also have helped to curb the power of various shady financial centers and political influences.

The independence of local media has dramatically improved. It was achieved by various means, from the High Representative's legislation to reform public broadcasting and the creation of the Independent Media Commission to the use of the military stabilization force (SFOR), as in the case of removing Radovan Karadžić's loyalists from media establishments in the Serb Republic.

According to the Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, over a million refugees, out of the estimated two and a half million displaced persons, had returned to their homes by November 2005. The number of returnees might be inflated, but the results are still significant.

The international community has been successful in apprehending and bringing to justice those who were accused of war crimes, except the two most wanted individuals, Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić. It is becoming obvious that there is a lack of will to pressure the Serbian officials to deliver them, although the two are most probably hiding in Serbia.

As of the beginning of 2006, Bosnia and Herzegovina had replaced its divided and incompetent tax and customs system. Now there is a state-wide value added tax of 17 percent and a single customs service.

In order to secure fair standards in Bosnia and Herzegovina's courtrooms, substantial judicial reforms have been implemented since the end of the war. These included restructuring of the courts, reappointing of judges, legislating (among others) on war crimes and human trafficking, imposing new criminal procedure codes that changed the country's principally inquisitorial to an adversary judicial system, harmonizing the justice system in the two entities and the District of Brčko, and even monitoring the courts procedures in some sensitive cases. Because of such changes, the ICTY in The Hague has enough confidence to transfer some war crimes cases for prosecution in the country itself.

During the last 10 years, Bosnia and Herzegovina has stabilized its relations with the neighboring countries, although some issues stemming from the wartime still remain to be resolved, especially with Serbia. Furthermore, the EU enlargement commissioner opened Stabilization and Association Agreement talks with Bosnia and Herzegovina (November 2005) that might lead to full EU membership. In December 2006, Bosnia and Herzegovina was accepted into the NATO's Partnership for Peace program. Such moves on the part of the EU and NATO

serve as incentive for further normalization, democratization, and full implementation of the peace process policies.

Although there is general agreement that substantial progress in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been made in many aspects of life since the end of the war, some crucial issues remain to be settled.

Dayton's Blunders

The key obstacle to stabilization and democratization of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the portion of the Dayton Peace Accords dealing with constitutional questions and state-building institutions that was ill founded and poorly enforced. The accords fashioned a state with three officially recognized constituent peoples, but divided it into two proportionate entities. One is the centralized and nearly "ethnically pure" Serbian Republic, while the Federation of Bosniacs/Muslims and Croats is a union of 10 cantons. The area of Brčko was made a self-contained republic of sorts, and the city of Mostar came under the direct administration of the EU. Thus, the country has 14 constitutions, 14 governments, 180 ministers, and an enormous bureaucracy with overlapping jurisdictions. Furthermore, the peacemakers handed over many burning issues to a plethora of international organizations that were not given clearly defined authority or power; such issues include the return of refugees, the missing, war criminals, the organization and holding of elections, possible constitutional reforms, human rights, minority rights, the judiciary, the school system, banking institutions, economic renewal, the formation of a new police force, the safeguarding of the nation's borders, and so forth.

Moreover, these organizations do not have the will to resolve crucial questions candidly, clearly, or justly. The OHR, along with a massive and well-paid bureaucracy, was appointed to coordinate the implementation of the Dayton Accords, but that was turned into a rule of the sovereign, who holds all authority in his hands while not being held responsible to anyone for his (mis)deeds. The OHR has been an active player in all sorts of issues in the country, from politics, economy, education, housing, law, and privatization to dismissing politicians and picking suitable officials on all levels. While being preoccupied with such issues, the OHR has neglected the development of truly functional, lasting, and self-sustained state institutions.

The various reports issued by international administrators are usually full of self-praise. Under closer scrutiny, however, one might conclude that the Dayton-based and externally imposed processes of reconstructing Bosnia and Herzegovina and its society in the name of democracy are not as they appear in self-serving reports, as well as in many journalistic and academic analyses.

For the international players involved in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for many observers as well, the primary focus is on the “the process,” which in reality keeps moving in circles, rather than on building solid, functional, and equitable constitutional foundations with well-defined main goals in mind, so that in the shortest possible way the country might be transformed from being a protectorate into a viable democratic state on the road to Euro-Atlantic integration. But no one among the key players is willing to admit that the fundamental blunder of the Dayton Agreement was the recognition of the Serb Republic, that is, the division of the country along ethnic lines, which makes it impossible to create sustainable and functional state institutions. Furthermore, the peacemakers not only rewarded the Serbs for aggression and war crimes, but also kept the dream of a Greater Serbia alive, which is still a major detriment to stability and lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is becoming clearer, therefore, to any serious analyst that a better future for Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be secured by a list of visible successes, such as better telephone service and new buildings or better roads and successful elections, that paper over the fundamental constitutional issues. But it seems that the internal and external power holders prefer to keep the process going rather than resolve Bosnia and Herzegovina’s conundrum. While an open-ended strategy might be good for the internal and international bureaucrats, it keeps the future of the country and the lives of people in perpetual uncertainty. If Bosnia and Herzegovina is to move forward, a new constitutional system must be formulated, one that would end ethnically based divisions and, at the same time, prevent the creation of a unitary country.

The Dictionary

– A –

ABDIĆ, FIKRET (1934–). For 20 years (1967–1987), a popular manager-director of a food processing, transportation, and tourism conglomerate (Agrokomerc) in Velika Kladuša in northwestern Bosnia. He was known in the region as Daddy/Babo. Agrokomerc was established in 1963, but it reached its zenith and downfall under Abdić's leadership. In the mid-1980s, the company was one of the largest enterprises in **Yugoslavia**, employing over 12,000 workers. In July 1986, the federal presidency awarded Abdić the "Order of the Red Flag" for his successes in Velika Kladuša. In 1987, however, the company went bankrupt, with a debt of over \$900 million. After an investigation, authorities concluded that the leaders of Agrokomerc were responsible for major financial irregularities, and Abdić was jailed for his part in the scandal.

The Agrokomerc affair had a major ripple effect in Bosnian and Yugoslav politics. Many Communist Party members were removed from power for being involved in the scandal. The leading **Bosnian Muslim** political power brokers became targets of the investigation. **Hamdija Pozderac**, Abdić's patron and vice president of the federal presidency at the time, was among those investigated. While Pozderac was scheduled to become president of the rotating federal presidency on 15 May 1988, he was forced to resign from this highest political body in September 1987. The Agrokomerc scandal seriously strained the political leadership of the republic, especially those of Muslim background. Abdić and others implicated in the affair argued, in rebuttal, that Agrokomerc's financial dealings were not different from the practices of other economic enterprises in the country. According to them, the affair was concocted by Serb

political forces in order to curb the growing power of the Bosnian Muslims in Yugoslav politics. On a local level, the affair caused the collapse of the **Bihać** Bank, Agrokomerc disintegrated, and workers lost their jobs. Despite this, Abdić retained his popularity in the region. In the 1990 **elections**, he received more votes than any other Bosnian Muslim politician and became a member of the **presidency** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

After the war broke out in 1992, Abdić gained full control of his native region. In contrast to the Bosnian **government**, he supported the **Vance–Owen** peace plan, challenged the political leadership in **Sarajevo**, and gathered with his followers in a Constitutional Assembly in Velika Kladuša, near Bihać, on 27 September 1993, where he proclaimed the **Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia**. His militia fought the Sarajevo government in order to keep the Bihać region under his control. Besides his personal ambitions, perhaps he hoped to spare the lives of Muslims in the region by cooperating with the **Serbs**. His fortunes ran out, however, with the collapse of the Serbian-controlled Krajina region in Croatia in August 1995. With the help of Croatia and local Croat troops, regular Bosnian military forces took command of Abdić's fiefdom. While he saw himself as an advocate of a pluralistic Bosnia and an opponent to more radical Islamic forces in the country, his adversaries considered him a traitor to the Bosnian cause, and a Bosnian court indicted him for war crimes in August 1996. Abdić's postwar political party (Democratic People's Union) ran in the September 1996 elections. He was a candidate for the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina and received about 3 percent of the vote in the Muslim–Croat **Federation**, despite living in Croatia since August 1995. In June 2001, Abdić was arrested by Croatian authorities; he was accused of operating detention camps and perpetrating torture against his Muslim/Bosniac opponents during the war. In July 2002, he was sentenced to a maximum of 20 years in prison. Although in jail, Abdić remains a factor in Bosniac and Bosnia and Herzegovina's politics.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA/AKADEMIJA NAUKA I UMJETNOSTI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE (ANUBiH). The academy is the highest learning institution in the country. Its headquarters are in **Sarajevo**. The

ANUBiH was founded on 22 June 1966, when the Scientific Society of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, established in 1951, was raised to the level of an academy by state law.

The academy is divided into sections, centers, and committees. Its six sections are social sciences, humanities, medicine, natural sciences and mathematics, technology, and arts. During the 1992–1995 war, the number of working members in the academy decreased from 52 to 20. At the present time, the academy has 25 regular members, 29 correspondent members, and a number of foreign and honorary members. Its regular publications are *Works*, *Monographs*, *Almanac*, *Special Editions*, *Materials*, *Annuaire*, *Mathematical Works—Sara-jevo Journal of Mathematics*, and *Dialogue*.

The ANUBiH has two main purposes. First, by accepting its members, it recognizes and rewards their scholarly and artistic achievements. Second, it promotes research and excellence in various fields of art and science.

AGRICULTURE. Bosnia and Herzegovina is poor in agricultural assets. Only 12.7 percent (1998) of the total land area is arable and permanent cropland, and only 0.5 percent (1999) of cropland is irrigated. In 2005, agriculture generated about 15 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), which is about 5 percent higher than in the prewar era. The main reason for the change is the decline in industrial and service sectors, and some increase in small-scale farming. Private small farms produce meat, milk, wheat, corn, soybeans, vegetables, and tobacco. Although the country has a potential to make substantial increases in the agricultural sector, it imports about 65 percent of food needs at the present time. *See also* ECONOMY; TRADE.

AHDNAMA. A document issued in 1463 or 1464 on the order of the **Ottoman** sultan, Mehmet II the Conqueror, by which he gave the right to the Bosnian **Franciscans** to practice their religious duties and, in return, the Franciscans recognized the sultan as their sovereign ruler. Although the guarantees were often contingent on various circumstances and the whims of the sultans and/or local ruling Muslim elite, the document did remain as a reference point for the Franciscans in their struggle to secure their survival in Ottoman Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. *See also* FRANCISCANS; ZVIZDOVIĆ, FRA ANĐEO.

AKASHI, YASUSHI (1931–). A Japanese diplomat who served in various **United Nations** positions since 1957 and also as the Japanese ambassador to the UN (1974–1979). In January 1994, he was appointed special UN envoy to the former **Yugoslavia** and head of the entire UN mission in the **Balkan** region. Akashi was often criticized for his reluctance to use NATO air power to protect UN peacekeepers and the so-called safe areas in Bosnia. He was declared persona non grata by the Bosnian **government**, and **Sarajevo** officials refused to deal with him after the fall of two safe areas, **Srebrenica** and **Žepa**, in July 1995. As a result, Akashi was removed from Bosnian affairs on 14 July 1995, but he retained his title of UN envoy to the former Yugoslavia until November of the same year, when he was replaced by UN undersecretary-general Kofi Annan from Ghana. In the Bosnian conflict, Akashi was perceived by many as a pro-Serb “realist” who respected power more than any other principle.

Akashi was born in Akita. He graduated from the University of Tokyo and completed his master's degree at the University of Virginia as a Fulbright scholar. He also studied at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and at Columbia University. Akashi has published several books dealing with the UN. Presently, he is involved in various educational and peace-promoting activities in his native land. *See also* SREBRENICA MASSACRE.

ALKALAJ, SVEN (1948–). The first ambassador of the Republic of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** to the United States. Born to a well-known Jewish family in **Sarajevo**, he received a bachelor of science degree in mechanical engineering (1974), a master's degree in international economics (1987) from the University of Sarajevo, and attended Harvard Business School, Executive Development Program in 1999.

After working for an engineering company, Petrolinvest, Alkalaj earned his master's degree and began to work for the largest engineering and exporting company in the former **Yugoslavia**, Energoinvest. First, he became regional manager for the Middle East and Far East regions. In 1988, he became managing director of Energoinvest in its Bangkok, Thailand, branch office. For his achievements he was awarded a medal in 1990. In November 1993, Alkalaj became charge d'affaires of the newly opened Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia

and Herzegovina in Washington, D.C. In June 1994, he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. As an ambassador, Alkalaj was very successful in representing his war-torn country and in laying a solid foundation for future Bosnian diplomatic efforts in Washington. From 2000 to 2004, he served as Bosnia and Herzegovina's ambassador to the Organization of American States, and since then he has been the country's ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium and head of the Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

ALLIANCE OF INDEPENDENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS/SAVEZ NEZAVISNIH SOCIJALDEMOKRATA (SNSD). Currently a leading Serb political party in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, namely in the **Serb Republic (RS)**. Its president and cofounder is Milorad Dodik, prime minister of the RS. The party's roots are found in the Independent Members of Parliament Caucus of the National Assembly of the RS that grew into a political party. In 2001, it united with the Democratic Socialist Party, an offshoot of the Socialist Party of the RS, under the common name of Alliance of Independent Social Democrats. Its strength steadily increased, especially after the **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)**, headed by indicted war criminals and compromised in the eyes of the world, began to crumble from within. In the 2006 **elections**, out of total Serb votes, SNSD won 53.26 percent for the **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 46.93 percent for the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 43.31 percent of votes for the National Assembly in the Serb Republic. Its leader, Dodik, has emerged as a major political figure among the **Serbs** of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Although the party claims to be socialist in nature, it is a strong advocate of Serb nationalist programs, most of all of the preservation of the Serb Republic, as possible stepping stones for a future breakup of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

ALPHA SPECIAL FORCES. Also known as Red Berets and Knindže. A Serbian paramilitary commando group that operated during the war in Croatia and Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Estimated to be about a thousand strong and led by "Captain Dragan," whose full name is Dragan Vasiljković, alias Daniel Sneden. In 1991, he was described

by the leading Serbian weekly *NIN* as a “military variant of St. Sava” (founder of the Serbian **Orthodox Church**). Vasiljković was born in 1954 in Belgrade and immigrated with his parents to Australia in 1969, where he became a small-time gambler, brothel operator, petty criminal, and Australian army reservist. Reportedly, he was also a military advisor in Tanzania and Angola. In 1991, he returned to Serbia, joined the war in Croatia and then in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and earned himself a reputation as a Serbian Rambo. His forces are suspected of committing major atrocities against the Croatian (Knin, Škabrinja, Glina, and Vukovar) and Bosnian Muslim civilians (Zvornik region). After the war, Vasiljković operated the humanitarian foundation Kapetan Dragan in Belgrade. Presently, he lives in Perth, Australia, and is a golf instructor at the Serbian community center in the city. Many **Serbs** consider Vasiljković and his Knindže to be heroes, while Croats and **Bosniacs** view them as war criminals. The government of Croatia is undertaking steps to bring him to justice for war crimes.

ANĐELIĆ, PAVAO (1920–1985). Archeologist and historian. Born in Sutulići near the town of Konjic of Croat nationality. He studied law in Zagreb (Croatia), where he received a degree in jurisprudence in 1946 and served as a judge in Konjic (1948–1954). After abandoning the legal profession, he studied history at the University of **Sarajevo** and the University of Belgrade (Serbia), where he received his doctorate in 1972. From 1955 to 1976, he worked at the Land Museum (Zemaljski muzej) in Sarajevo. In his research he focused on fortified medieval towns in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, especially in the town of **Bobovac**. He also contributed greatly to the studies of the country’s ancient and medieval churches, heraldry, paleography, and similar subjects. His numerous works on history and archeology have contributed greatly to the knowledge of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s past.

ANDRIĆ, IVO (1892–1975). Noble Prize winner, poet, novelist, short story writer, and Bosnia and **Herzegovina**’s best-known man of letters. He was born to an artisan Croat family in the village of Dolac, near the town of Travnik. Because of his father’s early death, his mother took him to live with an aunt near the town of **Višegrad**.

Andrić finished his primary **education** in Višegrad and gymnasium (high school) in **Sarajevo**. He studied philology, **literature**, and history at the Universities of Zagreb, Vienna, and Cracow. In 1924, he received a Ph.D. at the University of Graz. While at the secondary school in Sarajevo, he joined the revolutionary “Yugoslav” nationalist movement and opposed **Austro-Hungarian** rule in his native land. Because of his political orientation and activities, he was jailed during most of World War I. His prison stay, however, provided him time to read and study various literary works, especially the writings of his two favorite authors, Fedor Dostoevsky and the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard. After a general amnesty in 1917, he moved to Zagreb where he began his literary career.

Two books of poetry, *Ex Ponto* (From the Sea, 1918) and *Nemiri* (Anxieties, 1920), are his best-known works from this early period. From 1920 to 1941, Andrić was in diplomatic service. As a regime loyalist, he served in various Yugoslav consulates in Europe (the Vatican, Bucharest, Madrid, Geneva, and Berlin, among others) until the country collapsed in April of 1941. When the war began, he returned from Berlin to Belgrade and turned to writing full time.

By the end of World War II, Andrić had written three novels, known as the Bosnian Trilogy: *The Bridge on the Drina*, *Travnik Chronicle* (better known in English as *Bosnian Chronicle* or *Bosnian Story*), and *The Woman from Sarajevo*. The three novels deal with life in Bosnia during the **Ottoman** period and are considered his most important literary works. His novel *Devil's Yard* is also acclaimed as a superb literary achievement. In 1961, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Although Andrić joined the Communist Party immediately after World War II and was a member of the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Federal Assembly in Belgrade (1946), he stayed away from active politics and dedicated himself to writing. Besides the Noble Prize, he received various cultural honors and awards in **Yugoslavia** and in other countries for his literary works.

ANTIFASCIST COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA/ANTIFAŠISTIČKO VIJEĆE NARODNOG OSLOBOĐENJA JUGOSLAVIJE (AVNOJ). Delegates from various regions and peoples in the former **Yugoslavia** gathered in

Bihać, a town in western Bosnia, on 26 and 27 November 1942 and formed AVNOJ. The first session was opened by the leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party, Josip Broz **Tito**. Dr. Ivo Ribar, a Croatian left-wing politician, was named president of the executive council of AVNOJ. On 29 November 1943, during its second session in the town of **Jajce**, central Bosnia, AVNOJ was proclaimed the highest legislative and executive body of the new Yugoslavia. Tito was proclaimed marshal. The government of the first Yugoslavia in exile was stripped of its legitimacy. The council declared the formation of the second Yugoslavia, a federation of six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. From that time until the collapse of the country in 1991, 29 November was celebrated as Yugoslav Independence Day. Every republic and some regions established their own branches of AVNOJ. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the **Territorial Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH)** was constituted on 26 November 1943, in the town of Mrkonjić-grad.

ARCHITECTURE AND ART. The religious and cultural convergence in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** has enriched the country with a variety of stylistic influences that are visibly expressed in its visual arts and in a rich architectural landscape. Furthermore, its history of art and architecture can be easily classified according to the country's historical periods, that is into medieval, **Ottoman**, **Habsburg**, and modern. The following are some of the styles that can be easily discerned throughout the country, especially in major cities: Byzantine/Orthodox (Serb Orthodox churches, as well as the Academy of Fine Arts in **Sarajevo**), Islamic/Oriental (Ali Pasha's Mosque and **Gazi Husrev-beg** Madrese in Sarajevo, numerous mosques and other edifices throughout the land), neoclassical (**Land Museum** and People's Theatre in Sarajevo are good examples), neogothic (Catholic cathedral in Sarajevo), neorenaissance (several government buildings in Sarajevo, built during the Habsburg era), neobaroque (New Orthodox church in Sarajevo), neomoorish (old city hall and Jewish synagogue in Sarajevo), secession (several buildings in downtown Sarajevo), and modern (buildings of various types and use throughout the country).

Medieval religious and secular monuments in the country have been destroyed as a consequence of the Ottoman occupation, and the only significant remnants from that period are numerous tombstones (**stećci**), of which many are rich in symbolic ornaments.

Current art is influenced by recent war experiences, and current architecture is driven by the needs of a postwar commercial construction boom in urban areas, especially in Sarajevo.

ARKAN (REAL NAME ŽELJKO RAŽNJATOVIĆ) (1952–2000).

A baby-faced Serbian political leader well-known for his acts of **ethnic cleansing**. He commanded the Serbian Volunteer Guard (Srpska Dobrovoljačka Garda/SDG), an ultranationalist paramilitary organization that was established, trained, and armed by the minister of the interior in Belgrade, Mihalj Kertes, in early 1991. He also received major help from the Serbian **Orthodox Church** in financing his militia.

Arkan's followers were also known as Arkanovci (Arkan's men) and Tigers. He and his men were responsible for mass killings of the Croatian civilians and looting of occupied territories in northeastern Croatia, especially in the Vukovar region (1991). In March 1992, Arkan and his troops moved to eastern Bosnia to mobilize and train the local **Serbs**. Shortly thereafter, they began to terrorize the Muslim **population** in the region. On 4 April 1992, the Arkanovci opened fire on **Muslims** on the way to a mosque in Bijeljina, killing many. In a few days they took over the town, and death and destruction across eastern Bosnia followed. The Arkanovci also operated in **Banja Luka** and other Serbian strongholds (Zvornik, Bratunac, Prijedor, Foča, and **Srebrenica**) implementing the policy of ethnic cleansing of the Serbian-held regions of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. He and his Tigers were considered by various international observers of the war in the former **Yugoslavia** to be greatly responsible for inciting the war and committing war crimes.

In December 1992, U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger named Arkan, among others, as a war criminal. However, Serbia's president, **Slobodan Milošević**, gave Arkan a seat in the Serbian parliament, as a reward for his services and his support in the December 1993 elections.

Arkan was born in the town of Brežice, Slovenia, where his father was stationed as a Yugoslav Air Force officer. Young Arkan

emigrated to the West because of a criminal record at home and became a Yugoslav secret service hitman in Western Europe. The International Police were after him for bank robbery, murder, and a prison break. He returned from the West in 1991 and joined the Serb war effort in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo.

After the war, Arkan became a Serb folk hero, a businessman, and political figure in Serbia. Besides being president of the Party of Serbian Unity, he owned a chain of ice cream parlors, a soccer club, and a number of shady business enterprises. Arkan was assassinated in the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel in Belgrade on 15 January 2000. Although it was a mob-style killing, this was a well-planned assassination by his political opponents in Serbia.

ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA/ORUŽANE SNAGE REPUBLIKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE (OSRBİH). *See* ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA/ARMIJA REPUBLIKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE.

ARMS EMBARGO. From the very beginning of the war of Yugoslav disintegration (summer 1991), the imbalance of firepower was overwhelming. The Serb side inherited all of the military might of the former **Yugoslavia**, including the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)**. All of that power was used for the purpose of creating a Greater Serbia. The non-**Serbs** in the country were left defenseless. The **United Nations** ensured the imbalance of power by banning arms sales to any party in the conflict and imposing an arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia on 25 September 1991 (United Nations Security Council Resolution 713). The European Community (EC) made a similar decision in July 1991.

Although it was declared that the reason for the embargo was to “contain the conflict,” the decision secured the Serb preponderance of power, made it harder for others to defend their territories and **population**, and, in reality, prolonged the war. In spite of various pressures made to revoke it, including nonbinding votes in the U.S. Congress and the U.S. withdrawal from its enforcement at the end of 1994, the imposition of the embargo remained. This, however, did not prevent the illegal sale of arms to parties in the region.

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA/ ARMIJA REPUBLIKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE (ARBiH).

At the beginning of April 1992, Bosnia and **Herzegovina** was recognized as an independent country and, at the same time, it came under Serb and **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** attack. Bosnia and Herzegovina's **Muslim/Bosniac-led government**, because of its indecision and naïve expectation that the JNA would not attack but protect the country, did not make badly needed defense preparations. Finally, on 9 April 1992, the **presidency** formed the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (OSRBiH) which, at least in principle, unified existing armed formations: the **Territorial Defense (TO)**, **Patriotic League (PL)**, Ministry of Interior Force (MUP), **Green Berets** (SDA militia), **Croat Defense Council (HVO)**, **Croatian Defense Forces (HOS)**, and several self-organized military groups. The OSRBiH, however, was not, in practice, a unified military force with a single command and structure, but a collection of diverse groups with often different military strategies and political goals, including those groups who still collaborated with the enemy. The official birth of the ARBiH came on 15 April 1992, when PL came under TO command. Differences and mistrust, however, continued between the two and others as well. The General Staff of the Armed Forces of the RBiH was formed in May 1992, with Sefer Halilović, PL officer, as the Chief of Staff. On 4 July 1992, the TO was renamed the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a few days later the General Staff came under the direct jurisdiction of the presidency (namely **Alija Izetbegović**), bypassing the Ministry of Defense.

The OSRBiH officially consisted of two formations: the ARBiH and HVO, which was under, at least in theory, a single command. The relations between the ARBiH and HVO ranged from comrades in arms and cooperation to an open war between the two; it varied from place to place and depended on the calculations of their respective political leaderships.

The ARBiH started with five corps: **Sarajevo**, **Tuzla**, **Banja Luka** (but stationed in **Zenica**), **Mostar**, and **Bihać**. The Sixth Corps was formed in mid-1993, centered in Konjic, but disbanded in February 1994, and the Seventh Corps (Travnik) came into existence in April 1994. Estimates are that in mid-1994, the ARBiH numbered 110,000

soldiers and 100,000 in reserves. Because of the arms embargo, the ARBiH lacked every sort of arms, especially heavy weapons.

Although the ARBiH was from the outset mainly a Muslim/Bosniac force, initially it was multinational in nature and it stood, at least in principle, for the defense of the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of all its citizens. However, it moved relatively quickly from an all-Bosnia and Herzegovina force to a Muslim/Bosniac national army. Instead of attracting **Croats** and **Serbs**, it minimized the role of non-Muslims that were already in its ranks (Croats and Serbs came in handy only for projecting an image of acceptance). Furthermore, the ARBiH became a political and ideological instrument among the emerging Bosniac/Muslim factions. It slowly moved from being a Muslim/Bosniac national army to a military force for a single political party, the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**. Some SDA zealots even attempted to make it a Muslim religious army.

Because military decisions were subservient to political and ideological needs and desires, the ARBiH was not as effective a military force as it could have been, especially toward the end of the 1992–1995 war. It did, however, provide an institutional framework for rapid Muslim/Bosniac national homogenization and even re-Islamization of the younger generation that grew up in Yugoslav socialist culture.

At the end of the war (1995), Bosnia and Herzegovina had three armies: the ARBiH, HVO, and **Army of the Serb Republic (VRS)**. The first two became the military force of the Muslim–Croat **Federation**, the Federation Army/Vojska Federacije (VF), and came under a single command, but they retained their identities. The VRS remained the military force of the second entity, the **Serb Republic (RS)**.

Because of Bosnia and Herzegovina's desire to join North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Union institutions, major military reforms are under way. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina's military forces will consist of 12,000 professional soldiers—4000 from RS and 8,000 from FBiH. The two formations (RS and FBiH) will be retained and the federal one will have two components, Bosniac and Croat. The military units, however, will be multinational. There will be a single Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of Defense, and the supreme commander will be the Bosnia and Herzegovina presidency. Mandatory military service will be abolished.

ARMY OF THE SERB REPUBLIC/VOJSKA REPUBLIKE SRPSKE (VRS). The VRS was formed out of the collapsing **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)**, **Territorial Defense (TO)** formations in predominantly Serb areas of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, and **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)** militias. The prime mover for establishing the VRS was **Slobodan Milošević's** government in Belgrade and its military leadership. As socialist **Yugoslavia** was crumbling, the predominantly Serb JNA forces were moved from Slovenia and Croatia into Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of the units were left in the country and became the main body of the newly formed VRS, while others moved later into the newly proclaimed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The JNA also provided armaments to TO, SDS militia, and various Serb paramilitary forces. Officially, the Assembly of the Serb Nation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Banja Luka established the Army of the **Serb Republic** of Bosnia and Herzegovina (VRSBiH) on 12 May 1992, but in reality it was already in existence and operating prior to that date. On the same day, Lt. Col. Gen. **Ratko Mladić** was appointed as its commander of the Supreme Staff. A few days later, the TO and militias merged into VRSBiH.

The BiH designation was dropped in September 1992 from the official name to indicate the political design to split the Serb-controlled Bosnia and Herzegovina regions from the country. Thus, it became Army of the Serb Republic/Vojska Republike Srpske (VRS).

The VRS inherited from the JNA about 300 tanks, 200–300 armored personnel carriers, about 1,000 artillery pieces, 35 aircraft, 21 helicopters, an S-S missile system, and air defense rockets. It was regularly supplied and reinforced by troops from Serbia and Montenegro. It was divided into five corps: First Krajina, Second Krajina, East Bosnian, **Sarajevo-Romania**, Drina, and Herzegovina. Estimates are that in 1994, the VRS had about 80,000 soldiers.

Because the Serb leadership was divided over military tactics and political factionalism, the VRS was not as effective a fighting force as it could have been, considering its initially overwhelming superiority in numbers, equipment, and professional leadership, and given that the opposing forces (ARBiH and HVO) had to start practically from nothing. Its morale and numbers also declined as the war lingered on, so that at the end of the war, the VRS was on the verge of collapse. It

was saved by U.S. determination to stop the Bosniac–Croat offensive in October 1995. *See also* ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA; CROAT DEFENSE COUNCIL.

ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT INTELLECTUALS CIRCLE 99/ASOCIJACIJA NEZAVISNIH INTELEKTUALACA KRUG 99. A well-respected **nongovernmental organization** formed at the end of 1992 by a group of intellectuals who remained in **Sarajevo**, after the siege on the city was imposed by the Serb forces. The group gathered at a popular local radio station, Studio 99, and formulated common strategies for an intellectual resistance to the war, aggression, and nationalism. The Circle 99 stood for preservation of a unified, independent, multinational Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, administratively decentralized but with a single central **government**. The association is made up of individuals of various ethnic, religious, and ideological persuasions, but unified by a vision of freedom and equality for all the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the beginning of 1994, the Circle 99 became known worldwide for issuing a Declaration of Free and Integrated Sarajevo, which was signed by 185,000 citizens of Sarajevo and hundreds of thousands of people around the world. The association actively pursues dialogue with intellectuals in other countries in the region and in Europe as a whole.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. *See* HABSBURGS.

AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF WESTERN BOSNIA/AUTONOMNA POKRAJINA ZAPADNA BOSNA (1993–1995). A self-proclaimed and short-lived autonomous region in northwestern Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, a part of the present-day Una-Sana Canton. Credit for its existence belongs mainly to a popular Bosniac politician, **Fikret Abdić**, and his followers in the region who opposed policies of the Bosniac leadership in **Sarajevo**. Regional autonomy was proclaimed in a Constitutional Assembly on 27 September 1993. Velika Kladuša became the region's capital. The provincial militia (the People's Defense) fought a miniwar against the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina stationed in the **Bihać** region. Its autonomy was temporarily crushed in August 1994, but a few months later, Abdić's fiefdom was restored by a Serb

counteroffensive from occupied parts of Croatia. At the beginning of 1995, the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia was renamed the Republic of Western Bosnia. Shortly after, the Fifth Corps entered (7 August 1995) Velika Kladuša, Abdić's troops surrendered, and the region became part of the Muslim–Croat **Federation**.

AVARS. A people of Asiatic origin. As nomads and warriors, they were constantly on the move, invading and pillaging East Central Europe numerous times from the mid-sixth to the beginning of the seventh century. In 626, they threatened Constantinople itself. The Avars established themselves for a while on the Pannonian plains. They contributed their share in forcing other peoples in the region to migrate. Under Avar pressure, the Germanic Lombards moved to northern Italy and Slavic tribes, as Avar allies or vassals settled in the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia. In need of a military alliance, the **Croats** were invited by the Byzantine emperor to fight the Avars and take control of the western **Balkans**, including today's Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. During the first half of the ninth century, Avar power in the region was eliminated.

AVAZ/VOICE. Full title *Dnevni Avaz/Daily Voice*. A sensationalist **Sarajevo** newspaper founded in 1995. It claims to be the “voice of the independent public” in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The word *avaz*, which is a Turkish word and is used by **Bosniacs/Muslims**, indicates that the paper is close to the Bosniac tradition and is not an all-Bosnia and Herzegovina voice. The publication assumed the legacy of the prewar Sarajevo tabloid *As*. Today, the *Avaz* publishing house is the biggest in the country, and its owners are close to the **Party of Democratic Action**. See also MEDIA.

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BADINTER COMMISSION. The arbitration committee created by the European Community (EC) in November 1991 to work within the framework of the Peace Conference on the former **Yugoslavia**. It consisted of the presidents of the constitutional courts of five West

European countries and was headed by Robert Badinter, a former French justice minister. After analyzing the events in the former Yugoslavia, it concluded (December 1991) that the country was dissolving and, because of that, it set the standards and the deadline (23 December 1991) for the former Yugoslav republics to apply for the EC's recognition of their independence. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, and Macedonia submitted their applications on time. The committee, however, did not recommend that Bosnia and Herzegovina be recognized as an independent state because the **Serbs** in the republic objected to such a move. As a result, the committee recommended that Bosnia hold a referendum on independence under the supervision of the international community. A referendum was held on 29 February and 1 March 1992, and the overwhelming majority of the voters declared their support for independence.

BAKULA, FRA PETAR (1816–1873). A distinguished **Franciscan** friar, professor, writer, historian, physician, and social activist. He was born in Posušje, **Herzegovina**, and educated at the Franciscan monastery in Kreševo and Lucci, Italy. After his ordination to priesthood (1839) he served at various parishes and monasteries in Herzegovina. Besides his priestly responsibilities, Bakula was involved in various endeavors that were beneficial to the advancement of his flock. Among other activities, he wrote a number of works in the fields of philosophy, **religion**, history, and **literature**. His works are written in Latin, Croatian, and Italian. His most useful work is the report on the situation among the Franciscans, and the Catholics in general, in Herzegovina in the mid-19th century.

BALKAN LEAGUE. Formed under Russian patronage in the spring of 1912 by Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro. Originally, it was to be an anti-**Austro-Hungarian** alliance, but it turned its efforts against the **Ottomans**, which led to the **Balkan Wars**. *See also* BALKANS.

BALKAN WARS (1912–1913). Two successive wars in the Balkan region at the beginning of the 20th century. The First Balkan War was instigated by the **Balkan League** over the issue of Macedonia, Albania, Epirus, and Thrace, which were still under **Ottoman** rule.

After Montenegro declared war on the Ottomans (8 October 1912), the other members (Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia) followed their lead 10 days later. The allies expelled the Turks from the **Balkans**, except from Istanbul and its vicinity. The First Balkan War officially ended with the Treaty of London (30 May 1913).

The alliance collapsed, however, after the victors could not agree on the division of the spoils. This led to the Second Balkan War, which began on 29 June 1913. Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, joined by Romania, quickly defeated Bulgaria. A peace treaty was signed on 10 August 1913, by which Serbia and Greece divided up most of the liberated/conquered territory among themselves. World War I, more specifically its initial stage, is often regarded as the Third Balkan war.

BALKANS. The name *Balkans* has been used since the 19th century to refer to the peninsula in southeastern Europe that is confined by the rivers Danube and Sava (north), the Black Sea (east), the Aegean Sea (southeast), the Mediterranean Sea (south), and the Ionian and Adriatic Seas (southwest). The modern states of Greece, Albania, Serbia and Montenegro, Bulgaria, Romania, Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, partially Croatia, and the European part of Turkey are located in the Balkans. The name *Balkan* comes from the Turkish “mountain,” referring to the Old Mountain/*Stara Planina* in Bulgaria. Because of the great mix of peoples and cultures in this small part of Europe, the region became a symbol of disunity and the word *balkanization* is often used to denote fragmentation. *See also* BALKAN WARS.

BAN. Croatian term for viceroy. According to some historians, the title is of Persian origin. The title and power of the *ban* existed not only in Croatia but also in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. *Bans* were the heads of medieval Bosnian principalities before *Ban* Stipan **Tvrđko I** declared himself king in 1377.

BANJA LUKA. Second largest Bosnian city located 160 meters (525 feet) above sea level in the northern part of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** on the banks of the river Vrbas and the southern edges of the Pannonian flatlands. Its name is derived from two words meaning the *ban*’s field/*banova luka*. *Ban* was the Croatian term for a viceroy,

and *luka* means field along the river. In 1991, the county of Banja Luka had 195,692 inhabitants. Out of that number, **Serbs** made up 54.6 percent, **Croats** 14.8 percent, **Muslims** 14.6 percent, Yugoslavs 12.1 percent, and 3.9 percent were others. The city is an important communications link in northern Bosnia. It has a strong economic and industrial base. Its university was established in 1975.

The roots of the settlement go back to Roman times. The earliest mention of the town under the name of Banja Luka, however, comes from the 15th century (1494). It was at the time a well-fortified place with a Franciscan monastery and a big marketplace. After the Turks occupied the eastern parts of Bosnia, Banja Luka became an important part of the defensive system established by Croatian-Hungarian rulers.

In 1527, Banja Luka fell to the Turks and, as an already important town, it began to expand even more rapidly. Its golden years during the **Ottoman** era were from 1554 to 1638, the period in which Banja Luka became the seat of the Bosnian province/*pašaluk*. It became the core of the Ottoman military and political organization in their expansionist efforts. This factor influenced the city's rapid expansion and economic growth. It is estimated that in the middle of the 17th century, the city had more than 300 shops and close to 4,000 houses.

Another result of the Turkish invasions was a major shift in the religious and ethnic balance in this part of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many indigenous Croatian Catholics converted to Islam or ran in front of the Ottoman invaders, while, for military and economic reasons, Orthodox Vlach and Serb immigrants from the eastern **Balkans** were brought to the frontier regions to settle the abandoned lands. Eventually, the Orthodox became the most numerous of the three religious groups in northwestern Bosnia.

Banja Luka's fortunes began to dwindle with the decline of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 17th century. In 1688, it was captured and held for a short time by a **Habsburg** army. Several fires, plagues, and floods also contributed to its deterioration. Like other Bosnian towns, its revival began in the middle of the 19th century with the reluctant imposition of Ottoman reforms and the Austro-Hungarian occupation.

The Banja Luka region suffered a major earthquake in 1969. With foreign aid, the city went through a period of rapid reconstruction and

economic development after this disaster. Because of the increase in migration from the villages into the city, its ethnic balance also changed in favor of the Serbs.

Among its many historical monuments, two stood out because of their beauty and magnificence: the Ferhad-Pasha Mosque-Ferhadija (1583), endowed by the Bosnian governor *beyler-bey* Ferhad-Pasha, and the Arnaudija Mosque (1587), bequeathed by Hassan-effendi, treasurer of Bosnia at the time, who was of Albanian origin. Both mosques, among many other religious and cultural monuments, were destroyed by the Serbs in 1993.

In the post-Yugoslav period, Banja Luka became the center of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Serb nationalist forces, the "capital" of their self-proclaimed and in 1995 officially recognized republic, and also became practically "ethnically cleansed" of all non-Serbs. *See also* SERB REPUBLIC; DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS; KARADŽIĆ, RADOVAN.

BANKING. The 1992–1995 war caused a total collapse of the banking system in the country, which included loss of life savings for many. All prewar banks were state owned, and the privatizing process, in many cases, has been done under suspicious circumstances during or soon after the war. As a part of post-**Dayton** reconstruction, the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina was formed in 1997. According to the Central Bank, currently there are 28 banks in the country, 19 in the Bosniac–Croat **Federation** and nine in the Serb Republic.

A number of bank reforms (especially in 2001) have stabilized the banking industry and, therefore, secured easier access to capital and better lending conditions. Foreign banks, mostly West European, have taken control of the banking sector. However, the **government** still plays a direct role in some banks, especially in the case of banks for "special functions." *See also* ECONOMY.

BANOVINA. In 1929, King **Aleksandar Karađorđević** changed the name of the Kingdom of **Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** into **Yugoslavia**, declared a personal dictatorship, and created nine banovine (banates) as the new administrative units in the country. Bosnia and **Herzegovina's** territory was divided among the following banates: Vrbaska, Drinska, Zetska, and Primorska. This ended the

administrative unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina since none of the banates was fully on its territory. An autonomous Croatian Banovina was established by the Serb-Croat agreement of 1939 that included parts of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina.

BAŠAGIĆ, SAFVET-BEG (1870–1934). A well-known scholar, poet, and politician. He was born in the **Herzegovina** town of Nevesinje, but from his youth lived in **Sarajevo**. After finishing high school in Sarajevo and Zagreb and higher education in Oriental languages at Vienna University (1895–1899), where he later received a Ph.D. in Oriental studies, Bašagić returned to Sarajevo. Besides being a teacher, he was also an activist in cultural and political fields. In 1910, he was elected member of the *sabor* (assembly) of Bosnia and Herzegovina and was its president thereafter until World War I. Bašagić's poetry was greatly influenced by Islamic literary classics; his political orientation was Western, and his national orientation was Croatian. He was proud of his **Bosniac Muslim** religious and cultural heritage and of Bosnians who became famous in the service of sultans. His best-known work is *Bosniacs and Herzegovinians in Islamic Literature*. See also LITERATURE.

BASLER, ĐURO (1917–1990). A leading Bosnian archeologist. Born in Sijekovac of Croat nationality, he studied in Ljubljana (Slovenia), Zagreb (Croatia), and received his doctorate in Zadar (Croatia) in 1979. At the beginning of his career, he worked in **Sarajevo** at the Institute for Preservation of Historical Monuments (1950–1959), and the rest of his working years he spent at the **Land Museum** (Zemaljski muzej) in Sarajevo. His works on prehistoric, ancient, and medieval periods are crucial for studying the past of the region that today is Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

BENAC, ALOJZ (1914–1992). Archeologist and a specialist in classical philology. Born in the town of Plehan. He received his higher education in Belgrade (Serbia) and Ljubljana (Slovenia), where he earned his doctorate in 1951. In 1947, he began his career at the **Land Museum in Sarajevo** and served as its head from 1957 to 1967, when he was appointed as professor of archeology and history at the University of Sarajevo. Benac was the founder and first direc-

tor of the Center for Research in Balkanology within the **Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, of which he was a full member. He was a leading scholar in the country in the fields of archeology and history, especially ancient and medieval periods.

BENEVOLENCIA, LA. A Jewish cultural, educational, and humanitarian society in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** that was established in 1892. Its initial goal was to support the schooling of talented Jewish students who were not able to afford it. On its 100th anniversary in 1992, however, the society's only aim was to help the needy citizens of **Sarajevo** and Bosnia and Herzegovina to survive the war. La Benevolencia has established numerous offices in Europe and Israel in its efforts to solicit humanitarian aid and direct it to the needy people in Bosnia.

For its humanitarian work during the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia, La Benevolencia received the International League for **Human Rights** in Berlin Award, the Carl von Ossietzky Medal for 1995. The medal was given for the first time in 1962. *See also* JUDAISM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

BERLIN, CONGRESS OF (13 JUNE–13 JULY 1878). Widespread nationalist rebellions in 1875 in the European part of the **Ottoman Empire** led to a major Russo-Turkish war (1877–1878). In March 1878, the defeated Turks were compelled to sign the humiliating Treaty of San Stefano, which provided for a major expansion of Russian influence in southeastern Europe and threatened the interest of other European powers, mainly **Austria-Hungary** and Great Britain. Leaders of the major European powers met in Berlin to defuse the international tension created by the Ottoman defeat. The Treaty of San Stefano was replaced by the Treaty of Berlin. Russia's attempts to project its power toward the eastern Mediterranean were limited. The Ottoman Empire retained a part of its European holdings and thereby remained a European power. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was given the right to "occupy and administer" Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Serbia and Romania were recognized as independent countries, and the boundaries of Bulgaria were greatly reduced and the land was granted local autonomy. Bosnia and Herzegovina was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the end of World War I.

BIHAĆ. A town located in the northwestern part of the country 231 meters (760 feet) above sea level. In 1991, the county of Bihać had close to 71,000 inhabitants. Out of that, 66 percent were **Muslims**, 17.8 percent **Serbs**, 7.7 percent **Croats**, and 6 percent “Yugoslavs.” Its strategic location in the Una River valley has been a mixed blessing. The town guards one of the very important gates in and out of Bosnia and passage from the Pannonian flatland in the north to the mountainous regions along the Adriatic Sea in the south.

Although the settlement has existed since ancient times, according to an old chronicle the town was established in 1205. The Hungarian-Croatian king, Bela IV, in flight from the Tartars, found refuge in Bihać (1262), and on that occasion made the town a free municipality. The town was governed by a freely elected judge and 12 councilors. King Louis (1342–1382) stayed with his army in Bihać (1345) for an extended period of time. The town for a while belonged to **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić** at the end of the 14th century. King Sigismund (1387–1437), after a stay in the town (1412), entrusted it to the noble Croatian Frankopan family. In 1527, it passed to the Jurišić family. After the fall of Bosnia to the Turks (1463), Bihać became a very important military base in the Croatian-Hungarian defensive system against Turkish invasions. In a surprise attack in 1592, however, the town fell to stronger **Ottoman** forces and became a vital Ottoman outpost, first in an offensive struggle and later in defensive efforts against the West.

Out of the preserved historical monuments from the Ottoman era, the best known is the Fethija (captured) Mosque. Originally it was St. Anthony’s **Catholic Church**, a Gothic building erected most probably in the 12th century. It was turned into a mosque after the town fell to the Ottomans. The old church steeple served as a minaret until 1863. Bihać remained under Ottoman rule until 1878, when Austro-Hungary occupied Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

Besides serving as a garrison, Bihać was an important trading and administrative center in the region. For a while, during the Ottoman period, it was the seat of a separate *sandžak* military district, and at the time of **Austro-Hungarian** rule, it served as an administrative center for one of the six districts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The town lost its significance after the creation of the First **Yugoslavia** but regained it after 1945.

In the history of socialist Yugoslavia, Bihać played a significant role. The first meeting of the **Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ)** was held in the town in November of 1942.

In the 1992 war, the Bihać region, better known as the “Bihać pocket,” became an island surrounded by Serb military forces. Besides that, a regional **Bosnian Muslim** leader, **Fikret Abdić**, rebelled against the **Sarajevo government** and declared (September 1993) an **Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia** with Velika Kladuša as his capital and allied himself with the Serbs. The pocket was one of the six “safe areas” established by the international community (May 1993) for the purpose of protecting Bosnian Muslim **refugees**. Although the region suffered great hardship, forces loyal to the Sarajevo government, with the help of Croatian troops, were able to break the isolation, free the region from Serbian attacks, and crush Abdić’s insurrection in August 1995. Since then, Bihać has been part of the Muslim–Croat **Federation** and the administrative center of the Una-Sana Canton.

BIJEDIĆ, DŽEMAL (1917–1977). A leading Bosnian politician in the post–World War II period. He was born in **Mostar**. While studying law at the University of Belgrade, he came under Communist influence, became a member of the Communist Party in 1939, and held various positions in the party during and after World War II. Among other functions, he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and **Yugoslavia**. He was a delegate to the Federal Assembly a number of times and also a member of the Federal Executive Committee. In 1970, Bijedić was elected president of the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 1971 until his death in 1977, he was president of the Federal Executive Committee and a member of **Tito’s** ruling inner circle. It was during his tenure that **Bosnian Muslims** began to assert themselves more on the Yugoslav scene. Bijedić also helped to promote close cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Muslim world. He died on 18 January 1977 in an airplane crash near Kreševo in central Bosnia. Speculations followed that the crash was not an accident but the work of anti-Bosnian forces in Belgrade.

BLEIBURG. A town in Austria, near the Austrian–Slovene border, where the massacre of thousands of Croatian soldiers and civilians began in May 1945. After the demise of the *ustaša* regime at the end of the war, a mass evacuation from Croatia took place. Civilians and soldiers who were drafted into the regular armed forces (Domobrans), along with *ustaša* volunteers, surrendered to British forces in the region. Although promised protection, the British forcibly returned them to Yugoslav partisans. Mass executions and death marches began in the Bleiburg region and ended in Macedonia. Many of the victims were Croatian Catholics and **Bosniacs**/Muslims from Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. *See also* HANDŽAR DIVIZIJA.

BOBAN, MATE (1940–1997). Former president of the Croatian Republic of **Herceg-Bosna** and former head of the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)** in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Boban was born in the village of Sovići in western Herzegovina. He became a member of the Communist Party when he was 18 years old, received a higher education in economics, and held important positions in various state enterprises and local Communist Party functions. He did, however, get in trouble with the regime, apparently for embezzlement, but according to him, it was for Croatian nationalism. In 1991, Boban was cofounder of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, with headquarters in the town of Grude. With the blessing of the political leadership in Croatia, he replaced **Stjepan Kljuić** as leader of the HDZ in Bosnia and Herzegovina in January 1992. Kljuić was seen as being too moderate and uncooperative in implementing the party's policies. In August 1993, the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna was officially declared by Boban, who was eager to consolidate Croat territories in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the wake of the **Owen–Stoltenberg** peace plan. According to the plan, Bosnia and Herzegovina was to be divided into three autonomous ethnic states. The proposal contributed to clashes between Muslim and Croat forces in Herzegovina and central regions of Bosnia.

Boban came into open conflict (1992–1993) with the leadership of the **Catholic Church** in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even in Croatia, over the issue of HDZ's policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to HDZ plans at the time, the Church should have been an active participant in moving the Bosnia and Herzegovina **Croats** from the

“non-Croat” regions and the **Sarajevo** and **Banja Luka** diocesan seats into designated Croat areas in order to facilitate the ethnic division of the country. Under U.S. pressure, not only did the Croat–Muslim conflict end, but the two also formed the **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina** in early 1994. Because of this policy shift, Boban was removed from the political scene (February 1994) and given a lucrative position in INA, one of the largest enterprises in Zagreb, Croatia. Once the pressure began to mount from the International Tribunal in The Hague, he returned to his village. It might be said that he died at the right moment (7 July 1997), because if he had lived, he would most probably have been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. *See* TUĐMAN, FRANJO.

BOBOVAC. A royal town of the medieval Bosnian kings in the vicinity of today’s towns of Kakanj and Vareš. It was built during the reign of **Ban Stipan II Kotromanić** (1312–1353) and fortified better than any other town in medieval Bosnia. It served, along with nearby Kraljevska Sutjeska, as a royal seat, where several Bosnian kings were also buried (Stipan Ostojić, Tvrtko II, and **Stipan Tomaš**). Because of the immanent **Ottoman** assault, King **Stipan Tomašević** moved the royal seat to **Jajce**. Bobovac was taken by the Turks in May of 1463. Although the medieval town was razed, the Ottoman military presence was kept at the site until the beginning of the 17th century. The ruins of the medieval town of Bobovac, with the remains of a medieval church and devastated royal tombs in it, are today a less well-protected cultural site.

BORAČKO LAKE/BORAČKO JEZERO. This small but beautiful mountain lake is located on the northeastern side of the Prenj Mountain about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) from the town of Konjic. It is 405 meters (1,328 feet) above sea level and is surrounded by dolomitic limestone and thick forests. The stream that flows out of it forms a picturesque 30-meter (100-foot) waterfall. The lake and the surrounding region have become a center for various sport activities and a major recreational spot.

BORIĆ. The first known autonomous *ban*/viceroys in Bosnia (1154–1163), appointed by the Hungarian-Croatian king, Gejza II

(1141–1162). He was a Croatian nobleman from the Požega region in Slavonia. During the struggles between Hungary and Byzantium at the time, *Ban* Borić and Bosnia were loyal to the Hungarian kings, which suggests that Bosnia was not coerced into being part of their domain. In the succession struggle over the Hungarian royal throne between King Gejza II's brothers and his son Stephen III (1162–1172), *Ban* Borić found himself supporting the losing side. Because of that he was removed from power and replaced by one of his cousins, most probably *Ban* **Kulin**. After his demise in Bosnia, Borić lived and died on his feudal lands in northern Croatia.

BOSANČICA. A type of **Cyrillic alphabet** with modifications from the alphabet ascribed to St. Cyril that was used in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, Dalmatian Croatia, and the republic of Dubrovnik from the 10th century to, with less frequency, the modern age. At first, *bosančica* was used along with the older **Glagolitic script** (glagoljica). In Bosnia, however, *bosančica* slowly replaced glagoljica and became the main script for several centuries. Even after the **Ottoman** occupation (1463), the Bosnian **Franciscans** and some families among the native Muslim elite continued to use *bosančica*. Eventually, the Latin script, which was more universal and adaptable to the printing press, replaced *bosančica*. The same Franciscans who guarded the native script for a long while were responsible for the spread of the Latin script in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The oldest known fragment written in *bosančica* is the **Humačka ploča** (the Humac Tablet), which dates from the 11th or 12th century. The script was commonly used in epigraphs, liturgical books, royal charters, chronicles, genealogies, and even worldly stories and business transactions. *Bosančica* was also commonly used in southern Croatia, mainly in the region from Zadar to Dubrovnik, along with the Glagolitic and later Latin scripts. Scholars have given various names to this type of Cyrillic script. Among them are *bosančica*, *bosanica*, Bosnian Cyrillic, Croat-Bosnian Cyrillic, Western Cyrillic, and Croat Cyrillic. *See also* LITERATURE.

BOSNA. A river in north central Bosnia. It is 308 kilometers (192 miles) long and flows from the foot of Igman Mountain near **Sarajevo** into the Sava River near the town of Bosanski Šamac. In Roman

times, the river was called Bosina or Bosona, which probably stems from the **Illyrian** word *bas*, meaning “flowing water.” In the Middle Ages, a small region around the upper flow of the Bosna River became known as Bosnia. Later, as the principality expanded, so did the name *Bosnia*.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA’S INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES/BOSANSKO-HERCEGOVAČKI ZAVOD ZA PROUČAVANJE BALKANA. This scholarly institution was established in 1908 by Karl Patsch, at the time *custos*/director of the **Land Museum** in **Sarajevo**. In 1916, the Bosnian government took over the institute. It was, however, abolished by the National Council for Bosnia and **Herzegovina** after the collapse of the **Austro-Hungarian Empire** in 1918, and consolidated with the Land Museum. This institution and its scholars contributed greatly to the advancement of Balkan studies. It amassed a major collection of important historical documents and manuscripts from the region, especially from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Albania. It published more than 20 scholarly works on the **Balkans**.

BOSNIACS. Bosnian Muslims. Bosnia and **Herzegovina** does not denote a national (ethnic) but a historical, geographic, and state (country) name. There are three main religious and national groups in the country: **Serbs**, **Croats**, and **Bosnian Muslims** (Bosniacs). While the first two had acquired a strong sense of modern nationalism already in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims lagged behind in their national identification and assertion. In the last hundred years, their elite oscillated between Croatianism, Serbianism, Yugoslavism, and a general ambiguity in their national orientation, while trying to retain their Islamic religious and cultural heritage as a common bond.

In the post–World War II period, the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina were classified as having “no national affiliation,” and most of them opted to declare themselves as ethnically undecided. In the 1971 Yugoslav census, however, the Muslim nationality was officially promulgated, and most of the Muslims in the republic declared themselves as Muslims in the ethnic sense, although many of them were not practicing believers. Their Islamic cultural orientation was

turned into a nationality. This was a unique case in which the name of a **religion** was simultaneously an ethnic designation.

With the collapse of **Yugoslavia** and its Communist system, and after a short period of uncertainty among the Bosnian Muslims themselves, the Bosniac name was adopted to denote Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslim ethnicity. On 27 September 1993, a day before Bosnia and Herzegovina's **Parliament** had to accept or reject an internationally proposed plan to divide the country according to ethnic lines, eminent Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslim political, cultural, and religious leaders met in an all-Bosniac congress in the besieged city of **Sarajevo** and officially inaugurated Bosniac nationality. The breakup of Yugoslavia and the war that followed had forced them to (re)define themselves in ethnic terms, and Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims turned to history in order to support their claims of being a separate nationality.

In the **Ottoman Empire**, Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims strongly identified with imperial power and its ruling class. Although many of them belonged to the peasantry/*raya*, their religious affiliation provided them with a link to the imperial ruling elite that, in turn, gave them a sense of pride in belonging to a great power and a larger religious community. While during the 19th century, modern national homogenization was taking place among the people around them, the religious and cultural identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims was still tied to the Ottoman Empire. Their rebellions against the imperial center in the middle of the first half of the 19th century were not inspired by nationalism or anti-imperialism but were attempts to preserve the old system, their local privileges, and the Ottoman concessions to Balkan Christians. Bosnian Muslims had not gone through a national awakening in the 19th century as their neighbors had, but various political pressures in modern Balkan history have compelled them to seek a national individuality.

Despite their faithfulness to the Ottoman Empire and to **Islam**, not all was resolved for Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims. Although it is often reiterated that Islam is all encompassing and above national, ethnic, and social divisions, the fact is that Islam is divided according to these and other categories as well. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims definitely did have a sense of their individuality within the Islamic community. They guarded closely their native

language and customs, and even their own variant of Islam. But they did remain “Ottomans” perhaps longer than they should have, and thereby vacillated in their ethnic identity.

Among various disputes surrounding the ethnogenesis of Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims, three issues stand out: the pre-Ottoman identity of the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the nature of conversions to Islam in Bosnia, and the precise definition of Bosniacism. There is no doubt that most Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims are of Slavic origin and not immigrants to the central **Balkans** during the Ottoman period. There is, however, a debate about their religious and ethnic affiliation in pre-Ottoman times. In their claim of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serbs start with the proposition that medieval Bosnia was a Serbian land and that Bosnian medieval Christianity belonged to the **Orthodox Church**. Although there is very little historical evidence for such reasoning, the Serbs traditionally have claimed that the Bosnian Muslims were ethnic Serbs and therefore should either leave the country or convert to their original Orthodox faith. Croats, on the other hand, claim that the medieval Bosnian **population**, by virtue of its political affiliation to the Kingdom of Croatia (later Croatia-Hungary), its adherence either to Catholicism or to the local **Bosnian Church** (which disconnected itself from Catholicism in the 13th century), and, by its language, belonged to the Croatian ethnic community. Furthermore, it is only among the Bosnian Croats, specifically the **Franciscans**, that the proud memory of the Bosnian medieval kingdom has been kept. The prevailing attitude among the Croats today, however, is that the Muslims may define themselves any way they like as long as it does not infringe on the national rights of the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosnian Muslim, or Bosniac, version of medieval history, in contrast to Croat and Serb accounts, presupposes that even before the Ottomans they were a separate ethnic community. Bosniac nationalists emphasize Bosnian political, religious, linguistic, cultural, and ethnic singularity in pre-Ottoman Bosnia. Although some claim that the Bosniac identity reaches back to ancient times, most claim that the real Bosniac roots are among members of the Bosnian Church (*kr'stjans*) who supposedly welcomed the Ottomans as liberators, converted to Islam, and preserved their ethnic identity, which is today being recast into a modern nation.

The beginning of Islam among the people in Bosnia, however, is an issue that has a bearing on Bosniac ethnogenesis. Those who advocate Bosniac nationalism emphasize that there was a relatively large group of adherents to a heretical Bosnian Church at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia. They presumably recognized a close connection between their Christian beliefs and the teachings of Islam, and, because of the persecutions by the Catholic rulers at the time, the Ottomans were welcomed as deliverers, and as a result the people in Bosnia were converted to Islam en mass.

Although there is ample evidence showing that most of the Bosnian *kr'stjans* were back within the fold of the **Catholic Church** before the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom, and that there was not a mass conversion to Islam at the time of the Ottoman invasion, this presumption is necessary in the “nation makers” attempt to emphasize that Bosniacs are different from Croats or Serbs in more than religion. Furthermore, emphasizing the persecutions of the Bosnian *kr'stjans* and their massive conversions makes it easier for today's Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims to make a connection with a medieval Christian Bosnian state, which is necessary for legitimizing state building in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. However, the apparent contradiction in claiming to be the proud and only heirs of the Bosnian medieval state and, at the same time, identifying with and glorifying the Ottomans who destroyed it, is dismissed as inconsequential.

A third major issue connected to Bosniac nationalism is the question: who is an ethnic Bosniac? According to the traditional Turkish definition, Bosniacs were all the Muslims living or originating from the territories that more or less made up the former Yugoslavia. The Muslims in **Sandžak**, a province in Serbia, for example, have a strong sense of Bosniac nationalism. Just before the breakup of Yugoslavia, some leading Bosnian Muslims were openly stating or implying that Muslims in all parts of the former country, except the Albanians, were part of a single community that had more in common than religion. Furthermore, for some Bosniac nationalists, both Catholicism and Orthodoxy were “imports” to Bosnia and Herzegovina, just like Islam. But while the Bosnian Catholics and the Orthodox, according to this conjecture, betrayed their Bosniac national heritage and became Croats and Serbs, respectively, the Bosnian Muslims remained the true guardians of Bosniac heritage and identity. For supporters of

this theory, the Bosnian Croats and Serbs should, therefore, abandon their “mistaken identity” and become Bosniacs or Bosnians.

The trireligious Bosniac identity was promoted first by the **Austro-Hungarian** minister **Benjámín Kállay**, the man in charge of Bosnian affairs from 1881 to 1903. He wanted to dull the edges of assertive Serbian and Croatian nationalism in the country by promoting the Bosniac name and its individuality. This endeavor, however, did not bring the desired results. Even the Muslims themselves looked for their own separate rights and interests, and most of them did not accept the idea that the other two religious groups could be the same as the Muslims or equal to them.

After a long period of ambivalence concerning their national identity, the breakup of Yugoslavia, and an open Serbian attack not only on Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state, but also on the existence of the Muslim community itself, the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina were compelled to define their nationality. The war became a major catalyst in their nationality-making process. As a result, the Bosniac identity is emerging as the ethnic name of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims. Although many questionable historical arguments and myths are being used in the making of Bosniac national consciousness, obviously the Bosnian Muslims, like anyone else, have the right to decide what they want to be. It will be seen, however, if and what difficulties will arise between Bosniac (secular) nationalism and those who adhere closer to the Islamic precepts. Some forces do have ambitions to utilize Bosniacism for the higher goals of Islam.

BOSNIAN CHURCH/CRKVA BOSANSKA. An independent medieval church in Bosnia that was either a part of, or similar to, the neo-Manichean heresy in Bulgaria (Bogomils) and to the Albigensians and Cathars in the West. Members of the Bosnian Church are often referred to in various documents outside Bosnia and by historians as Bogomils or Patarens, but they simply called themselves Bosnian *kr'stjani*/Christians.

The Christian message was brought to what is present-day Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in Roman times. But the havoc of various migrations in the early Middle Ages had practically destroyed the church in the region. Christianity was revived in medieval Bosnia by

missionaries who came from Croatian coastal towns. Its church was bound administratively to the Archdioceses of Split, Bar, and Dubrovnik. The clergy in Bosnia also followed those in Croatia in using the old Slavonic language and **Glagolitic script** in church practices. For political reasons, however, the jurisdiction over the **Catholic Church** in Bosnia was first transferred to Hungary, then foreigners became its bishops, and, finally, even the seat of the Bosnian diocese was moved to Đakovo (1232), a city in northern Croatia. It was precisely during this time of foreign, mainly Hungarian, encroachment into Bosnian political and church affairs that an independent Bosnian Church appeared (end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries).

A controversy has been going on for a long time among historians as to the origin, nature, and strength of the Bosnian Church. Some believe that the Bosnian Church belonged to the neo-Manichean movement and that the heresy was brought to Bosnia from Bulgaria. Others argue that the teaching was brought by merchants to the Croatian coastal cities, and from there it spread to Bosnia. There is clear evidence that heretics were present in the port cities in Croatia, and many of those expelled from the cities found refuge in Bosnia. One major expulsion of heretics from the cities of Split and Trogir took place in 1200. It is probably not an accident that only three years later (1203), the pope's legate, Johannes de Casamaris, came to Bosnia to meet the church leaders and the local ruler, **Ban Kulin**, in order to ensure that they adhered to the Catholic Church. There is strong evidence that (at least some) followers of the Bosnian Church adhered to beliefs that were contrary to neo-Manichean teaching, such as the Trinity, the cross, religious art, and even leaving money to the poor, so the needy would pray for the soul of the deceased. The well-known *Testament of the Gost Rodin* (1466) indicates such religious practices. This evidence has led some historians to conclude that the Bosnian Church was a mixture of a neglected and perhaps rebellious, uncanonical, and even schismatic Bosnian Catholicism and strains of neo-Manichean heresy brought about by major religious, economic, and social shifts in Europe at the time. It seems, therefore, that the lines between traditional native religious practices and (perhaps deluded) Catholicism and other heretical beliefs were very much blurred. To foreigners who were eager to absorb Bosnian territory

or make its uncommon religious practices conform to the rest of the Catholic Church, these distinctions of religious beliefs and practices were confusing. Political motivations, however, brought about “crusades” against the Bosnian Church, and the zeal to bring the real or presumed heretics back to the Catholic fold stimulated the coming of **Dominican** and then **Franciscan** friars to Bosnia.

By the end of the Bosnian medieval state (1463), most of the people in Bosnia were back in the Catholic fold, at least officially, due to the work of the Franciscans. There was a new missionary zeal in the region, especially after the Great Schism in the Catholic Church was resolved in 1417. Also, a new Catholic diocese was established in Bosnia in 1422. But after a long tradition of religious toleration, the last two Bosnian kings began to persecute the members of the Bosnian Church in order to obtain Western help in their defense against the encroaching **Ottomans**.

After the Ottoman occupation, over a period of time, most of the remaining Bosnian *kr'stjans* converted to **Islam**. Some of their leaders, however, found refuge in Dubrovnik and the Venetian republic. By the mid-16th century the Bosnian *kr'stjans* practically disappeared, but surviving vestiges of the church were noticed in Bosnia and Herzegovina as late as the end of the 19th century. *See also* RELIGION.

BOSNIAN FRONTIER/BOSANSKA KRAJINA. The region surrounding the flow of the rivers Vrbas, Una, and Sava in northwestern Bosnia. In the Middle Ages, the territory was a part of the Croatian Kingdom until the Turkish occupation in the 16th century. After the fall of the town of **Jajce** (1527), **Bihać** became the main Croatian stronghold against the Turkish expansion to the northwest. The town, however, fell in 1592, and the territory became an **Ottoman** staging area for further incursions.

This part of the country, west of the Vrbas River, was commonly known as Turkish Croatia until the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878), when the name was changed to Bosnian Krajina. According to the peace treaties from 1606 and 1625, the river Una was to be the border between **Habsburg** and Ottoman domains. The Ottomans, however, fortified many abandoned forts and asserted their presence west of the Una despite the treaties. After several frontier shifts, the present border between Croatia and the Bosnian Krajina was affixed in 1791.

Krajina was a military frontier for centuries. Permanent war zone conditions helped to shape its socioeconomic and cultural life. Even its ethnic makeup was greatly altered by the Turkish invasion. The original Catholic Croatian inhabitants in the area, speaking the *čakavian* dialect, were replaced by the Orthodox Vlach and Serb immigrants from the southeastern **Balkans**. The newcomers colonized the war-devastated territories and were co-opted into Ottoman service as herdsmen, guards of road passes, or auxiliary Turkish soldiers (*yamaks*), or they became sharecroppers to the local Muslim military class dwelling in the fortified towns. Frontier life also helped to shape Krajina's legendary character. People in Krajina are commonly perceived as warriors, rebellious, always ready for combat, and cruel to those under them, but servile to those stronger than them.

A major increase in the Muslim **population** in the area occurred during the wars of liberation, especially during the Habsburg–Ottoman war of 1683–1699. The Muslim population moved into Bosnia from various parts of liberated Habsburg lands.

Bosnian Krajina is rich in mineral resources, water energy, and forestry. In recent times, one of the biggest agricultural giants in the former **Yugoslavia**, Agrokomerc, was located in Velika Kladuša. It was headed by **Fikret Abdić**, the Muslim/Bosniac renegade who joined the **Serbs** against the **Sarajevo government** during the 1992–1995 war.

In April 1991, the Serb Community of Municipalities of Bosnian Krajina was declared by the Bosnian Serbs. This was the first step toward their separation from the rest of the country. They also proclaimed a unification of Bosnian Krajina with the self-proclaimed Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina in Croatia. The Serbs took full control of the region, except the Bihać pocket, pronouncing the city of **Banja Luka** its capital and claiming that this part, and most of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, was Serbian land that should be united with Serbia. The Bihać pocket was declared (1993) one of six **United Nations** “safe areas” in Bosnia for the protection of Bosnian people from Serbian atrocities. But the UN proved to be impotent, and the Bihać area remained under constant attacks; its inhabitants found themselves in a concentration camp-like predicament until the siege was broken by Croatian and Bosnian forces in September 1995.

According to the **Dayton Peace Accords**, the most western part of Krajina (namely, Una-Sana Canton) was assigned to the Bosniac–Croat **Federation**, while the rest was retained by the **Serb Republic**.

BOSNIAN MUSLIMS. *See* BOSNIACS.

BRČKO. A town in northeast Bosnia 96 meters (315 feet) above sea level. Presently, the administrative seat of the Brčko District. It has always been an important **agricultural** and **trade** center because of its location on the banks of the Sava River and in the rich **Posavina** flatlands.

According to the 1991 census, its municipality had over 87,000 inhabitants, out of which 44.4 percent were Muslims, 25.4 percent **Croats**, 20.8 percent **Serbs**, 6.4 percent “Yugoslavs,” and 3 percent others. During the 1992–1995 war, the Serbs occupied Brčko, expelled the Muslims and Croats, and settled many Serbs in the town. Because of its strategic military and economic importance, the **Sarajevo government** and the Serb side could not agree on the fate of Brčko at the peace negotiations in Dayton at the end of 1995. According to the **Dayton Peace Accords**, the town’s future was to be decided by international arbitration before 14 December 1996. For the Serbs, keeping Brčko was essential for protecting the corridor to the western part of the **Serb Republic**. For the Sarajevo government, the town is a pivotal link in the Bosniac–Croat **Federation** to the Sava River and international trade. And to many others, leaving Brčko to the Serbs would mean condoning **ethnic cleansing**. International arbitration decided to keep Brčko under international supervision until March 1998. However, “in order to contribute to the permanent and just peace” in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, the international community decided at the end of 1999 to form the Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a self-government entity under the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The district was officially established on 8 March 2000, and it includes the entire territory of the Brčko Municipality as it existed before the 1992–1995 war.

BRIQUEMONT, FRANCIS (1935–). A Belgian lieutenant general who served as the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** commander in Bosnia from 12 July 1993 to 24 January 1994. He was

openly critical of U.S. advocacy to use air strikes against selected Serb targets in Bosnia. Briquemont was born in Mariembourg. After a long military career, he was promoted to lieutenant general and became commander of the First Belgian Corps and Supreme Commander of the Belgian Armed Forces in Germany in 1993.

BROZ, JOSIP. *See* TITO.

BUTMIR CULTURE. A Neolithic culture in the central regions of Bosnia (discovered in 1893), which was named after the village of Butmir near **Sarajevo**, where its most important settlement was located. Along with many human dwellings, thousands of stone tools for household, hunting, and agricultural needs were found at Butmir and several other excavation sites that belonged to the same culture.

Although the Butmir culture shares in the general aesthetic ideas of the time, unique decorative motifs and original interpretations of borrowed artistic ideas are expressed in pottery drawings that are usually in spiral and geometric patterns. Furthermore, many humanlike figurines depicting religious idols bear witness to the fact that Butmir artists reached a high level of realism in their work. Thus, both worldly and religious art speak of a high aesthetic sense among those early Bosnian inhabitants that surpasses other contemporary cultures in the region. The culture disappeared during the Bronze Age.

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ČAJNIČKO EVANĐELJE/ČAJNIČE GOSPEL. A late 14th or early 15th century gospel text in the old Church-Slavonic language written in the **Cyrillic alphabet** with some **Glagolitic** segments. It is believed that the document originally belonged to the Rađenović family in southeastern Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. This significant religious and cultural document is kept today at the Serb **Orthodox Church** in the town of Čajniče. *See also* LITERATURE.

CARITAS. A **Catholic** relief, development, and social service organization operating in many countries around the world, including

Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Each of the three Catholic dioceses in the country (**Sarajevo**, **Mostar**, and **Banja Luka**) has its own Caritas branch that distributes aid to the needy through local parish organizations. This humanitarian organization, among other similar groups, provided a great service to the destitute, regardless of their **religion** or nationality, during the recent war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *See also* NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

CARRINGTON, LORD (PETER ALEXANDER RUPERT CARRINGTON, 6TH BARON) (1919–). The European Union (EU) established a Peace Conference on **Yugoslavia** on 7 September 1991. Lord Carrington, former British foreign secretary and secretary-general of North Atlantic Treaty Organization, became its chairman. The conference's main goal was to contain the war in the former Yugoslavia and find a comprehensive solution to the problems in the region. Carrington, however, was not able (or willing) to pinpoint the real cause of the war. He chose to blame all sides equally. Furthermore, instead of accepting the demise of the country and helping to separate the republics with a minimum of pain, Carrington and the Peace Conference strived to find a formula to keep the Yugoslav pieces together. Thus, the conference opposed the recognition of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Once Slovenia and Croatia were recognized by the EU countries, Carrington's solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina was cantonization, that is, dividing the country into three constituent ethnic units. His proposals, however, were rejected. *See also* INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

CATHOLIC CHURCH. Christianity came to present-day Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in Roman times. The northern part of Bosnia (the Sava valley) received Christianity from the Pannonian Christian centers and was under the jurisdiction of the Church of Sirmium (Mitrovica). The rest of the country belonged to the province of Dalmatia, and it was Christianized from the towns along the Adriatic Sea.

Archaeological evidence suggests a strong Christian presence at many places throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina in Roman times. Several dioceses existed in the early centuries in the region: Bistue Nove (around **Zenica**), Martari (near Konjic), Savsenterum (near

Mostar), Delminium (Duvno or Tomislavgrad), and Balaie in western Bosnia. Because of the Great Migration and the fall of the Roman Empire, the church was practically wiped out by the various pagan peoples that passed through the region.

A second major wave of Christianization on the eastern shores of the Adriatic began with the newly arrived Croats in 640. Church **architecture**, the use of Old Slavonic as the liturgical language, and the **Glagolitic script**, as well as church jurisdiction, suggest that the rebirth of Christianity in Bosnia and Herzegovina came from Dalmatian towns. Indications are that the renewed Bosnian diocese existed in 877. It was first under the domain of the Metropolitan of Split, then of Bar (1089), of Split again (1137), and a few decades later under the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Dubrovnik (before 1185). The territory of the Bosnian diocese covered the original Bosnia and the regions of **Usora** and **Soli** in the northeast. As the territory of the Bosnian state expanded, however, other districts were added to the jurisdiction of the Bosnian bishop. The first residence of the local bishop was at the town of **Bosna** (11th century). Around the year 1238, however, it was moved to Brdo in **Vrhbosna**, near present-day **Sarajevo**, where a cathedral dedicated to St. Peter was built in 1244.

Besides the Bosnian diocese, eight other church districts existed in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina in pre-Ottoman times. The northwest part of the country (west of the Vrbas River) was under the Archdiocese of Zagreb. The Diocese of Knin and Krbava and the Archdiocese of Split had jurisdiction over parts of southwestern Bosnia. The Diocese of Duvno, Makarska, Ston, and Trebinje had administrative control of the central and southern parts of the country.

Because of the territorial and political ambitions of the Hungarian kings and (supposedly) the rise of unorthodox teaching in Bosnia, jurisdiction over the Catholic Church in Bosnia was transferred to the Vatican (1238), then to Kalocsa in southern Hungary (1247). Even the bishop's residence was moved (1252) from Bosnia to Đakovo, a town in Croatia north of Bosnia. This resulted in a major neglect of the church and strengthened the resolve of the Bosnian religious and political authority to resist outside interference from Hungary in their local affairs. This was most probably the major cause for the rise of an independent Bosnian *kr'stjan* movement.

In the 13th century **Dominican** friars appeared in Bosnia. They were squeezed out, however, by the **Franciscans**, who established their Bosnian Vicariate in 1340. Since then, Franciscans have played a major role in the religious and cultural life of the country. The remnants of diocesan priests, known as *glagoljaši*, who used the Glagolitic script and old Slavonic liturgical language, continued to serve the faithful along with the Franciscans. After fading away for a few centuries, they appeared again in Bosnia in the second half of the 17th century and disappeared again in the early 1800s. Being considered less educated than the Franciscans, *glagoljaši* served only as assistants to the Franciscans, whose education was on the European level.

The Franciscans obtained from Mehmet II (1463) permission to live and work among the Catholics in Ottoman Bosnia. Because the Catholic powers in the West were in constant warfare with the **Ottomans**, the Catholics in the empire were treated more harshly than the Orthodox Christians or members of other religious communities. Major persecutions of Catholics in Bosnia, for example, followed the Spanish expulsion of Muslims (and Jews) in 1492. They were also a target of Suleiman the Magnificent's (1520–1566) assaults against Central Europe. Often, especially after the Ottomans began to lose their territory to the **Habsburgs**, Catholics were suspected of treason, and persecutions followed the accusations.

Emigration of the Catholic **population** from the war-ravaged border regions, conversion to **Islam**, and pressure from the **Orthodox Church** leadership on the Catholics to submit to its control resulted in a sharp decline of the Catholic population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One major exodus of Catholics from Bosnia took place during the Habsburg–Ottoman wars (1683–1699). Thousands of Croats escaped persecution and moved to liberated lands in northern Croatia.

During Ottoman rule, the Hungarian-Croatian kings continued to nominate Bosnian bishops. Although in an unfriendly environment, they operated from Đakovo in Slavonia, which was also under Ottoman rule. After 1699, however, when the Ottomans lost the land north of the Sava River, the Bosnian bishops found themselves outside the Ottoman domain, and they were not allowed to enter Bosnia for pastoral visits. Remaining without customary church leadership, the

Vatican found an emergency solution by naming “apostolic vicars” (1735), functioning as bishops, in “Ottoman Bosnia.” The Franciscans became vicars, and they had full control of the pastoral care in the country. Because **Herzegovina** became a separate Ottoman province in 1832 and Herzegovinian Franciscans were separated from Bosnia in 1846, a separate vicariate was formed in Herzegovina in 1852. On the initiative of the Habsburg monarchy, Pope Leo XIII replaced the vicariates with a traditional diocesan hierarchy (1881). Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a separate church province and was divided into four dioceses: the Vrhbosna (Sarajevo) archdiocese, and the **Banja Luka**, Mostar, and Trebinje dioceses. With this change, however, friction between the newly organized secular clergy and the Franciscans began and is still present in the Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially Herzegovina.

There are also several so-called Greek Catholic parishes in Bosnia, but most of the parishioners were exiled by the **Serbs** during the last war.

Besides the Franciscans, other Catholic religious male orders were introduced in Bosnia and Herzegovina in modern times. The Trappists (or reformed Cistercians) came to Bosnia in 1869. Their monastery of Marija Zvijezda (Maria Stern), near Banja Luka, was a renowned religious, educational, and cultural center for a long time. The five decades of communist rule and then the 1992–1995 war, however, have done major harm to their work and mission. The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) came to the country in 1881. They were involved in **education**, especially in higher theological studies and at the famous Travnik Gymnasium (secondary school). Under the orders of the communist regime; however, their work was banned and most of them left Bosnia after World War II. Today, they serve one parish in Sarajevo. In recent years, Dominicans (1975), Salesians (1995), and Carmelites (2002) have also established their presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By the end of the 19th century, the houses of several **women’s** religious congregations were established in the country. These nuns were involved in education, as well as in charitable and pastoral work. During the Communist era, however, their activities were greatly curtailed. Although under major restrictions, religious life and vocations flourished in the post–World War II period.

As a result of the last war and **ethnic cleansing**, more than half of the Sarajevo archdiocese has disappeared, and Croatian Catholic population in the dioceses of Banja Luka and Trebinje (eastern Herzegovina) is virtually nonexistent today. Catholic churches and monasteries in Serbian-dominated Bosnian territory have also been destroyed. The recent war has given a major blow to the Catholic Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina; its recovery is slow in the postwar period, and some parts of the country will be lost to the Church forever.

Croatian Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina pride themselves on the naming of Monsignor **Vinko Puljić**, the Archbishop of Vrhbosna (Sarajevo), as cardinal of the church in 1994. At the age of 49, he was the youngest member in the College of Cardinals. *See also* CARITAS; CATHOLIC CHURCH PUBLICATIONS.

CATHOLIC CHURCH PUBLICATIONS. Most of Croat **Catholic** publishing activities in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** began after the Communist regime started to relax its grip on society in the late 1960s and 1970s. **Vrhbosna** is the official voice of the Church hierarchy in the country. Since 2002, the Vrhbosna (**Sarajevo**) Archdiocese has been publishing *Katolički tjednik*/Catholic Weekly, a revival of an earlier publication by the same name, published by the Archdiocese from 1922 to 1945, when it was banned by the Yugoslav regime. Currently, there are three Catholic monthlies: *Naša Ognjišta*/Our Hearths, *Svjetlo riječi*/Light of the Word, and *Crkva na kamenu*/Church on the Stone. The first two are published by the **Franciscans** and the third by the **Mostar** diocese. *Naša Ognjišta* was the first to appear and was severely harassed by the Communist regime. Two almanacs are also published, *Kršni zavičaj*/Rocky Homeland and *Kalendar sv. Ante*/Almanac of St. Anthony. Among the scholarly publications are the annuals *Jukić*, *Mladi teolog*/Young Theologian, and *Bosna Franciscana*/Franciscan Bosnia, published by the Franciscan theological seminary in **Sarajevo**, and *Hercegovina Franciscana*/Franciscan Herzegovina by the Franciscan province in Mostar. *Glasnik Mira*/Herald of Peace is the voice of the Marian shrine in **Međugorje**. An almanac, *Dobri pastir*/Good Shepherd, was the first Catholic publication in the post–World War II era in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, it was published by the regime-sponsored priests' alliance and, therefore, it

did not have the blessing of the official church nor the support of the faithful. *See also* MEDIA.

ĆATIĆ, ĆAZIM MUSA (1878–1915). A leading Bosnian poet. Ćatić was born in Odžak. After significant material hardships and other misfortunes in his youth, he finished the school of Islamic jurisprudence (*Šeriat* school) in **Sarajevo**. His bohemian lifestyle prevented him from working in his profession or even having a steady job. He did, however, work for a while for various **Bosnian Muslim** publications (*Muslimanska sloga*, *Sarajevski list*, *Biser*, and *Muslimanska biblioteka*).

Although Ćatić lived a short and arduous life, his literary accomplishments were significant, especially in lyric poetry. He was also a translator of literary works from the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages. In his poems, Ćatić contrasts love and anguish, faith and doubt. He interprets human characters and reflects on patriotism and social concerns. He greatly helped to bring Bosnian Muslim **literature** closer to the European spirit and standards, and stands out as the best Bosnian Muslim poet until well into the post–World War I period. Ćatić is also included in Croat literature because he considered himself to be of Croat ethnicity.

ČAUŠEVIĆ, DŽEMALUDIN (1870–1938). Religious leader (*reis ul-ulema*) of the Islamic community in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from 1914 to 1930, a leading Islamic intellectual, and a reformer. Čaušević was born in Bosanska Krupa. After receiving his primary education in Bosnia, he finished higher education in Istanbul, first in Islamic Studies and then in jurisprudence at the Imperial School of Law (Mekteb-i Hukuk), where he came under the influence of **Ottoman** religious and social reformist intellectuals. He also studied for a while in Cairo, where he attended the lectures of some leading Islamic modernists of that time.

Čaušević returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1901 with a mission to advance modernist reforms among his coreligionists through various means, especially **education**. He became a gymnasium (high school) teacher of Arabic language, and, after being elected to the Ulema Council (the ruling body) of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's Islamic community in 1903, Čaušević's duty was to oversee religious

educational institutions in the land. In 1909, he became a professor in **Sarajevo's** Islamic Law (Sharia) School. Such appointments gave Čaušević an opportunity to implement his reformist ideals.

In 1914, Čaušević was elected head (*reis ul-ulema*) of the **Bosnian Muslim** community and served until 1930, when he retired in protest of the new state law according to which the *reis ul-ulema* was to be appointed by the king and not elected.

Čaušević was an enlightened religious leader, cultural activist, and defender of his community's interests, especially after 1918, when Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the newly formed Kingdom of **Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia** after 1929). Among his best known literary accomplishments is his translation of the Qur'an. *See also* ISLAM.

ČENGIĆ, HASAN (1957–). Former deputy defense minister of the **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, to which he was appointed in January 1996. Born in the village of Odžak near the town of Foča in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. After primary school, he was educated at **Gazi Husrev-beg's** medrese in **Sarajevo** and graduated from the Islamic Theological Faculty at the University of Sarajevo in 1982. After serving as imam in the town of Stolac for a short period, ČengiĆ, with 12 other **Bosnian Muslims**, including **Alija Izetbegović**, was imprisoned in March of 1983, and a few months later sentenced to 10 years in prison for "antistate activities" associated with a group known as the **Young Muslims**. His sentence was later commuted to six years. After release, he served as imam at the mosque in Zagreb, Croatia (1988–1990).

ČengiĆ was one of the founders and the secretary of the main Bosnian Muslim political party (SDA) in 1990. He served as Izetbegović's advisor and as a special envoy and plenipotentiary of the Bosnian **government**. Because of his previous connections in the Muslim world, principally in Iran, ČengiĆ became a central figure in channeling money collected in the Middle East for Bosnia and Herzegovina and in procuring illegal arms for the **Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**. His position became so powerful that he was not accountable to any of Sarajevo's government institutions. He headed a sort of private ministry of defense of the Muslim-led Sarajevo government, which included control over the

military intelligence services. After he became deputy defense minister of the Muslim–Croat Federation, Čengić expected to have total control of the top military institutions. This attempt led to an open clash between him and the chief of staff of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the summer of 1996.

After the fall of Foča, Čengić’s family, including his father and brother, moved to Visoko and later to **Zenica**. The Čengić clan, using humanitarian organizations as a front, became one of the richest, most powerful, and most well-connected families in the country.

Under strong American pressure, Čengić was removed from office on 19 November 1996. The United States demanded his dismissal in return for the unloading of \$100 million worth of American military hardware sitting in Croatia’s port of Ploče to the Federation. He was accused of being too close to the fundamentalist government in Iran. Besides being a symbol of more radical Islamic influences in Bosnia, he was also an impediment to the strengthening of the Federation, which was one of the cornerstones of American policy in Bosnia.

In 2003, Čengić was suspected of having ties with militant Islamic groups, and for that reason the U.S. froze his assets, barred him from entering the country, and prohibited any U.S. company from doing business with him. *See also* ISLAM.

CENTER FOR INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING/CENTAR ZA ISTRAŽIVAČKO NOVINARSTVO (CIN). The center is located in **Sarajevo**, and it is a joint project of the New York University Department of Journalism and the Journalism Development Group LLC. It is funded through a grant from USAID and other donors. Its mission is “to train investigative editors and reporters in the practical environment of a working investigative team.” *See also* NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

CERIĆ, MUSTAFA (1952–). Head (*reis ul-ulema*), grand mufti, of the **Bosnian Muslim** community since 1993. He was born in Veliko Čajno near the town of Visoko, central Bosnia, and finished Islamic studies in **Sarajevo** and at the El-Azhar University in Egypt (1978). In 1981, he accepted the position of imam at the Islamic Cultural Center in Northbrook, near Chicago, Illinois. While in the United States, Cerić received a Ph.D. in Islamic studies at the University

of Chicago (1986). After leaving the United States, he became the religious leader of the Muslims in Zagreb, Croatia, and an associate professor of Islamic theology in Sarajevo. He also taught at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1991–1992).

After the recognition of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** as an independent country, the previously elected *reis ul-ulema* for the entire former **Yugoslavia**, Jakub Selimanski, a Macedonian, was removed from that position and Cerić became the religious leader of the Bosnian Muslim community and a close ally of the ruling Muslim **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)** in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Cerić is the author of several books and the corecipient of the 2003 UNESCO Felix Houphoet Boigny Peace Prize for Contribution to World Peace.

According to him, Bosnia and Herzegovina does not belong either to Dar al-Islam (Abode of Islam) or Dar al-Harb (Abode of War), but to Dar al-Sulh (Abode of Truce) “where shariah cannot be implemented fully, but **government** should endeavour to put it into practice as much as possible.” *See also* ISLAM.

ČETNIK (PL. ČETNICI). Often “Chetniks” in English. A paramilitary nationalist organization established in Serbia in 1903. The Serbian military forces trained the newly formed detachments (*četa*) for terrorist attacks in Macedonia, which was still under **Ottoman** rule. The *četnik* style of warfare, which consisted of hit and run tactics, mainly against civilians, stemmed directly from the tradition of brigandage (*hajdukovanje*) from Ottoman times in the **Balkans**. The *četnik* units participated in both **Balkan wars** (1912–1913) and World War I. They were designated to act as commando units and used terrorism in enemy territory to prepare the way for regular military forces. Their unshaven faces, a black flag with a skull and bones insignia, and a dagger as their main weapon were supposed to incite fear in the enemy population and make them run from their villages. During World War II, the *četniks* of Serbian general Draža Mihailović initially fought against the German occupiers and had the support of the Western Allies. It became clear, however, that their struggle was not against the German or Italian occupiers but against Communist-led partisans and Croat and Muslim nationalist forces. Moreover, the

četniks collaborated with the occupiers, especially the Italians, and committed major massacres against **Muslims** and Croat civilians in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and Croatia.

The *četnik* organization was revived among the **Serbs** before the eruption of the 1991 war in Croatia. **Vojislav Šešelj**, a Serb nationalist from Bosnia, became a *četnik* “duke” and claimed to be the legitimate successor of Gen. Mihailović. Followers of **Vuk Drašković** in the **Serbian Renewal Movement** also claimed to be the heirs of the *četnik* nationalist tradition. Both parties are committed to a greater and ethnically pure Serbia. Šešelj’s followers were among the first instigators of the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and are accused of major atrocities against the civilian population.

“Četnik” and “čedo” are also used as labels by non-Serbs for Serbs in general and for Serb nationalists in particular.

COAT OF ARMS. *See* NATIONAL SYMBOLS.

ČOLAKOVIĆ, RODOLJUB (1900–1983). A leading Communist activist and official, as well as a major politician in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and Communist **Yugoslavia**. Born in Bijeljina, of Serb nationality. He received his secondary **education** in **Sarajevo** and Zagreb and later, while in exile, studied in Moscow. As a young man, Čolaković became a Communist follower and a revolutionary. In 1921, he participated in organizing the assassination of Milorad Drašković, minister of interior of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** (KSHS), and for this he was sentenced to 12 years of prison. Soon after serving the sentence, he left the country and lived in Moscow and also participated in the Spanish Civil War. He returned to Yugoslavia on the eve of World War II, helped to organize the resistance movement, and served, among other high positions, as a political commissar of Partisan detachments in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a delegate to the **Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia** (AVNOJ) and the **Territorial Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina** (ZAVNOBiH). Also, he was among the founders of the newspaper *Oslobođenje/Liberation* (1943) and its first editor. After the war, Čolaković was prime minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina and served as a high official in the Communist Party and Yugoslav state

structures. Čolaković published several literary works that reflect his ideological orientation, his war experiences, and his service to the revolution.

CONCENTRATION AND DETENTION CAMPS. Although intelligence reports about concentration camps in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** surfaced earlier, they became public at the beginning of August 1992. A British *ITN* TV crew managed to visit Serb-run camps in Omarska, near **Banja Luka**, and another near the town of Prijedor on 4–5 August 1992. They obtained evidence of executions, torture, mass rape, disappearances, and savage treatment of the non-Serbs, mostly **Muslims** and **Croats**. This information became an instant reminder of World War II Nazi atrocities. The gruesome TV pictures of the dead and suffering people caused a major outcry across the world that put pressure on Western and **United Nations (UN)** leaders “to do something.”

Although the Croats and Muslims operated their own “detention” camps, they were far outdone by the Serbs. According to a 1994 UN report, the **Serbs** operated 962 prison camps: 500,000 people were imprisoned, 50,000 tortured, and many thousands raped. It is estimated that there are about 300 mass graves in regions held by the Serbs during the war, containing from three to 5,000 bodies each. The best-known Serb-operated camps were Batkovica, Bijeljina, Bileća, Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Novi, Doboj, Foča, **Ilidža**, Kakanj, **Keraterm**, Kotor Varoš, Kozarac, Kula, Luka Brčko, Manjača, Omarska, **Pale**, Potočari, Rogatica, Trebinje, Trnopolje, Ugljik, Vijak, **Višegrad**, Vogošća, and Zvornik. Muslims had camps in **Bihać**, Bugojno, Cazin, Čelebići, Hadžići, Hrasnica, Igman, **Jajce**, Konjic, Visoko, Tarčin-Silos, **Tuzla**, and **Zenica**. Croat camps were in Čapljina, Dretelj, Livno, Ljubuški, **Mostar**, and Odžak. *See also* ETHNIC CLEANSING.

ĆOROVIĆ, SVETOZAR (1875–1919). A Herzegovinian Serb writer, publicist, and politician. He was born in **Mostar**, where he received his **education**. In 1896, he founded the literary magazine *Zora/Dawn* and was its first editor. During the annexation crisis (1908), Ćorović went into exile, but only two years later, he became a member of the newly formed Bosnian **parliament** in **Sarajevo**. Considered by the Vienna regime as politically unreliable, he was first imprisoned at the beginning of World War I and then sent to the front where he stayed until 1917.

He has written a large number of stories, poems, and dramas, many of which reflect the social, political, and cultural conditions in his native town and in **Herzegovina** in general. *See also* LITERATURE.

ĆOROVIĆ, VLADIMIR (1885–1941). Serb historian and political activist. Born in **Mostar**, he received his higher education in Vienna in Slavic languages, history, and archeology. After earning his doctorate in 1908, he worked at the **Land Museum** in **Sarajevo**. At the beginning of World War I, he was accused of pro-Serbian activities and was in jail until 1917. After the war, he became a secretary of the National Council for Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, a political formation that worked for the establishment of a common South Slavic state. In 1919, Ćorović became a professor of history at Belgrade University. His research and publishing was focused on Serbian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian history. He died in Greece in an airplane accident while trying, with other Serbian high officials, to escape the country a few days after it was attacked by Adolf Hitler's forces.

COUNCIL OF THE CONGRESS OF BOSNIAC INTELLECTUALS/VIJEĆE KONGRESA BOŠNJAČKIH INTELEKTUALACA (VKBI). About 800 Bosniac/Muslim intellectuals met in **Sarajevo** on 22 December 1992 to discuss the war situation and the fate of the **Bosniacs** in the country. Besides issuing a declaration of their vision of a free and Democratic Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, the Congress formed a Council of the Congress of Bosniac Intellectuals and assigned it the "mission of creating conditions in which the Bosniacs alone will decide their fate." Its role is to find the best ways for national and social advancement of the Bosniac people in the future. For that purpose, the council organizes various public forums and publishes books dealing with the history and culture of the Bosniacs and Bosnia and Herzegovina in general. It also gives monetary rewards for the best published works in Bosniac studies and scholarships to students working on dissertations in that field.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** is the executive branch of the national **government**. This collective body corresponds to the office of a prime minister in other countries. The chair of the Council of Ministers is nominated

by the **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina and confirmed by the House of Representatives in Sarajevo. Once confirmed, the chair nominates the heads of various ministries (foreign affairs, foreign **trade** and economic relations, finances and treasury, communications and transportation, civil affairs, **human rights** and **refugees**, justice, security, and defense), and they have to be confirmed by the House of Representatives. The chair and ministers make up the Council of Ministers. A maximum of two-thirds of ministers may come from the **Federation**. The council reports to the House of Representatives and can be dissolved by a vote of nonconfidence in the House. *See also* ELECTIONS; PARLIAMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES.

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE SERVICE/KONTRA OBAVJEŠTAJNA SLUŽBA (KOS). The main intelligence service of the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** and the most powerful guardian of socialist **Yugoslavia** and its Communist regime. Its significance came to prominence in the mid-1960s when KOS discovered that the country's main internal security agency, the **State Security Administration (UDBA)** and its head, vice president Aleksandar Ranković, had been spying on **Tito** himself. KOS was the main instrument in Tito's handling of all nationalist and liberal forces in the country, especially in the brutal crushing of the Croatian Spring in December of 1971. After Tito's death, KOS's loyalty was shifting more and more toward the advocates of Serbian centralism and, by the end of the 1980s, KOS's leadership was closely tied to Serbian president **Slobodan Milošević** and his aggressive Serbian nationalism. It was no accident that Col. Gen. Marko Negovanović, the head of KOS before the 1991 war, was made Serbia's defense minister.

The network of KOS members was a major problem for the **Croats** and **Muslims** in their struggle against the **Serbs** and the JNA, especially at the beginning of the last war. *See also* INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES.

CROAT DEFENSE COUNCIL/HRVATSKO VIJEĆE OBRANE (HVO). A self-defense military formation among the **Croats** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** established on 8 April 1992. Because the Muslim-dominated **Sarajevo government** ignored the Serbian aggression in Croatia and because it did not make the necessary

preparations for the defense of the country, Bosnia and Herzegovina's Croats, especially in **Herzegovina** and **Posavina**, began self-organizing a few months before the Bosnia and Herzegovina war officially began, especially after Serb and Montenegrin forces destroyed the Croat village of Ravno in Herzegovina in September 1991. The existing **Territorial Defense (TO)** formations were used to organize the HVO in predominantly Croat communities. In some places the HVO organized its own structures and forces parallel to the existing TO. It is estimated that about 13 percent of HVO soldiers, including some officers, were Muslim until clashes between Croats and Muslims started in the second half of 1992. The HVO was organized into four operation zones: southeastern Herzegovina, northwestern Herzegovina, central Bosnia, and the Bosanska Posavina zone. It had about 40 to 60 tanks, 500 artillery pieces, 150 air-defense portable weapon systems, and 40,000 soldiers.

After the foundation of the Croat Community of Bosanska Posavina and the Croat Community of **Herceg-Bosna** (November 1992), and later the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna (August 1993), the HVO became the military arm of the main Croat political formation in the country, the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**.

The HVO's relation to the **Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH)** was not consistent. While in some places, namely in central Bosnia and **Mostar**, the two fought an open war, in other regions, like Posavina and western Bosnia, they cooperated and even fought as allies against the **Serbs**. After the war, the HVO remained as a legitimate military formation in the Bosniac-Croat **Federation**. *See also* ARMY OF THE SERB REPUBLIC.

CROATIAN DEFENSE FORCES/HRVATSKE OBRAMBENE SNAGE (HOS). Militia of the **Croatian Party of Right (HSP)**. It fought the Serb aggression in Croatia, and then its units moved to Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in 1992. The HOS fought for the preservation of the Bosnia and Herzegovina state, and it was recognized as a legitimate part of Bosnia and Herzegovina's armed forces. A number of Muslims joined its ranks. However, once the Croat-Muslim military clashes began, the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)** leadership decided to crush this parallel Croat military formation. The HOS commander, Gen. Blaž Kraljević, and eight of his companions were

assassinated in the village of Kruševo near **Mostar** on 9 August 1992. The HOS units were disbanded or incorporated into **Croat Defense Council (HVO)** formations. *See also* ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION/HRVATSKA DEMOKRATSKA ZAJEDNICA (HDZ). Dominant party among Bosnia and **Herzegovina's Croats**. It began as a national political movement founded in Zagreb in June 1989. **Franjo Tuđman**, later president of the Republic of Croatia, became its leader and president. The HDZ won the first post-Communist era elections in Croatia in April 1990. The HDZ for Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded in August 1990. It became an offshoot of the main party in Croatia and, as such, it became subservient to Zagreb politics. The first president of the HDZ in Bosnia and Herzegovina was Davor Perinović. He was replaced by **Stjepan Kljuić** in September 1990. Because Kljuić's political stance regarding the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina differed from those of the party bosses in Zagreb, he was forced to resign in January 1992. His successor, **Mate Boban**, represented the so-called Herzegovinian wing of the party and became instrumental in implementing Tuđman's policies toward Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Initially, the HDZ cooperated with the leading Muslim **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, and together they laid the foundations for Bosnia's independence. The HDZ's main goals were to secure individual civil and Croat national rights in order to be equal partners with the **Muslims** and **Serbs**. The Serbian conquest of 70 percent of the land, and peace plans that envisioned a division of Bosnia and Herzegovina along ethnic lines, contributed greatly to a year-long Muslim-Croat struggle for the remaining 30 percent of the country. A constructive shift in the HDZ policy toward Muslims and the Bosnia and Herzegovina state came when Croats and Muslims under U.S. pressure agreed to create a common **Federation**. This deal was sealed by the **Washington Agreement** on 18 March 1994. Because Boban was seen as an obstacle to the settlement, he was removed from his position of power, and the party began a cautious rapprochement with the ruling SDA. In the post-Dayton era, the HDZ has been a junior partner to the SDA and the two have dominated the political scene in the Federation, excluding a brief interruption during the 2001–2002

period, when the so-called nonnationalist coalition parties controlled the **government**. The HDZ's relation with Zagreb was shaken in 1998, when Ante Jelavić was elected leader of the party instead of Tuđman's candidate, Božo Ljubić. The first represented the more radical Herzegovinian faction, and the other the pro-**Sarajevo** wing of the party that Zagreb wanted to encourage. Although an effort was made to reconcile the two factions, the result was that the more moderate HDZ faction, gathered around **Krešimir Zubak**, split from it and formed its own political party, the New Croat Initiative/Nova Hrvatska Inicijativa (NHI).

In the October 2002 national **elections**, the HDZBiH, with its junior partners, won 9.5 percent of the popular vote and five out of 42 seats in the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 16 out of 140 seats in the House of Representatives of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the eve of the 2006 national elections, the HDZ underwent internal disputes and, out of that conflict, emerged a splinter party, HDZ-1990. Because of the split, the new (2006) Croat member of the **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina was elected not by the Croats, but by supporters of the Social Democratic Party. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

CROATIAN MUSLIM DEMOCRATIC PARTY/HRVATSKA MUSLIMANSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA (HMDS). A political party of Muslim Croats formed under the leadership of Mirsad Bakšić in 1991. It opposed the (Muslim) **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, and it claims to represent all **Muslims** who live in or are originally from Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Most **Bosnian Muslim** (Bosniac) nationalists see those who identify as **Croats** of Islamic faith as traitors. The party disappeared from Bosnia and Herzegovina's political scene during the 1992–1995 war.

CROATIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL/HRVATSKO NARODNO VIJEĆE. A loose political alliance that was established in February 1994 by some leading **Croat** intellectuals, church and cultural leaders mainly from Bosnia, who did not agree with the politics of the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**, the leading Croat political party, regarding the fate of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. A major gathering (*sabor*) of prominent Croats was held in **Sarajevo** on 6 February

1994, and one of the results of the assembly was the formation of the Council. Its achievements, however, did not attain the lofty goals set at the founding meeting. *See also* KOMŠIĆ, IVO.

CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHT/HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA (HSP). A Croatian political party formed in the middle of the 19th century. It emphasizes the continuity of Croatia's statehood since medieval times and the historical rights of the Croatian people to their independence. Its founder was Ante Starčević (1823–1896), known as the "Father of the Croatian nation."

In the post-Communist era, the party was revived in Croatia and in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Its military arm, the **Croatian Defense Forces (HOS)**, was active in the struggle against the Serbian aggression in Croatia and then in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides the **Croats**, the HOS attracted many **Bosnian Muslim** fighters in Bosnia, especially during 1992. Although the Party of Right traditionally claimed that Bosnia and Herzegovina was a historic Croatian land, it stood for the preservation of the Bosnian state and for a close alliance between the Croats and the **Muslims** against their common enemy. However, the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**, the ruling party in Croatia and the leading party among the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, could tolerate neither a parallel Croat military force nor the Party of Right's stand on Bosnia and Herzegovina; it therefore forced the HOS to disband its military units. The leader of the HOS in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Blaž Kraljević, and eight of his soldiers, were ambushed and killed by Croat forces loyal to the HDZ. The end of the HOS and internal dissension weakened the HSP both in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Lately, however, the HSP has been gaining some popularity at the expense of the HDZ. *See also* ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

CROATIAN PEASANT PARTY/HRVATSKA SELJAČKA STRANKA (HSS). Founded in Croatia (1904) it became the largest Croatian party in the period between the two world wars. Its leader, Stjepan Radić, and his closest associates were shot in Belgrade's parliament by a Serb representative in 1928. In 1939, Vlatko Maček, Radić's successor, made an agreement (*Sporazum*) with the Belgrade regime by which Croatia became a self-governing political unit

(*banovina*) within **Yugoslavia**. The Croatian *banovina* included parts of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The HSS was revived in Croatia after the collapse of Communism. A party under the same name was organized in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993. Its leader was **Ivo Komšić**, a former member of the Bosnian **presidency**. In the September 1996 **elections**, this small party joined a coalition (United List BiH) with four smaller parties in Bosnia. In the last national elections (October 2002), the HSS won one out of 140 seats in the House of Representatives of the **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, but no seats in the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At present, its president is Marko Tadić. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

CROATS. A Slavic people living in present-day Croatia, partly in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, and as a minority in a number of countries. While Croatian ethnic communities that live in Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Serbia (Vojvodina), Romania, and Italy date from the centuries of the **Ottoman** invasions, the Croats in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South America, and a number of countries in Western Europe have immigrated in more recent history.

The origins and name of the Croats are still debatable among scholars. According to the currently dominant hypothesis, the original homeland of the Croats was in ancient Persia where their name (Harauvatiš) is listed among 23 peoples ruled by Emperor Darius the Great (522–486 BC). There are also other political, religious, linguistic, social, and historical indicators that give credence to this theory. Historical evidence suggests that Croats lived in the region of the Black Sea at the beginning of the third century AD and from there migrated in the direction of the Carpathian Mountains, where they absorbed the culture of the indigenous Slavic people. They eventually established their state, known in history as White Croatia, in the region of present-day southeastern Poland. Today's city of Cracow was its political center.

The beginning of the seventh century marks a new era of Croat history, which began when the Croats, as allies of the Byzantine emperor in his efforts to defeat the invading **Avars**, arrived on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea. At first, they were caught between the two European superpowers, the Frankish and Byzantine empires, but by the ninth century Croats were able to assert

their independence. The growth of their own political and religious cohesiveness and the power vacuum that appeared in the region because of Frankish disunity and Byzantine preoccupation with the Bulgarians, provided the Croats with the opportunity to become an independent medieval nation. They received Christianity in the middle of the seventh century from Rome and came under the Western cultural sphere. Duke Branimir (879–892) was already an independent ruler, but Tomislav became the first Croatian king in 925. In 1102, Croatia entered into a personal union with the Hungarian Kingdom, but in 1527 the Croats elected the **Habsburgs** as their monarchs, as did the Hungarians and a number of other peoples in the region in a common struggle against the invading Ottomans. The union with the Habsburgs lasted until 1918, when the Croats became a part of the Kingdom of the **Serbs**, Croats, and Slovenes (known as **Yugoslavia** from 1929), which was ruled by the Karađorđević dynasty of Serbia. Because of Serbian domination of the country and national inequality, the Croats were soon alienated in the new state and pursued their own national independence. *See also* CATHOLIC CHURCH; ELECTIONS; FRANCISCANS; LITERATURE, POLITICAL PARTIES; POPULATION.

CURRENCY. During the first decade of independence, various currencies were used in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, including the Yugoslav dinar (1991–1992) and Bosnia and Herzegovina's dinar (1992–1998), but only in the areas that were not under Serb control. Those areas used the Yugoslav dinar for a while and then introduced the **Serb Republic** dinar. The areas under Croat control used at first the Croatian dinar and then the Croatian kuna. However, the German mark was the preferred currency throughout the country. In 1998, the convertible mark (KM) became currency for the entire country, and it was convertible to the German mark until 2002, when the deutschmark was replaced by the euro.

CYRILLIC ALPHABET. A script named after St. Cyril (826–869), who, together with his brother Methodius (820–885), went from Salonica in Greece to preach the gospel among the Slavs in Moravia. The script is used today by the Orthodox Slavs. Scholars disagree on its medieval origin. Most probably it was introduced in Bulgaria by the

disciples of the holy brothers. A version of Cyrillic writing was used in medieval Bosnia, known, among other names, as *bosančica*. Serbian Cyrillic is used in modern Bosnia and **Herzegovina** by the **Serbs**, but during the Yugoslav period, the children of other nationalities were required to learn and use the script, too. *See also* LITERATURE.

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DANI/DAYS. An independent weekly in **Sarajevo**. It began as *Bosnia-Herzegovina Dani* in late 1992, then *Bosnia-Herzegovina Ratni Dani* (B-H War Days), and finally *Dani*. The financial backing for the publication came from Alija Delimustafić, a former Communist entrepreneur, a leading member of the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, and minister of the interior until 1992. Because of his break with the SDA leadership, he went to live in Austria but continued to support publication of the magazine. Its director is Senad Pečanin. *Dani* is considered the most independent voice in the country. It received an award from the Alliance of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**'s journalists as the best newspaper in the country in 1993, and the "Olof Palme" award in 1998. The paper is supported by the Helsinki Committee for **Human Rights**, Press Now, and the George Soros's Open Society Fund. *See also* MEDIA.

DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS. On 21 November 1995, after three weeks of negotiations, President **Alija Izetbegović** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, **Franjo Tuđman** of Croatia, and **Slobodan Milošević** of Serbia, initialed a peace agreement, with 11 annexes, at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. The agreement marked the end of four years of fighting and atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Milošević negotiated on behalf of the **Serbs**, Tuđman represented the **Croats**, and Izetbegović represented the **Bosnian Muslims**. The treaty was negotiated under strong pressure from the United States and its chief negotiator in the former **Yugoslavia**, Assistant Secretary of State **Richard C. Holbrooke**.

According to the treaty, Bosnia remained a sovereign state and maintained its internationally recognized borders, but was divided

into two entities—the (Muslim–Croat) **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina**, with control of 51 percent of the territory, and the **Serb Republic**, dominating the remainder. According to the treaty, the central **government** consists of a collective three-person **presidency**—one elected by direct vote in the Serb Republic and two in the Federation, with a bicameral **parliament** consisting of a 15-person upper chamber and a 42-person lower house. The former are to be selected from the assemblies of the districts and the latter by direct **elections** from the two parts of the country. The central government also includes a constitutional court and a central bank. The responsibilities of the central government include foreign policy, foreign **trade**, customs, immigration, monetary policy, international law enforcement, communications, transportation, and air traffic control. The two substates have authority over taxation, health, defense, internal affairs, justice, energy and **industry**, commerce, traffic and internal communications, **agriculture**, **education**, city planning, resources, and the environment.

On the land divisions between the two entities, the agreement stipulated that **Sarajevo** is to be united and part of the Federation; the Muslim enclave of Goražde is to be linked by a land corridor to the Federation; the final status of the town of **Brčko**, held at the time by the Serbs, was to be determined by arbitration; the Croat forces were to yield Mrkonjić Grad to the Serb Republic, and other territorial adjustments were to be made. Bosnian Croats, in a separate agreement with the Muslim-led government, agreed to eliminate the institution of **Herceg-Bosna**, a Croat political entity established during the war, and to form a joint command between Muslim and Croat military forces.

The agreement also provided that all foreign forces leave Bosnia and Herzegovina within 30 days and that the two sides move their forces behind the division lines between the two political entities and a two-kilometer-wide zone of separation established on both sides of the line. All heavy weapons were to be withdrawn to barracks within 120 days after the agreement was initialed. Free elections were to take place within six to nine months for all elective offices on state and local levels. **Refugees** were guaranteed the legal right to return to their homes and also the right to vote in the next election at the place where they lived before the war. **Human rights** were to be guaran-

teed and watched over by a commission on human rights, consisting of an ombudsman and a human rights chamber. Furthermore, war criminals were not to be allowed to hold public office, and the parties agreed to cooperate fully with the international investigation and prosecution of war crimes.

The Dayton agreement provided for a deployment of the peace **Implementation Force (IFOR)**, consisting of a 60,000-member international force led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to keep peace in the country. The IFOR was given authority to arrest indicted war criminals, but its responsibilities did not include tracking them down. In contrast to the limited rules of engagement that regulated the **United Nations** peacekeepers' operation in Bosnia during the war, the IFOR could use decisive force against anyone violating the cease-fire agreement.

The Dayton Peace Accords were formally signed in Paris on 14 December 1995, in a ceremony attended by, among others, President Bill Clinton of the United States, President Jacques Chirac of France, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, Prime Minister John Major of Great Britain, and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia.

As a result of the signing of the agreement, the UN Security Council suspended its economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro (22 November 1995) and also voted to lift the **arms embargo** against all former Yugoslav republics, commencing in March of 1996.

The portion of the accords that dealt with military questions was clearly defined and firmly implemented. The **International Military Force** and its successor forces was guaranteed the necessary military might and legal power to carry out the agreed-to mission. To the joy and amazement of many, the guns were silenced permanently. On the other hand, the portion of the accords that dealt with constitutional questions and civil life was and continues to be a stone around the neck of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is a country with three officially recognized constituent peoples but divided into two proportional entities. An almost "pure" ethnic Serb Republic (RS) continues its separatist policies. The Federation of Bosniacs/Muslims and Croats is divided into 10 semiautonomous cantons. The area of Brčko is a self-contained republic of sorts, and **Mostar** is under the direct supervision of the European Union. Bosnia and Herzegovina—a country of 14 constitutions, 14 governments, and 180 ministers—re-

mains a huge, unresolved question under neocolonial foreign rule. It is not clear whether the Dayton Accords were the start of a better future or the beginning of the end for Bosnia and Herzegovina. At present, some constitutional changes are in the making, but they are superficial and not substantial in nature. Many observers inside and outside the country believe that the imposed, unjust, and unratified Dayton treaty must be terminated and replaced by a new, just, and functional constitutional arrangement if Bosnia and Herzegovina is to move forward and eventually join Euro-Atlantic institutions. *See also* GOVERNMENT.

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE/DEMOKRATSKI NARODNI SAVEZ (DNS). A minor Serb political party formed in June 2000. It won three seats in the National Assembly of the **Serb Republic** in 2000 and again in 2002. In the 2006 **elections**, it won four seats at the same assembly and one seat at the House of Representatives of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in **Sarajevo**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

DERVISH ORDERS. Sunni (traditional) **Islam** took hold in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in the 15th century. But in Bosnia, as well as in other parts of the **Ottoman Empire**, besides the Sunni *ulema* (orthodox religious/learned leaders), there were a number of heterodox religious organizations. These were dervish orders that stemmed from different mystical movements in the Middle East, known as Sufism. A certain lifestyle, or *tariqat* (path of behavior and action), as mandated by the founder of the order, was required from the members so they might gradually achieve a mystical union with the Creator. The human soul separated from its divine origin, according to such teachings, has to return to and be united with its source. Orders had religious centers (*tekke* or *tekija*) headed by spiritual masters (*şeyh*, *pir*, or *baba*). The founders of the orders were venerated as special friends of God, like Christian saints, and their burial places became centers of very important significance for their followers.

The earliest *tekkes* in Bosnia were established in the middle of the 15th century in today's **Sarajevo**. It is believed that followers of the Naqshibandi order (Nakšibendije), named after its "second founder," Bahaudin Naqshibandi (d. 1389), were the first Sufis to

come to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their Bosnian beginnings most probably can be traced to the Naqshibandi *seyh-gazis*, accompanying and inspiring the Ottoman armies to fight for their faith against the infidels. This order was popularized by Skender-Pasha Jurišić (or Jurišević), who participated in the occupation of Bosnia in 1463 and later became one of the most powerful men in the empire. He built a major Naqshibandi *tekke* in Sarajevo at the end of the 15th century and enriched it with a significant religious charity foundation (*vakuf* or *vakif*). Most probably, he himself belonged to this order. Besides a few *tekkes* in Sarajevo, other Naqshibandi centers existed in **Mostar**, Fojnica, Visoko, Travnik, Foča, and near Konjic.

Isa-bey Išaković, an Ottoman frontier military leader in the **Balkans** in the mid-15th century, built the first *tekke* for a popular Turkish Mevlevi order (Mevlevije), the Whirling Dervishes, in Bosnia. They were the followers of a 13th-century Seljuk mystic poet, Celaluddin Rumi (1207–1273). The remnants of this order survived in Bosnia and Herzegovina until the beginning of the 20th century.

A third major dervish order established in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the Halveti order (Halvetije), founded by Abu Abdulah Sarajudin Omer “Halwat” at the end of the 14th century. The followers of this order emphasized asceticism. Already in the first half of the 16th century, this order appeared in Sarajevo and later in Mostar, Travnik, and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Gazi Husrev-beg**, a well-known governor of the Bosnian *sandžak* (district) who governed several times between 1521 and 1541, built in Sarajevo, along with a mosque and a theology school (*medrese*), a dwelling and **education** center (*hanekah*) for dervishes. According to his wishes, the head of the center had to be from the Halveti order. Husrev-beg himself probably belonged to this order. Other Halveti centers were founded in Travnik, **Višegrad**, Rudo, Bijeljina, **Tuzla**, Konjic, Blagaj, and Prusac.

The Kadirije (Qadiriyya) was another major dervish movement that spread in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was founded by Abdul-Kadir al Gilani, who died in 1166. There were probably some followers of this order in Bosnia from the beginning of Turkish rule there, but its *tekkes* spread only during the 16th and 17th centuries. Its major centers were in Sarajevo, Travnik, **Jajce**, and Zvornik.

In the 16th century, a special branch of the Melami order evolved in Bosnia, known as Hamzawi Melami, after its founder Hamza Bali. Sheikh Hamza was born in the village of Orlovići, district of Zvornik. He became renowned for his asceticism and religious dedication. However, he came in conflict with the orthodox establishment and was condemned as a heretic. He was executed in Istanbul in 1574, and the Hamzawi order was banned.

These and other dervish orders played a major role in the religious, social, and cultural developments among the Muslim **population** in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many of their members were educators, writers, or religious and moral teachers who exerted a lasting influence on Bosnian society and culture.

Although dervish orders were officially banned and the *tekke* were closed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1952, Islamic mysticism and the orders themselves were not completely crushed. On the contrary, the dervish lifestyle in Bosnia, and in the former **Yugoslavia** as a whole, began to flourish in the early 1970s. By 1974, the Islamic orders in Yugoslavia felt strong enough to establish the Alliance of Islamic Dervish Orders Alijja in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Savez Islamskih Derviških Redova Alijje u SFRJ-SIDRA). In 1978, the name was changed to Community of Islamic Dervish Orders Alijja (Zajednica Islamskih Derviških Redova Alijje-ZIDRA). Twelve recognized dervish orders made up the organization. They published the *Bulletin* as their official voice. The official Muslim authority (Rijaset) in the country was opposed to this parallel religious organization, but, after initial difficulties, relations were normalized between the two sides. It is estimated that in 1986 there were 50 thousand dervish followers in the former Yugoslavia. However, most of them were Albanian Muslims. Out of the existing 70 *tekkes* in the country at the time, 53 were in Kosovo, 10 in Macedonia, and only seven in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Although most of the *tekkes* in Bosnia and Herzegovina were destroyed during the 1992–1995 war, the interest in Sufism among the **Bosnian Muslims** is quickly rising. Many dervish orders are being revitalized. The Nakšibendiye, Kadirije, and Halvetije are among the most popular, while the others (Bektašije, Mevlevije, Rifaije, Melamiye, and Nuriye) are also reestablishing their presence in the country. A number of leading Bosniac political leaders have joined

the growing dervish movement, especially the Nakšibendije. Some of the Bosnian dervish groups are under the guidance of non-Bosnian sheikhs, like Nazim Adil El-Haqqani from Cyprus.

DIVJAK, JOVO (1937–). Retired general in the **Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH)** and former deputy chief of staff of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's Armed Forces of Serb nationality. He left the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** in 1992 and helped to organize the first defense of **Sarajevo**. His role in the Bosnian army eventually became decorative in nature. Divjak helped portray the image of the ARBiH as being multinational in nature and not solely a **Bosniac**/Muslim force. Divjak was also founder of a charitable organization for orphans. He is a member of the **Serb Civic Council (SGV)** in Bosnia and Herzegovina, an organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina's **Serbs** who did not follow the ideology and war efforts of Serb separatists.

DIVKOVIĆ, MATIJA (1563–1631). **Franciscan** priest, theologian, educator, and writer. Details of his life are not known, except that he was born in Jelaška near Vareš, became a Franciscan, served in **Sarajevo**, lived in the monastery in Kreševo, and died in the monastery in Olovo. It is presumed with reasonable certainty that he studied in Italy, because he was fluent in the Italian and Latin languages and was very familiar with the current religious and cultural trends in the West. Divković's literary activity was oriented mainly toward educating his **Catholic** folk in their religious beliefs, as inspired by the Council of Trent. He compiled, translated, and prepared for print books that would help his people follow the current Church teachings. However, he also published books of poetry and drama that were selected from the Croatian (Dalmatia and Dubrovnik) literary tradition. His books were printed in *bosančica* script and in a mixture of *ijekavina* and *ikavian* dialect. They were very popular and had major linguistic and orthographic influence on literary developments in 17th- and 18th-century Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and Croatian **literature** in general.

DIZDAR, MAK/MEHMEDALIJA (1917–1971). This well-known poet was born in Stolac (**Herzegovina**). He received his primary

education in his native town and his secondary education in **Sarajevo**. After World War II, he was editor of the official Yugoslav news agency TANJUG and various papers, including the leading Sarajevo daily *Oslobođenje/Liberation*. From 1964 until his death, he edited the Sarajevo literary journal *Život/Life*. It was under his editorial tenure that the journal attained prominence in cultural circles.

Dizdar's first book of poetry was published in 1936. During the war and the immediate postwar era, he remained quiet. Only after the constraints of socialist realism began to crack did he begin to publish again. Although his works from the mid-1950s and early 1960s were well accepted by literary critics, his collection of poems, entitled *Kameni spavač/Lapidary Sleeper*, was acclaimed as his most successful literary accomplishment. In this collection, Dizdar plunged to the depths of the suffering soul of his homeland and its tragic history as recorded in epigrams on medieval tombstones (**stećci**). In this collection, he succeeded in harmonizing the universal impulses of human existence with the tragic destiny of his native land, which emanated through the sayings and epigrams on giant tombstones that bore witness to an enigmatic past. *See also* LITERATURE.

DIZDAREVIĆ, RAIF (1926–). Leading Bosniac political figure and a high-ranking Communist Party official in the former **Yugoslavia**. Born in the town of Fojnica, he joined the Communist-led partisan movement in 1943. From the end of World War II until the collapse of Yugoslavia, he held various party and state positions, including president of the **presidency** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** (1978–1982), president of the Federal Assembly (1982–1983), minister of foreign affairs (1984–1988), and president of the presidency of Yugoslavia (1988–1989). Presently, he lives in **Sarajevo**.

DNEVNI LIST/DAILY GAZETTE. A daily newspaper published in **Mostar** since 2001. It serves mainly the **Herzegovina** region. *See also* MEDIA.

DOMINICANS. At the request of Pope Gregory IX, St. Dominic sent (1221) a few of his friars, led by a certain Paul from Dalmatia, to the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom to preach among the pagans and heretics. The oldest preserved document that mentions Dominican

presence in Bosnia is a letter from Gregory IX (1233), which indicates that, at the time, the friar's preachers had a monastery in Bosnia and that they had converted some high-ranking nobility, including **Ban** Matija Ninoslav and his cousin, to Catholicism. Other evidence shows that the Friars founded another monastery, built numerous churches, including the cathedral of St. Peter "on the Hill of **Vrh-bosna**" (near today's **Sarajevo**), gave to Bosnia several bishops, and were successful in their work among the Bosnian Christians. Among the best known Dominican names that served in medieval Bosnia were John of Wildeshausen (1180–1252), a famous preacher, diplomat, and for a while bishop of Bosnia, and Toma Tomasini, bishop of Hvar in Croatia, who served as papal legate (1439–1461) to Bosnia. Dominicans in general, and especially those serving in higher church offices, were crucial in preserving and strengthening Catholicism in the country, particularly by converting to Catholicism and/or strengthening the faith of some leading noble families, including key members of the ruling Kotromanić dynasty.

Opposition to Dominican activities came from followers of the **Bosnian Church**, but not only for religious reasons. Their presence and work tended to be seen as a covert political mission in the expansionist efforts of the Hungarian-Croatian kings. A number of Dominicans, who were caught up between political reality and religious zeal, paid with their lives. The Mongol invasion (1241) gave a severe blow to the Dominicans and the **Catholic Church** in Bosnia. A number of friars were killed, religious houses and many churches were destroyed, and the Bosnian bishop, who was also a Dominican, left the country. However, the main reason for the Dominicans' disappearance from Bosnia and **Herzegovina** was a struggle with the **Franciscans** at the beginning of the 14th century. They were pushed out of the country, but shortly reappeared in the middle of the 15th century. In 1975, however, a new Dominican presence in the country was established in the city of **Zenica**.

DONJI KRAJI/LOWER REGIONS. The medieval name for the region of Bosnia west of Vranica Mountain around the upper flows of the Vrbas and Sana Rivers. The following counties (*župe*) were included in this district: Uskoplje (around present-day Gornji and Donji Vakuf), Luka (east of the town of **Jajce** on the east banks of

the river Vrbas), Pliva (on the west bank of the river Vrbas around the river Pliva), Zemljanik (both sides of the river Vrbas around the town of Bočac), Vrbanja (around present-day Kotor Varoš), Banica (around the town of **Ključ**), and a small *župa* Lušci (west of *župa* Pliva).

The region of Donji Kraji was under the domain of the Croatian kings. But after the native dynasty died out, the district exchanged hands many times. The Bosnian **Ban Kulin** extended his rule over these districts at the end of the 12th century. The powerful Hrvatinić family had possessions in the region, and the best-known member of the family, **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić**, became the most powerful nobleman in Bosnia and Croatia at the beginning of the 15th century.

DOZO, HUSEJIN (1912–1982). A **Bosnian Muslim** Islamic scholar. He studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo and, after returning to Bosnia in 1939, he became a *medrese* professor in **Sarajevo**. Through his activities and because of pressure from a number of Muslim countries, the Theological Faculty in Sarajevo was opened in 1977. He was also the editor of the Muslim monthly ***Preporod/Rebirth***. Dozo was removed from the editorial board by the regime in 1979. For his scholarly achievements, he became a member of the Egyptian Academy. *See also* BOSNIACS; ISLAM.

DRAGIŠIĆ, JURAJ (c. 1445–1520). Known also as Georgius Benignus. He was born in **Srebrenica**. Because of the Turkish occupation of Bosnia (1463), he escaped his native land, entered the **Franciscan** Order, and studied at the best European universities at the time. Dragišić was a lecturer in philosophy and theology, as well as a private educator of the children of Lorenzo Medici, including the future Pope Leo X. He also served as a papal envoy and authored several books in Latin, including *Correctio erroris* (1514), in which he suggested a reform of the Julian calendar that was implemented by the Pope Gregory XIII in 1582.

Dragišić was a well-known figure among the European humanists of his time and a promoter of individual and academic freedom. Thus, he was one of the few who defended scholars like Girolamo Savonarola and Johannes Reuchlin. He himself came under suspicion

of the Inquisition, and Erasmus of Rotterdam came to his defense. After living in Italy for 30 years, Dragišić returned to Dubrovnik (Ragusa), where he taught philosophy and theology. In 1507, Pope Julius II made him bishop of Cagli (Umbria), and in that capacity he participated in the fifth Lateran council. In 1513, he became titular archbishop of Nazareth, residing in Barletta, where he died in 1520. *See also* CATHOLIC CHURCH.

DRAŠKOVIĆ, VUK (1946–). Serbian politician. Presently, he is the minister of foreign affairs of Serbia and Montenegro. After finishing law school (1968), he became a journalist and then a professional writer. His writings, including the novel *Nož/The Knife*, were inspired mainly by his anti-Muslim and anti-Croat feelings. His works became a major source of growing Serbian nationalism in the 1980s. Although a former Communist Party member, Drašković founded an extremist nationalist political party, **Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)**, in 1990. It claimed to be the true successor of the Serbian *Četnik* movement from World War II. The SPO formed its own paramilitary formation, the Serbian Guard (Srpska Garda), to fight in Croatia and Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Although Drašković came into political conflict with **Slobodan Milošević** and tried to portray his party as a democratic force opposed to the ruling Serbian Socialist Party, his contributions to the growth of Serbian nationalist euphoria and the involvement of his militia in **ethnic cleansing** were an important part of Serbian aggression from 1991 to 1995. By the end of 1993, he began to condemn the atrocities committed by the **Serbs**, blaming other leaders or militias for such deeds, but he continued to advocate the creation of a Greater Serbia. In 1996, Drašković helped to form the opposition alliance *Zajedno/Together*. In 1998, however, he was again in a coalition with Milošević, and in 1999, he was in opposition once more. His political support in Serbia is insignificant in numbers, but his few votes are necessary for the ruling coalition at the present time to stay in power.

DUČIĆ, JOVAN (1871–1943). Serbian politician and writer from **Herzegovina**. He was born in Trebinje and finished secondary school in **Mostar** and **Sarajevo**. After graduating from a teacher's college, he taught at several places in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to

further his education, he studied law in Geneva and Paris, where he received a degree in jurisprudence. After that, he went to Serbia and became a diplomat, representing Belgrade's government in various foreign capitals: Sofia, Rome, Athens, Madrid, Cairo, and so on. During World War II, he ended up in the United States, where he became an active member of the **Četnik** movement.

Dučić began getting involved in literary activity in his youth. He was one of the founders of the Serb literary magazine *Zora/Dawn* in Mostar (1896), and he wrote in various literary forms, especially poetry, essays, and travel logs. Besides influences from Serbian literary tradition, his writings reflect contemporary European literary fashions and, contrary to his political nationalist Serb collectivism, they value individualism. *See also* LITERATURE.

DURAKOVIĆ, NIJAZ (1949–). He served as president of the **Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDPBiH)** (1991–1997) and as member of the **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1993–1995). Duraković was born in the town of Stolac and received his higher **education** at the University of **Sarajevo**, specializing in nationalism. After finishing his studies, he became a professor at the same university and has published a number of books, including *The Curse of the Muslims*.

From his young days, Duraković was an activist in the Yugoslav Communist Party and served at the top of its leadership. He was also a member of the collective presidency in the former **Yugoslavia**. From 1988 to 1991, he was president of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina-Party for Democratic Change. The party, however, changed its name (1991) to the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDPBiH). Duraković has left the SDPBiH and joined the **Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH)**. He is a professor at Sarajevo University.

DURĐEV, BRANISLAV (1908–1993). Serb historian. Born in Srijemski Karlovci, he was educated in the fields of history and Oriental languages at the University of Belgrade, where he received a doctorate in 1952. On the eve of World War II, he became the head of the **Land Museum** in **Sarajevo** and resumed the same position after the war. In 1950, he became a professor at the University of Sarajevo.

He specialized in studies of the history of Montenegro, Serbia, and **Serbs** in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** during the **Ottoman** era. One of his major works deals with the role of the Serbian church among the Serbs. He died in Novi Sad.

– E –

ECONOMY. Only about a third of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** is arable. Much of the cultivated land is scattered in mountainous or rocky terrain and is therefore not very productive. The Sava River valley (**Posavina**) is the only large region with the capacity for large-scale agricultural development. Although the country has strong industrial potential, is rich in forests and water resources, and has relatively large mineral reserves, most of the **population** has traditionally made its living as small-plot farmers. Industrial progress in the land has been stifled for centuries by various sociopolitical conditions.

A type of feudal economy and social relations lingered in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the very end of **Ottoman** rule, and in certain forms it lasted until the end of World War I. During the Ottoman centuries, especially during the empire's decline, most of the country's natural resources were not exploited. Even pre-Ottoman **mining** and smelting had mostly died out by the end of Ottoman rule. The overwhelming majority of people lived as serfs working for Muslim landowners. Heavy assessments on peasants' annual yields and other burdens hindered all incentives to make agricultural improvements that would, in return, stimulate production and initiate processes of economic and social transformation. Only in the middle of the 19th century were there individual efforts toward economic modernization. But these did not have an impact on the Bosnia and Herzegovina's economy as a whole.

With the coming of **Austro-Hungarian** rule, Bosnia and Herzegovina entered a new era of economic development. The natural resources of the country and various government concessions attracted investments from other parts of the empire. The main industrial orientation was toward exploitation of the forests and mineral reserves. Only a few years after the occupation, there were more than 120

industrial establishments with over 50,000 workers. The building of railroads, the opening of major banks, and an effort to increase **agriculture**, augmented by a more efficient bureaucracy and better educational system, helped to bring about economic advances.

These changes, however, did not have a major impact on most of the people in the country. Industrial and other economic developments, which in turn brought modernization and social changes, took place mainly in a few centers connected with a newly built railroad system. On the eve of World War I, almost 85 percent of the population still lived and worked in villages and was barely affected with the ongoing economic changes. A very high birth rate in the agricultural areas also contributed to slow economic improvement for these farmers and villages. Moreover, even during the Austro-Hungarian period, about half of the peasant population was still bound by remnants of feudalism. Despite its narrow confines and basically exploitative orientation, the economic changes brought about by the Austro-Hungarian administration did lay a foundation and set in motion the process of economic and social change in the country.

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Bosnia and Herzegovina's entry (1918) into the new South Slavic state did not result in economic improvement. The size of the market for Bosnia's raw materials or semifinished products decreased greatly, and an infusion of new capital from outside the land sharply diminished. The new country was not only smaller, but its non-Habsburg components (Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) were even less industrialized and could not be of any help to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, because of the fears of foreign competition, Belgrade had an autarkic economic orientation that had a very negative effect on the former Habsburg regions: Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These factors, heightened by political and economic instability inside and outside the country in the 1920s and 1930s, caused economic stagnation. Moreover, only people loyal to the ruling regime accumulated a certain amount of wealth by various privileges, shady bank loans, and **trade** deals. But such "entrepreneurs" were not able to establish large and viable industries that could provide employment to the ever-increasing village population. During the entire interwar period, only about 130 new industrial enterprises were started in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly in the timber in-

dustry, food processing, textiles, and metal works. In 1931, only 6.7 percent of the total population worked in industry, mining, and various trade professions. Lack of industrial development, a high birth rate, and lack of **education** forced people to stay in increasingly poorer villages.

In post–World War II **Yugoslavia**, as in all Communist-controlled countries, nationalization and socialization of the economy were implemented. Forced industrialization and limitations on land holdings were imposed. Policies of forced collectivization were enforced, but not on the same level in all parts of the country. During the first economic phase, which lasted until the early 1950s, the major emphasis was on developing heavy industrial bases, building railroads and irrigation systems, and utilizing hydro energy. Central economic planners were very ambitious at the time and projected that they would make a quick transformation from an agricultural to an industrial economy. In this early postwar period, the economic role of Bosnia and Herzegovina was seen as vital for the development of the whole country. Bosnia, with its coal and iron reserves, was to be the most important metallurgical center. **Herzegovina**, with its bauxite deposits, was to be the center of the aluminum industry. But already in the 1950s, it was clear that such high targets could not be achieved, and the planners had to look for a different road to the same socialist goals.

In the early 1950s, policies of decentralization were introduced, and various economic reforms were promulgated in the decades that followed. The Yugoslav experimentation with self-management was hailed as a way of achieving an industrial and postindustrial socialist society, which combined the best of socialism and capitalism. The economy, however, remained a tool in the hands of the Communist bureaucracy, and its fate was always bound by the needs of the Communist Party.

Although Bosnia and Herzegovina did make major economic progress in the last 50 years, its economic position in the former Yugoslavia remained precarious. The economy always remained below the Yugoslav level. The gross national product declined from 77 percent in 1952 to 66.4 percent in 1970, and in 1978 it went up to 67.4 percent in relation to the entire Yugoslav economy. Despite its natural potential, the republic continued to be an “underdeveloped”

region and had to depend on federal funds for help in capital investments. The money flowed from the richer republics of Slovenia and Croatia to the federal center, then from there to the underdeveloped regions. However, Bosnia and Herzegovina was not allotted resources according to economic needs or potential, but instead according to the sympathies of the federal bureaucrats. For example, from 1956 to 1968, Bosnia and Herzegovina received 13.72 percent and Serbia 43.48 percent of the Federal Investment Fund. From 1965 to 1970, Bosnia's share in the fund was 14.1 percent, and that of Serbia was 46.6 percent. Bosnia's credit potential in 1969 was 7.8 percent and that of Serbia was 50.3 percent.

Thus, despite socialist goals of industrialization and of transforming peasants into industrial workers, Bosnia and Herzegovina remained an agricultural land. In 1952, for example, out of every 100 residents 9.6 were industrial workers; by 1978, the ratio had increased only to 18.5 per hundred. True, the Belgrade government did develop large military industries in Bosnia, but the local people did not benefit much from such enterprises. They belonged to and were operated by the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)**, and the earnings went to the JNA, not to the republic. Only two large and successful exporting civilian companies had their headquarters in **Sarajevo**, **UNIS** and **Energoinvest**.

In order to ease economic and political tensions, the Yugoslav government began, in the mid-1960s, to export its workers to the West. Hundreds of thousands of workers found employment in Germany and other Western countries. Most of them became either permanent "guest workers" in Europe or moved to North America or Australia. A disproportionately large percentage of **Croats from Herzegovina** and from other less productive regions of Bosnia became guest workers. While the cash brought into the country by such workers did help to raise the standard of living, it did not create a stable base for significant economic progress. Because free enterprise was not permitted, most of the hard currency earned in the West was spent on better housing, cars, and equipment for tiny family farms. None of this stimulated solid economic growth in the country.

By the end of the Yugoslav period, the economy was freed from Communist Party control, and hope for a better future was raised. But the 1992–1995 war, besides death and displacement, caused the

total collapse of the economy and its infrastructure. Inflation soared. The dinar **currency** collapsed. Trade and commerce was conducted by barter or by using German *Deutsche marks* or Croatian kunas. Unemployment reached over 80 percent. Production plummeted by 80 percent from 1992 to 1995. The postwar industrial output was only 5 percent, coal and electricity production 10 percent, and livestock 30 percent of the prewar levels. In 1997–1998, about 10 percent of the population lived on an income of less than \$1.00 a day.

During the 1996–1999 period, after the fighting stopped, the gross domestic product (GDP) started to recover, thanks to foreign aid, but began to slow in the year 2000, and it remains far below the 1990 level. While trade has revived, exports cover only 10 percent of import expenses.

The post-**Dayton** division of the country has caused an uneven economic growth between the two entities. The **Federation** has been recovering much faster than the **Serb Republic (RS)**. For example, estimates are that in 1996, GDP growth was 62 percent in the Federation and 25 percent in the RS, 35 percent in the Federation and flat in the RS in 1997, and continued growth in the Federation in 1998.

A Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established in late 1997. In the same year, there were 56 banks in the country, but all of them were with small capital. **Banking** reform began in 2001, and a number of foreign banks are present in the county today. The convertible mark/konvertibilna marka, the national currency introduced in 1998, is pegged to the euro.

Some of the major problems that Bosnia and Herzegovina's economy is facing today are corruption, a substantial gray economy, a painful transition from a planned and overstaffed socialist economy to a free market, as well as breaking the political and special interest hold over the economic sector in the country.

Because each entity keeps its own economic numbers, it is hard to find reliable statistics for the country as a whole. However, there are some available statistics: GDP purchasing power \$24.39 billion (2003 est.); GDP real growth rate 3.8 percent (2003 est.); GDP per capita purchasing power \$6,100 (2003 est.); GDP composition by sector—agriculture 13 percent, industry 40.9 percent, services 46.1 percent (2001 est.); inflation rate (consumer prices) 3.5 percent (2002 est.); labor force 1.026 million (2001); unemployment rate 40 percent

(2002 est.); budget—revenues \$1.9 billion, expenditures \$2.2 billion; industrial production growth rate 5.5 percent (2003 est.); exports \$1.28 billion (2003 est.); imports \$4.7 billion (2003 est.); external debt \$2.8 billion (2001).

EDUCATION. During medieval times, the centers of learning were the monasteries. Literacy, however, was kept within church circles and regal chanceries. Although the Christian church in Bosnia belonged to the Western tradition, the old Slavonic language and the **Glagolitic script** were kept in the liturgy, as was the case in neighboring southern Croatia. For inadequacies in the knowledge of Latin and lack of up-to-date books, learning in Bosnia was isolated from the main trends in the West. With the coming of the **Franciscans**, however, the level of education increased, but the Latin language was also pushing out the native cultural heritage.

The Muslim religious schools (*mekteb* or *mektep*) were introduced soon after the **Ottoman** intrusion into Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Their main purpose was to give young children religious instruction in the Arabic language. At the end of Turkish rule, there were 499 *mektebs* in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 1878, there were 110 primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina with 5,913 students. In 1910–1911, the number of schools rose to 487 and the number of students to 42,572. The illiteracy level, however, remained extremely high. Even in 1910, for example, 88 percent of those over seven years of age were illiterate. Only every seventh male and fifteenth female were literate. Among the Muslim **population**, 5.3 percent were literate (99.7 percent of Muslim **women** were illiterate); among the Orthodox 9.9 percent, and among the Catholics 22.2 percent.

The first Orthodox schools in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** were founded toward the end of Ottoman rule. There were 56 such schools on the eve of the **Austro-Hungarian** occupation, and their number increased to 107 by 1910. They were established and supported by the local **Orthodox Church**. Textbooks and other educational assistance also came from Serbia and the **Serbs** from the **Habsburg** monarchy. The Orthodox schools in Bosnia were abolished at the beginning of World War I and were not revived after the war.

It was the Franciscan friars who sustained the seeds of learning among the **Catholics** in the country. There is evidence that their educational

efforts were a little wider in scope than the immediate church needs. The oldest monastic school from the Ottoman era dates from 1655. At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation, there were 54 Catholic schools in the country. **Women's** religious orders also had their schools. The first such school was established in 1872. Soon the nuns had the best educational system in the country. Eventually, the nuns became the educators among the Croatian Catholics in primary schools, while the Franciscans focused on secondary and higher learning.

Although a law was passed to establish state schools toward the end of the Ottoman period, they did not appear until the Austro-Hungarian occupation. However, an unusually dedicated local lady, Staka Skenderova, by permission and help of the Ottoman authorities, opened the first school (1858) for girls in Sarajevo. She was the first woman teacher in the country. Furthermore, another private school was opened in Sarajevo (1869) by two English ladies, Miss Adeline Pauline Irby and Miss Muir Mackenzie, in an attempt to provide an alternative to Muslim, Catholic, or Orthodox education. They had encouragement and financial support from governments in the West to work in Ottoman Balkan lands at the time.

During the first three years of Austro-Hungarian rule, 32 private schools were opened, with 93 opening by 1886. Besides spreading literacy among the population, the new regime wished to limit the influence of the sectarian schools and their role in national revivals of the time. Thus, there was a resistance to state schools, especially among the Muslim and Orthodox leaders. Although the number of primary schools increased, still less than 30 percent of children of school age were getting some kind of primary education on the eve of World War I.

There was also a small number of schools that were established by various ethnic communities in the country: Jewish, German, Polish, Hungarian, and others.

During the interwar period, education declined in some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Muslim and Catholic schools remained open. State schools came under Serbian control, which explains why Serb leadership did not feel the need to have separate schools of their own.

Secondary and higher levels of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina evolved very slowly. Muslim middle-level schools for training religious leaders and *mekteb* teachers were operating in Bosnia during Ottoman times. The best-known of such schools was the

Gazi Husrev-beg medrese in **Sarajevo**, which was established in 1537. At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation, there were 43 such schools in the country. In the interwar period, the number of *medrese* declined. There were also *Šeriat* schools that taught Islamic jurisprudence and Oriental languages, and *ruždije*, schools that combined primary and secondary education and offered religious and secular subjects.

Among the Orthodox, there was a “higher school” for girls. In 1866, a school for priestly vocations was opened in **Banja Luka**. After closing in 1875, it was reopened in Sarajevo (1882) with the support of the imperial government. Two years later, it was moved to the village of Reljevo near Sarajevo. From 1917 to 1940, the school operated again in Sarajevo and then was closed.

A number of secondary-level Catholic schools appeared toward the end of the 19th century: a teacher’s college for women (Sarajevo), a Jesuit gymnasium (high school) in Travnik, and two Franciscan gymnasia (Visoko and Široki Brijeg). All four schools had a very high reputation and were attended also by non-Catholics. Three Catholic schools of theology, two in Sarajevo and one in **Mostar**, were the first university-level institutions in the country.

State schools for training new teachers were also established under Austro-Hungarian rule. Such schools opened in Sarajevo in 1886 and in Mostar in 1913, and a teacher’s school for Muslim reformed *mektebs* in 1893. Various trade schools and a few state secondary schools were also founded. At the beginning of the 20th century, each of the three ethno-religious communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina formed a benevolent society to help young people achieve higher education. Serbs had **Prosvjeta**, Croats had **Napredak**, and the **Muslims** had **Gajret**. These societies became very important in supporting education and encouraging cultural activities among the members of their respective communities. These associations, however, were banned after the Communist takeover.

After World War II, a new school system was introduced that conformed to socialist ideological needs. In 1948 about 45 percent of the population older than 10 years was still illiterate. Primary education became mandatory, and it was extended from four to six, seven, and then eight years. But still many young people in remote villages did not attend school. Private schools were banned, except for a few

that were limited to educating candidates for religious vocations. The Franciscans in Herzegovina were, however, forbidden to have a school even for their vocational needs. The number of state secondary schools greatly increased, and new institutions of higher learning were established. The University of Sarajevo was formed in 1949. Three more universities were founded later: Banja Luka (1975), **Tuzla** (1976), and Mostar (1977). The **Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina** was founded on 22 June 1966. During the war, the pedagogical academies in **Zenica** and **Bihać**, the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Special Education in Tuzla, and the Faculty of Machine Engineering in Bihać were founded as extensions of the University of Sarajevo. Also, during the war years, the University of Sarajevo of the **Serb Republic** (today, University of East Sarajevo) was founded. Furthermore, the University of Mostar, as the only Croatian language university in the country, developed on the west side of the city, while the “**Džemal Bijedić**” University operates on the east side of the town.

Today, primary education starts at the age of seven, lasts eight years, and is compulsory. The secondary education system has two major branches: general (*gimnazija*) and technical. Both types last four years. Students who attend *gimnazija* take a general final examination (*matura*) and, after passing a qualifying examination prescribed by a particular institution, can enroll in university-level education. Those who attend secondary technical schools obtain a diploma in a specific field. A two-year professional and technical program with a diploma of higher education can be earned at universities or at higher schools/*Više škole*.

Besides the state, there are also private schools. One of the largest such school systems was established by the **Catholic Church** in 1994. They are known as Catholic school centers, sometimes they are referred to as “schools for Europe.” The schools are a continuation of the Catholic education that was cut off by the Communist regime after World War II. Today, there are six Catholic school centers primarily in Bosnia (Sarajevo, Travnik, Tuzla, Zenica, Žepče, and Banja Luka) with about 4,300 students in primary, secondary, and vocational schools. They are open to students of any **religion** and nationality, and about 15 percent of the pupils are non-Catholics. Other Catholic schools include a diocesan seminary (high school)

in Travnik, a Franciscan seminary in Visoko, two Catholic schools of theology (Franciscan and diocesan) in Sarajevo, the “European Academy” in Banja Luka, and an institute for catechists in Mostar.

Muslim educational institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina today are as follows: six *medreses* (Sarajevo, Visoko, Travnik, Tzla, Mostar, and Cazin), three Islamic Pedagogical Academies (Zanica, Mostar, and Bihać), and the Faculty of Islamic Studies in Sarajevo, which was founded in 1977.

Among the **Serbs**, the Higher Theological School and Spiritual Academy were opened (1994) in Foča, and they are successors to the pre–World War II Orthodox School of Theology in Sarajevo.

Among foreign-sponsored schools, there are the Danish Technical School and Turkish-Bosnian Sarajevo College. The college offers secondary education in Turkish, Bosniac, and English, and it is attended overwhelmingly by Bosniac/Muslim youth.

Because the 1992–1995 war broke up the educational system along national lines, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has undertaken the task of developing a new educational system for the country. Under its guidance and pressure, the State Framework Law on Primary and General Secondary Education was adopted in June 2003, and it was to be implemented by the end of that year. According to this law, all students are to be offered the same core curriculum and all contents that are deemed to be nationalist were to be removed from textbooks and educational materials. However, the implementation of such plans did not prove easy, especially since there are contradictory opinions on subjects such as Bosnia and Herzegovina’s history, culture, **language**, and a number of other issues. In some areas, children from different constituent peoples (**Bosniacs**, **Croats**, and **Serbs**) use the same school building but are placed in separate classrooms and have different teachers and administration.

In a multinational country like Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is relatively easy to politicize and ideologize education, especially at a time of an intraethnic religious war. Every regime and ideology—communist, nationalist, conservative, or liberal—has been using education as an instrument for achieving some “higher results” besides education. Ideologization and the use of education for political goals will most probably continue in Bosnia and Herzegovina for some time to come, hopefully gradually to a lesser degree.

ELECTIONS (NATIONAL). While still under the **Austro-Hungarian** rule, the “Constitution of the Land,” which included the election law, was issued in February 1910, and the first parliamentary elections in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** history were held on 18–28 May 1910.

Men of 24 years and older had the right to vote. **Women’s** suffrage was limited to a few who were large landholders and paid tax of at least 140 crowns. Voters were classified according to the amount of property they possessed, profession, and place of living. The first group consisted of large landholders, those with a higher **education**, state bureaucrats, and clergy. This group or “curia” numbered 6,866 voters and were allocated 18 seats in parliament. The second voting group were men living in the cities. This curia had 47,725 votes, and it was apportioned 20 seats in the parliament. The third curia consisted of the peasantry, which had 347,573 votes and 34 seats in parliament. Besides 72 elected representatives, parliament included 20 additional ex officio members.

The **population** was also classified according to ethno-religious affiliation, and each group was allocated a number of seats in parliament relative to its size. Accordingly, the Orthodox were guaranteed 31 (43 percent), Muslims 24 (33.3 percent), **Catholics** 16 (22.2 percent), and Jews 1 (1.4 percent) seats. Ethno-religious percentages of the population at large, however, did not respond exactly to parliamentary seat allocations. In 1910, the Orthodox made up 43.47 percent, Muslims 32.25 percent, Catholics 23.29 percent, and others 0.96 percent of the population.

While the Serb People’s Organization/Srpska Narodna Organizacija was the clear winner among the **Serbs** (31 seats) and the Muslim People’s Organization/Muslimanska Narodna Organizacija won all of the seats allocated to the Muslims, the Croat representatives came from two **political parties**, Croatian People’s Union/Hrvatska Narodna Zajednica (12 seats) and Croatian Catholic Association/Hrvatska katolička udruga (4 seats). The last meeting of parliament under Habsburg rule was on 29 June 1914, a day after the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand.

The elections for the Constituent Assembly of the newly formed state in 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, **Croats**, and Slovenes (**Yugoslavia** after 1929), were held in November of 1920. Seven parties

competed for 63 seats allocated to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The following were the election results: Out of the total vote, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization/Jugoslavenska Muslimanska Organizacija (JMO) received 38.10 percent, the Alliance of Husbandmen/Savez Težaka 19.05 percent, the People's Radical Party/Narodna Radikalna Stranka (NRS) 17.46 percent, the Croatian Husbandry Party/Hrvatska Težačka Stranka 11.11 percent, the Communist Party/Komunistička Partija (KP) 6.35 percent, the Croatian People's Party/Hrvatska Pučka Stranka (HPS) 4.76 percent, and the Democratic Party/Demokratska Stranka (DS) 3.17 percent. Out of 2,480,623 registered voters, 1, 607,265 participated in the elections.

Elections for the National Assembly of the Kingdom SCS were held in 1923. Bosnia and Herzegovina was allocated 48 seats. The JMO received 37.50 percent of the votes, the NRS 27.08 percent, the Agriculturalists' Party/Zemljoradnička Stranka (ZS) 14.58 percent, the Croatian Republican Peasant Party/Hrvatska Republikanska Seljačka Stranka (HRSS) 14.58 percent, the HRSS dissidents 4.17 percent, and the Serbian Party/Srpska Stranka (SS) 2.09 percent.

For the parliamentary elections of 1925, because of the oppressive Belgrade policies, only 515,602 people in Bosnia and Herzegovina registered to vote, out of which 426,708 actually voted. The JMO received 31.2 percent, the NRS 29.1 percent, the HRSS 20.8 percent, the National Bloc (Radicals and Independent Democrats) 14.5 percent, and the ZS 4.1 percent.

An extraordinary election for the parliament/Skupština in Belgrade was held in September 1927. The heavy shadow of the Serbian Radical regime hung over the country and the elections as well. This time, the NRS won 29.17 percent of the votes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Democratic Union/Demokratska Zajednica 20.83 percent, the JMO 18.75 percent, **Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)** (no longer "Republican") 16.67 percent, the Alliance of Husbandmen 12.50 percent, and the Independent Democratic Party 2.08 percent.

In 1928, leading Croatian political representatives were assassinated in Belgrade's parliament, and King Aleksandar's dictatorship was officially inaugurated on 6 January 1929. From that time until 1935, parliamentary life in the country was suspended. The May 1935 elections were dominated by two political blocs, the Country's

List/Zemaljska Lista (led by Bogoljub Jevtić) and the List of the United Opposition, headed by Vladko Maček, leader of the HSS. The JMO, leading party among the Bosnian Muslims, was in the opposition, at least for a while, and the opposition received 37.4 percent of the vote in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The last elections before World War II took place in December 1938. The Belgrade regime's candidates of the Yugoslav Radical Union/Jugoslovenska Radikalna Zajednica (JRZ), led by Milan Stojadinović, received 54.64 percent, and the List of the United Opposition (led by Maček) won 45.36 percent of the votes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the election laws were manipulated in such a way that while the Serbian-dominated list in 1935 (led by Jevtić) received 62.6 percent of votes, it was given 81.89 percent of seats allocated to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 1938, Stojadinović's List won 82.04 percent of the seats although it received only 54.64 percent of the votes.

During and after World War II, parliamentary life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in the rest of the former Yugoslavia, was non-existent. From 1945 until 1990, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had a monopoly of power.

The first free elections in the post-World War II period were held in 1990. Fifteen out of 41 registered political parties were in the race and over 2,339,000 out of 3,144,353 registered voters participated in electing seven members to the **presidency**, 130 members to the Chamber of Citizens, and 110 members to the Chamber of Municipalities, which made up the country's central **government** bodies.

Three nationalist parties, the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)**, and **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)** were clear winners. In the Chamber of Citizens, the SDA won 33.08 percent, SDS 26.15 percent, and HDZ 16.15 percent of 130 seats. And in the Chamber of Municipalities, SDA won 39.09, SDS 34.54, and HDZ 20.91 percent of 110 seats. The seven-member presidency was made up of three Muslims/**Bosniacs** (two from the SDA, **Fikret Abdić** and **Alija Izetbegović**, and **Ejub Ganić**, a declared Yugoslav at the time), two Serbs from SDS (**Biljana Pavšić** and **Nikola Koljević**), and two Croats from HDZ (Stjepan Kljuić and Franjo Boras). Abdić received the highest number of popular votes.

The first elections in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina were held in 1996, under the supervision of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). One stipulation of the **Dayton Peace Accords** was that elections for all offices on the state and local levels take place in Bosnia and Herzegovina within six to nine months after the signing of the peace treaty. Although U.S. allies in Europe argued that the situation in Bosnia was not yet suitable for elections and proposed that the vote be postponed, the elections did take place on 14 September 1996. The American side was determined to keep the Dayton peace process on track, hoping that the newly formed national institutions might serve as a unifying force in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On election day, each of the three major national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosniacs, Croats, and Serbs) cast ballots for their own candidate to the tripartite presidency of the country. As expected, Alija Izetbegović, candidate of the Bosnian Muslim SDA, won the highest number of votes, and he became chairman of the newly elected presidency. The other two elected members of the presidency were **Krešimir Zubak** (a Croat), and **Momčilo Krajišnik** (a Serb).

Twenty-eight members were elected to the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Muslim–Croat **Federation** and 14 from the **Serb Republic**. The SDA gained 19, the SDS nine, the HDZ eight, the United List (ZL BiH) two, the Party for BiH (SBiH) two, and the Union for Peace and Progress (SMPRS) two seats in the House. Representatives to the House of Peoples in the national government were delegated from the House of Peoples in the Federation and from the National Assembly in the Serb Republic, respectively.

In the Muslim–Croat Federation, elections also took place for the House of Representatives of the Federation and for Cantonal Assemblies. In the House, the SDA won 78, the HDZ 36, the ZL BiH 11, the SBiH 10, the Democratic People's Union (DNZ) three, and the **Croatian Party of Right (HSP)** two seats.

In the Serb Republic, voters elected a president and the National Assembly of the Serb entity in Bosnia on the same day. The SDS candidate, Biljana Pavšić, was elected president. The SDS gained 45, the SDA 14, the SMPRS 10, the Serb Radical Party (SRS) six, the

Democratic Patriotic Bloc two, the SBiH two, the ZLBiH two, the Serb Party of Krajina (SSK) one, and the Serb Patriotic Party (SPAS) one seat in the National Assembly.

Because of the loopholes in the Dayton agreement concerning voters' registration, the municipal elections were postponed by the Provisional Election Commission until mid-1997. Although there were many irregularities and manipulations, the elections were declared valid by the OSCE, which organized and supervised the Bosnian vote. For many, the success of the elections was not in numbers and percentages but in the fact that they did take place and in a relatively peaceful atmosphere.

The election results did not surprise anyone. The three leading nationalist parties (the Muslim SDA, the Serb SDS, and the Croat HDZ) were clear victors. The hopes that the so-called nonnationalist parties or coalitions would have a stronger showing were not fulfilled. The SMPRS in the Serb Republic, led by an offshoot of **Slobodan Milošević's** Serbian Socialist Party in Serbia, did receive more votes than expected, but it was not able to challenge the dominance of the SDS among the Bosnian Serbs.

The next national elections were held on 12 and 13 September 1988. Representatives to several governmental structures had to be elected, among others: the tripartite presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, members for the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina from both the **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH)** and the **Serb Republic (RS)**, members for the House of Representatives of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, members for the Peoples Assembly of the RS, president and vice president of the RS, the House of the Peoples FBiH, and the House of the Peoples BiH. According to some observers, they were the most complex and the most expensive elections in the world. There were 2,750,705 registered voters; 83 parties, alliances, or independent candidates; and altogether 5,948 people running for various offices.

Although the elections were yet another step in strengthening democratic processes in a war-ravaged country, they did not bring significant changes to the existing political landscape. The nationalist parties were again clear winners. The only noticeable change took place in RS, where Nikola Poplašen, from the Serbian Radical Party (RS), became president of RS instead of Biljana Pavšić from SDS,

and Živko Radišić, a socialist, replaced Momčilo Krajišnik from the SDS as Serbian member in the tripartite presidency BiH.

On 11 November 2000, two-year term elections for the 42-seat House of Representatives took place. Twenty-eight of those were elected from the Federation and 14 from the Serb Republic. The results were the following: **Social Democratic Party (SDP)** received 18.99 percent with nine seats, SDA 18.75 percent with eight seats, SDS 16.67 percent with six seats, Croatian Democratic Union BiH (HDZBiH) 11.39 percent with five seats, SBiH 11.33 percent with five seats, and other eight parties together received 23.87 percent with 10 seats.

In the race for the 140-seat House of Representatives of the Bosniac–Croat Federation, out of 17 parties that won at least one seat, the biggest winners were SDA with 38 seats, SDPBiH with 37 seats, HDZBiH with 25 seats, and SBiH with 21 seats. The four major winners in the elections for the 83-seat National Assembly in the Serb Republic were SDS with 31 seats, **Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)** with 11 seats, Party of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) with 11 seats, and SDA with six seats. Out of 2,508,349 registered voters, 1,597,805, or 63.70 percent, participated in the elections.

The 2000 elections were interpreted by the international community as a major shift from nationalist to “reform-oriented” parties. However, the next elections proved that this was a vote against incumbents rather than a change in voters’ attitudes.

The winners in four-year term national elections held on 5 October 2002 were the nationalist parties across the country. For the three-member presidency, elected candidates were Sulejman Tihić from the SDA (37.3 percent of the Bosniac vote), Mirko Šarović from the SDS (35.5 percent of the Serb vote), and Dragan Čović from the HDZ (61.5 percent of the Croat vote). The winners in the House of Representatives were the Party of Democratic Action (Bosniacs) with 10 seats, SDS with five seats, **Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina** with six seats, Social Democratic Party of BiH with four seats, SNSD with three seats, Coalition of Croatian Democratic Union of BiH and Christian Democrats with five seats, and seven other parties with eight seats altogether.

In the House of Representatives of the Bosniac–Croat Federation, the winners were the SDA with 32 seats, HDZ with 16 seats, SDP with 15 seats, SBiH with 15 seats, and others with 20 seats alto-

gether. For the National Assembly in the Serb Republic the results were the SDS with 26 seats, SNSD with 19 seats, PDP with nine seats, SDA with six seats, SRS with four seats, and others with 19 seats altogether.

The latest national elections took place on 1 October 2006. The underlying issue of the pre-election campaign was the question of constitutional reforms, namely, the future of the two entities. Practically, all Serb parties and their leaders were firmly united in promising to their electorate the preservation of the Serb Republic, their ethnically cleansed entity, at all costs. On the other hand, Bosniac/Muslim and Croat political parties were divided regarding prospective constitutional changes. While some advocated a swift abolishment of the two entities and a unification of the country under a single nationwide government (SBiH and HDZ-1990, for example), the two leading nationalist parties (Bosniac SDA and Croat HDZ-BiH) and the Social Democrats were open to cooperation with the international community's desires to pursue an open-ended process of constitutional changes that would supposedly bring about a more functional system of governance. For many, such a process is nothing less than a legitimization of the existing unjust and illegitimate division of the country and, ultimately, its dissolution in the future.

For the collective three-person presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the winner among the Bosniacs was **Haris Silajdžić** from the SBiH with 350,520 votes (62.80 percent). His leading opponent from the SDA, Sulejman Tihić, received 153,683 votes (27.53 percent), and the third Bosniac candidate, Mirnes Ajanović from the Patriotic Bloc BOSS-SDU BiH (Bosnian Party and Social Democratic Union BiH), received 45,608 Bosniac votes (8.17 percent). Among the Serbs, the winner was Nebojša Radmanović from the SNSD (Savez Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata/**Alliance of Independent Social Democrats**) with 287,657 votes (53.26 percent). The other two leading candidates were Mladen Bosić, SDS 130,824 (24.22 percent), and Ranko Bakić, People's Party-Progress by Work, with 18,302 (3.3 percent) of votes. The SDP nominated an ethnic Croat, Željko Komšić, as the Croat candidate for the presidency, and he received 116,062 votes (39.56 percent), which was enough to win over the candidates nominated by mutually antagonistic Croat ethnic parties. Ivo Miro Jović, nominated by HDZBiH, received

76,681 votes (26.14 percent); Božo Ljubić, candidate of a HDZ splinter party (HDZ-1990) 53,325 votes (18.18 percent); Mladen Ivanković Lijanović, People's Party-Progress by Work, 24,822 votes (8.46 percent); and Zvonko Jurišić (HSP) received 20,350 votes (6.94 percent).

In the forty-two-seat House of Representatives (28 from the Federation and 14 from the Serb Republic), the winners from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were SDA with 217,961 votes (25.54 percent), SBiH with 196,230 votes (22.99 percent), SDP with 131,450 votes (15.40 percent), HDZBiH-Croat Coalition-HNZ (Croatian People's Union) with 68,188 votes (7.99 percent), Croat Unity (HDZ-1990 and others) with 52,095 votes (6.10 percent), BHPS-Sefer Halilović (Bosnian-Herzegovinian Patriotic Party) with 37,608 votes (4.41 percent), and People's Party-Progress by Work with 27,487 votes (3.22 percent). From the Serb Republic, the results were SNSD's Milorad Dodik with 262,203 votes (46.92 percent), SDS with 108,724 votes (19.46 percent), PDP RS (Party of Democratic Progress RS) with 28,410 votes (5.08 percent), SBiH with 23,257 votes (4.16 percent), SDA with 20,514 votes (3.67 percent), and DNS (**Democratic People's Alliance**) with 19,868 votes (3.56 percent).

The fifteen members of the House of Peoples are elected by the **parliaments** of the two entities, ten from the Federation (five Bosniacs and five Croats) and five from the Serb Republic.

Results for the new parliament in the Federation were SDA 25.45 percent, SBiH 22.16 percent, SDP 15.17 percent, HDZBiH 7.56 percent, Croat Unity (HDZ-1990 and others) 6.32 percent, BHPS-S. Halilović 4.10 percent, Patriotic Bloc BOSS-SDU 3.17 percent, and People's Party-Progress by Work 3.16. For the National Assembly in the Serb Republic, the results were SNSD 43.31 percent, SDS 18.27 percent, PDP RS 6.86 percent, DNS 4.04 percent, SBiH 4.01 percent, SP 3.55 percent, and SDA 3.39 percent.

The biggest grumbling regarding the election results came from the Croat ranks because the present constitutional arrangement made it possible for the Croat member of the presidency to be elected by non-Croats. Thus, while Komšić had been legally elected, in reality he does not have legitimacy among the Croats, whom supposedly he represents in the country's highest office.

Immediately after the elections, the question of amendments to the constitution, which was imposed by the 1995 Dayton Accords, dominated the political debate in the country.

ETHNIC CLEANSING. A phrase used to describe mostly violent efforts to create ethnically pure regions during the 1991–1995 war in Croatia and Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Although the expression and the practice are not new, their revival in the former **Yugoslavia** is credited to **Vojislav Šešelj**, leader of the Serbian Radical Party. In 1991, he began to advocate a struggle for an ethnically pure Greater Serbia. The following statements are taken from the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee report published on 15 August 1992.

(1) The “ethnic cleansing” campaign of the self-styled Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has substantially achieved its goals; an exclusively Serb-inhabited region has been created in territory contiguous to Serbia, occupying 70 percent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with a territorial corridor connecting Serbia with Serb-inhabited territory in the Krajina region of Croatia. The new Serb territories were created by forcibly expelling the Muslim **populations** that had been the overwhelming numerical majority in the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina closest to Serbia. (2) Ethnic cleansing has been carried out with widespread atrocities. Random and selective killings are a routine part of the process of evacuating Muslim villages in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In some villages and towns, there were organized massacres of the Muslim population. We believe the death toll associated with forcible removal of the Muslim village population of Bosnia and Herzegovina far exceeds the death tolls from the bombardment of cities or from killings in prison camps. Unfortunately, this most lethal aspect of ethnic cleansing has received the least amount of public attention. (3) Detention camps were a routine way station for civilian population forcibly evacuated from villages and towns. Inadequate shelter, food and sanitation are the universal characteristics of these camps. Rape, beating, and killing occurred in some instances. (4) Bosnian Serb forces consider able-bodied Muslim and Croatian males older than 15 as potential fighters for the enemy and as potential assets in prison exchange. As a result, non-Serb boys and men have been and continue to be held in prison camps throughout the Serb-controlled

areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As best we could determine, neither physical conditions nor the treatment of prisoners meets standards as laid out in relevant international protocols. The worst of these camps—Omarska, Luka, Prijedor and Manjača—are places where prisoners have been systematically beaten and starved. We found additional evidence of organized killings in some of these locations. (5) Killings in the camps often appear to be recreational and sadistic. There is evidence that paramilitary groups from Serbia and Montenegro have entered certain camps, often drunk and by night, for the purpose of torturing, killing, and raping. (6) Serb civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been victims of violence by Muslim, Croatian and Bosnian Serb forces. Serb prisoners in Muslim and Croatian camps have not been treated in an internationally acceptable manner. In no sense, however, does the violence against the **Serbs** compare to the atrocities inflicted on the Muslims, nor are conditions in Muslim or Croatian prison camps comparable to those in the Serbian death camps. *See also* CONCENTRATION AND DETENTION CAMPS.

EUROPEAN UNION FORCE (EUFOR). *See* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

– F –

FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA/FEDERACIJA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE. One of the two political entities in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. It is often referred to as the Muslim/Bosniac and Croat Federation, because the two groups inhabit most of it. However, in 2001, the **Serbs**, too, were declared as its third constituent people. The Federation comprises 51 percent and the **Serb Republic** 49 percent of territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The two are united by the central **government** of Bosnia and Herzegovina in **Sarajevo**.

The first contours of a common Croat-Bosniac/Muslim entity appeared at the beginning of 1994, after a year-long hostility between Muslims and **Croats** in central Bosnia and the **Mostar** region. The

agreement was forged under the auspices of the United States in negotiations between the **Bosniacs**, Bosnia and Herzegovina's Croats, and the Republic of Croatia. It was signed in Washington, D.C., on 18 March 1994 in the presence of President Bill Clinton. The implementation of the **Washington Agreement**, however, did not bring about the desired results. Thus, another accord was signed in Dayton, Ohio, on 10 November 1995, in which the parties agreed to take "radical steps to achieve the political, economic and social integration of the Federation."

The Federation consists of 10 "cantons," each with its own constitution, legislature, executive government, and courts. The federal government includes a bicameral legislature, president and vice president, prime minister, and cabinet. The legislative body consists of a House of Representatives, elected Federation-wide, and a House of Peoples, with 30 Bosniacs, 30 Croats, and a proportionate number of "others." There was also a unified Federation Army above the corps level up to the Joint Command between the **Croat Defense Council (HVO)** and the **Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH)**. All disputes over the competence of cantons and the Federation are to be resolved by a constitutional court. The government of the Federation is structured in such a way that it should prevent either side from controlling the government.

The central government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is responsible for **foreign relations**, foreign **trade**, customs, immigration, monetary policy, international law enforcement, communications, transportation, and air traffic control. The Federation is in charge of all other matters in this Croat-Bosniac entity. At the present time, however, under the pressure of the international officials in the country, powers have begun to shift from the cantons to the Federation and ultimately to the central government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *See also* DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS.

FLAG. *See* NATIONAL SYMBOLS.

FOREIGN RELATIONS. Since the signing of the **Dayton Peace Accords** (1995), Bosnia and **Herzegovina's** relations with its neighbors have been stable and improving. The relations with Croatia are open and quite friendly, especially since it has become clear

that Croatia is not a threat to Bosnia and Herzegovina's security and integrity. Unresolved issues between the two countries are not a danger to the present stable relations. Bosnia and Herzegovina's relations with Serbia and Montenegro are relatively stable, thanks to the presence of the international community and its supervision of the region. Underlying tensions stem from the fact that there are indications that the **Serbs** have not fully given up on the idea of a Greater Serbia. More specifically, some of Serbia's officials have quite recently related the unresolved issue of Kosovo to the status of the **Serb Republic**, indicating that if Kosovo gains independence, the Serb Republic ought to be annexed to Serbia. Furthermore, the fact that **Radovan Karadžić** and **Ratko Mladić**, the two most wanted war criminals, are still protected by some powerful forces in Serbia exacerbates the existing mistrust.

The country's relations with the rest of the world are quite friendly. It still has a capital of sympathy and benevolence dating back to the recent war times, except among some traditional pro-Serb countries, the United Kingdom, France, and especially Russia and Greece. Its relations with Turkey and other Muslim countries are especially cordial.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a member of the **United Nations** (1992), International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe, and many other international bodies. It has hopes of joining the European Union (EU), and negotiations of a Stabilization and Association Agreement were started in 2005, but Bosnia and Herzegovina must first resolve some major constitutional and economic issues before it has any chance of becoming a member of the EU.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I. Habsburg emperor from 1848 to 1916. Bosnia and **Herzegovina** came under his domain in 1878. Because **Austro-Hungarian** rule brought to Bosnia modernization, economic development, and an improvement in **education**, the old emperor was seen by many in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a benevolent father figure.

FRANCISCANS. The followers of St. Francis of Assisi came to the present-day territory of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in 1291. In 1339–1940, a Franciscan vicariate of Bosnia (an administrative

division) was established. Its headquarters were at Mile, near the town of Visoko, where the first Bosnian king was crowned in 1377. The territory of the vicariate stretched from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Because of its huge size, the vicariate was eventually subdivided into seven custodies. By the end of the 14th century, Bosnian Franciscans had thirty-five monasteries. After the fall of the Bosnian medieval kingdom (1463), three vicariates (Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, and Croatian Bosnia), split from the original vicariate. In 1517, the Bosnian vicariate was raised to the level of a Franciscan province under the name of Bosnia Argentina. The changes in its territorial jurisdiction were determined by the borders of the **Ottoman Empire**. The Franciscans in **Herzegovina** split from the Bosnian mother province and established their separate vicariate in 1852, which became a province in 1892.

Although, after the fall of Bosnia in 1463, Sultan Mehmet II the Conqueror issued a charter (**ahdnama**) stating the Catholics and their Franciscan clergy in Bosnia were free to practice their **religion**, the “freedom” of the **Catholic Church** was very restricted. It was often contingent on Ottoman relationships with the Catholic powers in Central Europe and even more often on the whims of the local Muslim administrators and landlords. The fact that, out of many Franciscan monasteries from the pre-Ottoman period, only three existed at the beginning of the 18th century indicates the fate of the Franciscans and the Catholic **population** under Islamic rule.

The Franciscan community is the only guardian of the pre-Ottoman, Bosnian heritage and the only institution in the country that spans the medieval, Ottoman, and modern history of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Besides its religious mission, the role of the Franciscans in the cultural life of Bosnia and Herzegovina is especially significant. For quite a while they were the only living link between Ottoman Bosnia and the West. *See also* DOMINICANS; EDUCATION.

– G –

GAJRET/ZEAL IN ARABIC. A Muslim cultural and educational society in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** founded in **Sarajevo** in 1903.

Initially, its main goal was the support of needy students in their pursuit of secondary and higher **education**. Before World War I, the organization went through major turmoil because of the national question among the **Muslims**. Some of its leading members began to pull the society more and more to the Serbian national orientation. This led to a split in the society and a new organization, **Narodna Uzdanica** (People's Confidence), emerged out of it. Because of its pro-Serb orientation, Gajret's leadership came under **Austro-Hungarian** harassment after the **Sarajevo assassination** in 1914.

After the war, Gajret spread to other parts of the newly established **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes**. In the mid-1920s it had a number of student dormitories in Sarajevo and **Mostar**. The society also engaged in various cultural activities among the Muslims. Gajret published (1907–1914 and 1921–1941) a cultural and literary journal under the same name. The association was banned by the Communist regime after World War II. *See also* BOSNIACS; ISLAM.

GANIĆ, EJUB (1946–). He served as a member of the **presidency** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** (1990–1996), acting president of the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina several times between 1990–1996, vice president and president of the **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina** from 1994 to 2001, and was also a leading member of the **(Bosniac/Muslim) Party of Democratic Action**. Ganić was born near Novi Pazar in the region of **Sandžak**, present-day Serbia and Montenegro. He finished his higher education at Belgrade University and received a D.Sc. in chemical engineering with a focus on thermal and fluid sciences at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1976). After teaching at the University of Illinois in Chicago for five years, he returned to **Sarajevo** in 1982, where he became a professor of chemical engineering at the University of Sarajevo and served (1982–1990) on the Board of Directors of UNIS Corporation. He has been recognized and awarded by his national and international peers for his contributions in the field.

GAZI HUSREV-BEG (1480–1541). Governor of the Bosnian *sandžak* and a great patron of **Sarajevo**. He was born in Serres, Greece. Husrev-beg was appointed governor of the Bosnian province in 1521 and served, with interruptions, until 1541, when the **Ottoman Empire**

was at its zenith under the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent. The empire was still expanding and Husrev-beg, as a first-rate military strategist, was the man the sultan could count on. He captured the last medieval Bosnian capital, **Jajce**, and several Croatian and Hungarian towns to the west and the north, including **Banja Luka**, Knin, Klis, Skradin, Ostro-vica, Obrovac, Požega, Mohac, and others. He also fortified numerous locations and made the conquered province secure for the Ottomans.

Husrev-beg is best remembered for turning Sarajevo from a hamlet into a city. He wanted to make Sarajevo the commercial center of the region. Thus, he promoted, encouraged, and pressured merchants and donors to build in Sarajevo. He himself became the greatest builder and donor of all. He endowed numerous projects, including the construction of the famous Gazi Husrev-beg's Mosque, the Tsar's Mosque, the city's first library, a medrese, a dwelling and **education** center (*hanekah*) for **dervishes**, and many other edifices that are part of today's Sarajevo.

Gazi Husrev-beg died in a battle during an uprising in Montenegro and was buried in Sarajevo.

GLAGOLITIC SCRIPT/GLAGOLJICA. An old Croatian alphabet used also in the medieval Bosnian state. There are various theories about its origin. St. Cyril and Methodius used it in their work among the Moravian Slavs, but the script predates the holy brothers. The name *glagoljica* comes from the verb *glagoljati* (to talk). In Bosnia, *glagoljica* was slowly pushed out by a variant of the **Cyrillic alphabet**, known, among other names, as *bosančica*. See also LITERATURE.

GLAS/VOICE. A regional paper based in **Banja Luka** since 1943. After the 1990 **elections** it came under the control of the **Serb Democratic Party**. In August 1992, it became a very radical Serbian voice in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. In August 1993, its name changed to *Glas zapadne Srbije*/Voice of Western Serbia. After the war, however, it was changed into *Glas Srpske*/Voice of the SR. It is the only daily paper in the country owned by the state, namely by the **Serb Republic**. See also MEDIA.

GLASNIK MIRA/MESSENGER OF PEACE. The voice of the Marian shrine in **Međugorje**, published monthly by the Information Cen-

ter of Peace in Međugorje since January 2006. It promotes devotion to the Virgin Mary.

GLASNIK ZEMALJSKOG MUZEJA U SARAJEVU/HERALD OF THE LAND MUSEUM IN SARAJEVO. This scholarly publication began in 1889, and with several interruptions, it lasted until the latest war in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The *Glasnik* has contributed greatly to the study and understanding of Bosnian and Herzegovina's history and heritage. *See also* LAND MUSEUM.

GOVERNMENT. Bosnia and Herzegovina is an emerging parliamentary democracy with a very complex governing system based on the General Framework Agreement for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, initialed in Dayton on 21 November 1995 and signed in Paris on 14 December 1995. *See also* COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS; ELECTIONS; FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA; PARLIAMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES; PRESIDENCY; SERB REPUBLIC.

GRADAŠČEVIĆ, HUSEIN-KAPETAN (1802–1834). Referred to as “Dragon of Bosnia”/*Zmaj od Bosne*. One of the organizers of the Bosnian rebellion and its charismatic leader in the 19th century, Gradašćević was born in the town of Gradačac and, in 1821, became the leader of the local *kapetanija*, a military and administrative border district. Bosnian opposition to the **Ottoman** reforms at the time escalated to an open rebellion in 1831 that turned into a struggle for local autonomy. Initially, the rebels overpowered Ottoman loyalists in Bosnia and marched as far as Kosovo, where a similar Albanian rebellion was also taking place. After the defeat of the imperial army and promises of self-rule, Gradašćević returned to Bosnia, where he was proclaimed Bosnian vizier by his followers. The victory, however, was short-lived. The Ottomans were able to regain the momentum, especially after the landlords in **Herzegovina** joined them in the effort to crash the rebellion. The final defeat occurred in May 1832 near **Sarajevo**. Gradašćević found refuge in the **Habsburg** domain, but soon he negotiated his surrender to the Ottoman authorities. According to the agreed terms, he was banned from returning to Bosnia ever after. He arrived in

Istanbul at the end of 1832 and died in 1834, under dubious circumstances. Gradaščević remains a popular historical figure in Bosnia, especially among the **Bosniacs**.

GREEN BERETS. Bosnian Muslim paramilitary and special operations units formed on the eve of the 1992–1995 war, believed to be a private militia of the main Bosniac political party, the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, operating under the umbrella of the **Patriotic League (PL)**. The Berets became a formation of the **Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (OSRBiH)** in April of 1992. Its members served as guards of the highest state offices and government officials, fought at various fronts, and were allegedly involved in crimes against non-Muslim civilians, especially in **Sarajevo**, including running detention camps. Because they were a loose paramilitary force, they were strongly under local political and/or ideological influences. *See also* CONCENTRATION AND DETENTION CAMPS.

– H –

HABSBURGS (HAPSBURGS). One of the longest lasting and most significant European ruling dynasties. The family origins go back to the 10th century, and the name is derived from the castle of Habichtsburg in present-day Switzerland. The Habsburgs proved themselves to be very capable in expanding their possessions, mostly through suitable marriages. A dramatic increase of their power and influence came under Maximilian I (1459–1519) and his successor as a Holy Roman emperor, his grandson, Charles V (Charles I of Spain; 1500–1558), who through marriage and inheritance acquired, among others, the Burgundian territories at the time and the entire Spanish possessions.

Before Charles abdicated (1556), he gave his son Philip II (1527–1598) Spain and its territories in the New World, as well as Italian and Burgundian possessions. Charles ensured that his younger brother Ferdinand (1503–1564), who was already ruler of the German and Danubian (Austrian region) lands, would succeed him as

emperor. The Spanish side of the Habsburg family vanished with the death of Charles II in 1700, while the Austrian Habsburgs ruled the Central European region until the end of World War I.

After the **Ottoman** army defeated and killed (1526) Louis II, king of Hungary, Bohemia and Croatia, these kingdoms, or what was left of them, elected a Habsburg, Ferdinand I (Louis's brother-in-law), as their king. Although the Ottoman armies reached the gates of Vienna twice (1529 and 1683), the Austrian Habsburgs became the main bastion against the Ottoman advancement into Central Europe. Furthermore, it was under the Habsburg leadership that the Ottomans were driven out of Hungary and northern Croatia, and thus the foundations for what later became the Dual Monarchy or the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918) were laid.

In response to Napoleon Bonaparte's proclamation of the First French Empire (1804), the Habsburgs proclaimed the Austrian Empire in the same year, which lasted until 1867, when the Austrian Empire was transformed into the Austro-Hungarian Empire or Austria-Hungary.

In the 19th century, as the Habsburgs lost their traditional influence among the Germans, as well as their Italian provinces, they increasingly projected their power toward the Balkans, where the Ottomans were losing ground. The Russian victory in the 1877–1878 war against the Ottomans threatened the power balance in the **Balkans** and led to the Congress of Berlin (1878), which, among other dictates, gave Austria-Hungary the right to “occupy and administer” Bosnia-Herzegovina (*see* BERLIN, CONGRESS OF).

The occupation and annexation (1908) of the provinces clashed with Serbian expansionist ambitions, and that led to the assassination (1914) of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Habsburg throne. The event ignited World War I, which destroyed both the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Habsburg dynasty.

HADŽI LOJO. Popular name for Salih Vilajetović, a Bosnian Muslim folk hero from the 19th century. As a man who made a pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca, he had special respect among his people, and that is why he was referred to as a “hadži.” His fame spread because he was a giant of a man and a fearless warrior for an old-fashioned type of **Islam** that was prevalent in Bosnia at the time. As such, he opposed implementations of the **Ottoman** modernizing reforms, including the

issue of building Christian churches in, what he considered to be, a Muslim land. However, his name came to true prominence when the news reached **Sarajevo** that the Ottoman sultan had agreed at the Congress of Berlin (1878) to relinquish Bosnia and **Herzegovina** to the **Habsburgs** (see BERLIN, CONGRESS OF). Hadži Lojo led a mob to the pasha's residence in Sarajevo, and called upon the Muslims to turn against the Ottoman rule and resist the coming of the Habsburg army. Because of his anti-Habsburg resistance, he served a jail sentence and then he was exiled from Bosnia. His rebellious and fearless nature and his resistance to the Austro-Hungarian occupation have made him a folk hero in the eyes of many **Bosniacs**.

HADŽIĆ, NURI OSMAN (1869–1937). A writer and an important figure in the cultural life of **Bosnian Muslims** during the **Austro-Hungarian** occupation. He was born in **Mostar**, finished his secondary **education** in a Muslim law school (*Šeriat*) in **Sarajevo**, and studied law in Vienna and Zagreb. After getting a law degree, he returned to Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and worked in various government jobs until the end of World War I. After the war, he lived in Belgrade and worked for the state. Hadžić's earliest literary endeavors date from the days when he was a student. From 1894 to 1900, he and his friend, Ivan Milićević, published two novels and a number of short stories under the common pseudonym of Osman-Aziz. Besides writing novels, he contributed to many literary and cultural periodicals of his time. His writings are romantic reflections on the life and history of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hadžić's works contributed to the cultural revival of his people at the time. *See also* LITERATURE.

HAGADA. The **Sarajevo Hagada** is one of the most cherished Jewish religious and literary treasures in the world. This well-preserved and richly illuminated book of sacred texts was carried by the exiled Spanish Jews out of Spain in 1492. The book survived in Italy for several hundred years, and then it was brought through Dubrovnik to Sarajevo where it is scrupulously guarded. Miraculously, it survived World War II and the destruction of Sarajevo in the last Bosnia and **Herzegovina** war.

HANDŽAR DIVIZIJA/HANDSCHAR DIVISION. A primarily **Bosnian Muslim** force serving as the 13th Waffen-SS (Armed-SS)

Mountain Division during World War II. Heinrich Himmler, the commander of the German *Schutzstaffe* (SS) came up with the idea of forming such a Muslim division not only for its fighting capabilities but also to impress the Muslim world in order to gain its support against British interests. With Adolf Hitler's approval and reluctant acceptance from the **Ustaša** leadership of the **Independent State of Croatia**, of which Bosnia and **Herzegovina** was a part at the time, the division was formed in the spring of 1943. By mid-1943, the division had 26,000 men, out of which there were about 2,500 non-Muslims, mostly Croat Catholics. It was labeled as "handžar division" because its uniform contained, besides the regular SS insignia, an arm holding "handžar," a curved sword, an emblem that dates back to medieval Bosnia. Its headgear was the Muslim fez. Its commanding officers were Herbert von Obwurzer (March–August 1943), Karl-Gustav Sauberzweig (until June 1944), and Desiderius Hampel (until May 1945).

The division was sent to train in occupied France. Its Pioneer Battalion was based at Villefranche near Lyon, where four of its recruits (Ferid Džanić, Nikola Vukelić, Eduard Matutinović [aliases Božidar Božo Jelenek and Leopold], and Lutfija Dizdarević) organized an unsuccessful mutiny (17–18 September 1943) against their German officers. Some officers were killed, but the mutiny was crushed by loyal troops; 14 soldiers were executed, and a few managed to escape. The mutiny has been esteemed because it was the first such event in the SS formations. The remnants of the division surrendered to the British in May 1945 in Austria. They were disarmed, given to **Tito's** forces, and most of them were executed or ended up in prison camps.

HANDŽIĆ, MEHMED (1906–1944). A leading Muslim scholar in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in the first half of the 20th century. He was born in **Sarajevo**, where he received his primary and secondary **education**. After finishing higher Islamic studies in Egypt, he returned to his native city and was, among other functions, a professor of **Islamic jurisprudence**.

Handžić published numerous articles in the fields of Islamic studies and cultural heritage of the **Bosnian Muslims**. Furthermore, on the eve of and during World War II, he was a significant religious and political voice among the Bosnian Muslims.

HEALTH. The health infrastructure of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** suffered severe devastation during the 1992–1995 war. More than one-third of the health infrastructure has been either destroyed or heavily damaged, and close to 50 percent of those working in health services have been killed or left the country because of the war, and many have retired early. Most of the medical equipment is outdated. Although the country's gross domestic product (GDP) has been growing steadily since 1995, funding for health needs is very inadequate, especially when one takes into account that the health infrastructure has to be rebuilt, the equipment modernized, and day-to-day health services provided. For this reason, the health sector is still heavily dependent on foreign funding and humanitarian donations. Moreover, there are two socialized health systems operating in the country independently, one in the **Federation** and the other in the **Serb Republic**, a structure that makes financing of the health system even more complicated and inequitable.

Most psychiatric facilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina were destroyed during the war and, at the same time, the mental health of the population deteriorated dramatically. Thus, postwar mental care services were in terrible need of reconstruction and reform. The most common problems include posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), combat stress reactions (CSR), depression, and alcoholism. Currently, there are 38 community-based mental health centers in the Federation, and mental health services are also provided by local hospitals. In the Serb Republic, there are 12 community-based mental health centers and three psychiatric hospitals.

According to the World Health Organization, the following are the top ten causes of death (all ages) in the country: cerebrovascular disease; ischaemic heart disease; inflammatory heart disease; trachea, bronchus, and lung cancers; diabetes mellitus; colon and rectum cancers; self-inflicted injuries; liver cancer; nephritis and nephrosis; and cirrhosis of the liver.

As of 2004, life expectancy at birth was 70 years for men and 77 for women. Some other statistical indicators include the following: In 2002, out of the total population, 18 percent was under age 15 and 11 percent over age 65. Average total fertility rate in 2000–2005 was 1.3, and infant mortality rate (under 1) for the same period was 14 per 1,000 babies. Percent of adults, ages 15 to 49, infected with HIV or AIDS in 2001 was 0.1 percent.

HERCEG-BOSNA/CROATIAN REPUBLIC HERCEG-BOSNA/HRVATSKA REPUBLIKA HERCEG-BOSNA (HRHB). A political entity in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** that existed from 1991 to 1994. As the threat of war loomed and Serbian attacks on **Croat** villages in eastern parts of Herzegovina began at the end of September 1991, counties in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a Croat majority organized themselves into the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/Hrvatska Zajednica Herceg-Bosna (HZHB) on 18 November 1991. Self-defense was initially the main purpose of this self-organized Croat effort. This, and earlier moves from the **Croat Defense Council (HVO)**, prevented the **Serbs** from grabbing more, or even the entire republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because the central **government** in **Sarajevo** was procrastinating in its efforts to organize a defense force. As the role and authority of the leadership of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna increased in the mainly Croat regions and as the intentions of the international, mainly European, community were becoming clearer, signaling that it wanted to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina along ethnic lines, the Croat political power holders, in collusion with the government in Zagreb, upgraded their status by proclaiming the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna on 28 August 1993. The role of the HZHB, which became the HRHB, shifted from initially being defensive to a political one, with two main possible outcomes. As the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina was increasingly in question during the war, the leaders of the HRHB pursued a more separatist policy, namely to join the HRHB to the Republic of Croatia. The second option was, if Bosnia and Herzegovina survived as a state, to secure the status of an autonomous Croat republic within Bosnia and Herzegovina, equal to the other republics of the other two constituent peoples, the **Bosniacs** and Serbs. Zagreb's support of these options was dependent mainly on its needs in protecting the interest and security of Croatia. Zagreb's quick abandonment of the HRHB is a clear indication that the HRHB was an instrument rather than a political goal, regardless of the fact that some circles, mainly in Herzegovina and some Herzegovinians in Zagreb, had taken the existence of the HRHB seriously.

The Muslim-led Sarajevo government accused the leadership of the HRHB of treason. Although Sarajevo never accepted de jure the Republic's existence, it had to acquiesce de facto to the reality and to work with its officials. The Croats, in contrast, play down the

separatist policies of the HRHB and emphasized that, in reality, they were the ones who had saved Bosnia and Herzegovina from total collapse by organizing themselves and fighting the Serbs from the very beginning of the aggression. The American-sponsored **Washington Agreement** between Muslims, Bosnia and Herzegovina's Croats, and Croatia, signed in March 1994, marks the end of the HRHB. The agreement required the Croats to abandon their self-rule and merge into the common Muslim–Croat **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina**. *See also* BOBAN, MATE; CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION; TUĐMAN, FRANJO.

HERCEGOVAČKI TJEDNIK/HERZEGOVINA'S WEEKLY. An independent popular **Croat** weekly in **Herzegovina** published from 1990 to 1992. It was a democratic voice that contributed to the opening of society in the immediate post-Communist period. *See also* MEDIA.

HERZEG OR HERCEG STIPAN VUKČIĆ KOSAČA (c. 1404–1466). He was not only the most powerful nobleman in the Bosnian Kingdom toward the end of its existence (1463), but also practically an independent ruler of the lands today known as **Herzegovina** or Herzeg's lands.

Stipan's family roots go back to Vuk Kosača, a nobleman who had possessions in the **Podrinje** (upper Drina) region. Vuk's descendants, who ruled the lands later known as Herzegovina until falling to the Turks in 1482, were known as the Kosačas. Vuk had two sons, Vlatko Vuković and Hran Vuković. While Vlatko did not have sons, his brother Hran had three: Sandalj, Vuk, and Vukac. They were known as Hranići-Kosača. Sandalj became the grand duke, after the death of **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić** (1416), the most powerful feudal lord in the Bosnian Kingdom. Although married twice, Sandalj did not have offspring of his own. He was, therefore, succeeded by his brother Vukac's son, Stipan Vukčić.

After succeeding his powerful uncle (1435), Stipan proceeded to expand his possessions even further and to assert his feudal power. Relying on the Turks and even becoming their vassal, he acquired the lands of the neighboring feudal lords to the east and to the west of his inheritance. He rebuffed the authority of the Bosnian king, **Stipan Tomaš**, who was also his son-in-law. He also repelled the attempts of

the Hungarian-Croatian king to make him a vassal and attempted to undermine the economic power of the republic of Dubrovnik.

Stipan's ambitions and impetuous lifestyle and rule earned him many enemies. A three-year war (1451–1454) erupted between him and the republic of Dubrovnik. The Bosnian king, his son-in-law, Stipan Tomaš, and even his oldest son, Vladislav, turned against him during this three-year war.

To emphasize his noble powers and political independence and ambitions, Stipan assumed (1448) the title of *Herzeg* (from the German *Herzog* for Grand Duke). Some believe that he obtained the title from the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick III, others that he assumed the title on his own. His domain became gradually identified with the title of *Herzeg*, and thus it became known as *Herzegovina*, or *Herzeg's land*. After the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom to the Ottomans in 1463, *Herzeg Stipan* and his sons regained the southern parts of the land. Because of dissensions between the *Herzeg* and his sons, Venetian interference, and overwhelming **Ottoman** power, the Turks took most of his land in 1465.

Herzeg Stipan's family life was as turbulent as his politics. He was married to Jelena from the neighboring Balšić family in Zeta (Montenegro). Three children were born from this marriage: Katarina (married Bosnian king, Stipan Tomaš, in 1446), Vladislav, and Vlatko. His wife left him, and the oldest son turned against him because *Herzeg Stipan* openly took a young and beautiful Florentine woman as his mistress. The reconciliation of the family, however, took place in 1453, shortly before Jelena died. From his second marriage to Barbara, *Herzeg Stipan* had two children, Mara and Stipan. The second wife, however, died a day after giving birth to her son in 1459. With his third wife, Cecilija, whom he married in 1460, he did not have children.

Herzeg Stipan's oldest son, Vladislav, escaped (1469) to northern Croatia (Slavonia) where the Hungarian-Croatian king, Mathias, granted him two towns as feudal possessions. His second son, Vlatko, accepted Ottoman suzerainty (1469) in return for keeping four towns. In 1474, Vlatko tried again to solicit help from the West, but all his efforts proved to be futile. The fate of the **Balkans** was in the hands of the Ottomans. The last of Vlatko's strongholds (Novi) fell in 1482, and he found refuge on the Croatian island of Rab.

Herzeg Stipan's youngest son, also called Stipan, born from the second marriage, was given as a hostage (1469) to the Ottomans by his brother Vlatko. He remained with the Turks for the rest of his life. After accepting **Islam**, his name was changed to Ahmet. He rapidly climbed the ladder of success in the imperial military bureaucracy. His wife was the daughter of Sultan Bayezit II. He was governor (*beylerbey*) of Anatolia and three times grand vizier before he died in 1516.

Herzeg Stipan was a follower and protector of the local **Bosnian Church**. Many adherents of this church, believed to be a heretical sect, were persecuted in Bosnia yet found refuge in his domain. It seems that religious dogmas and religious differences were not too important to Herzeg Stipan, and perhaps not to most of the ruling elite in the country. There are strong indications, however, that Herzeg Stipan did express "oral subordination" to the pope and that he embraced **Catholicism** in 1447.

HERZEGOVINA OR HERCEGOVINA. A geopolitical entity in the southeastern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It comprises close to 10,000 square kilometers (3,860 square miles) of mostly rocky terrain and makes up about one-fifth of the entire country. In the east, it borders with Montenegro, and in the south-southwest, its neighbor is Croatia. In 1718, the republic of Dubrovnik gave to the **Ottomans** two exits to the Adriatic Sea: **Neum-Klek** at the north of its territory, and Sutorina at the south, at the entrance to the Bay of Kotor. By creating an Ottoman-controlled buffer zone, Dubrovnik wanted to protect its territories from Venetian aggression. For this reason, Herzegovina once had two exits to the Adriatic Sea. After World War II, however, the southern exit was taken by the republic of Montenegro, while the exit at Neum-Klek was retained. The valley of the Neretva River is the main artery that connects Herzegovina with the rest of the country to the north and through Croatia to the Adriatic Sea in the south. Its main administrative, economic, and cultural city is **Mostar**. Before the 1992 war, the region had about half a million inhabitants of mixed religious and ethnic background. Its western parts are populated mostly by **Croats**, while the eastern areas are more ethnically mixed but dominated by the **Serbs** and **Bosniacs**.

The traditional "dual" nature of Bosnia and Herzegovina, apparent even in its name, is the result of geography and long historical pro-

cesses. The mountain range in the middle of the country has been a natural divide between Bosnia, which is facing the north, and Herzegovina, oriented toward the southwest. Political developments also helped to sharpen the sense of separate Bosnian and Herzegovinian regions.

The roots of political autonomy in Herzegovina go back to the time of the first Bosnian king, **Tvrtko I** (1353–1391). After his leading nobleman and military leader, Vlatko Vuković-Kosača, defeated the Turkish army near Bileća in 1388, Tvrtko sent him, as a commander of a large military contingent, to help Prince Lazar of Serbia in the battle of Kosovo (1389). As a reward for his military successes and efforts, the king granted Vuković the land of what is today the eastern part of Herzegovina (**Zahumlje**) and neighboring parts of Montenegro and Serbia.

Vlatko's nephew and successor, Sandalj Hranić Kosača (1392–1435), expanded his inheritance by obliterating (1404) an old ruling family in the region (Sanković) and by curbing the power of other neighboring feudal lords. His possessions stretched from the Lim River in present-day **Sandžak** in the east to the Cetina River in Croatia to the west, and from the county of Rama in the north to the town of Kotor in the south. After the death of the Grand Duke **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić** (1416), Sandalj became the most important feudal lord in the Bosnian Kingdom. Because Sandalj did not have male children, he was succeeded by his nephew Stipan Vukčić Kosača (1435–1466). He expanded his inheritance even further, asserted his independence from the Bosnian king, and in 1448, he received from the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick III, (or some say assumed on his own) the title of Herzeg. His territory became known as Herzegovina or the Herzeg's land.

The earliest-known written record that mentions Herzegovina as a geographic term comes from a Turkish military leader Isa-bey Ishaković who, in his letter dating from 1454 or 1455, mentioned the "Herzeg's land."

Herzegovina resisted Turkish occupation for approximately 20 years after the fall of Bosnia. **Herzeg Stipan** died in 1466, and his last stronghold (Novi or Herceg Novi) fell to the Turks in 1482.

Ottoman administration reinforced the Herzegovinian regional name and singularity by creating a separate military district (*sandžak*) in Herzegovina (1470). Furthermore, in the first half of the 19th century (1833–1866), Herzegovina was a separate Ottoman province (*elayer*). Distinct political, religious, and other administrative structures, during

and after the Ottoman period, have strengthened the geographic and historical divisions between Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that even the name of the country reflects the existing dualism. *See also* HUM.

HIGH REPRESENTATIVE. *See* OFFICE OF THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVE.

HOERMANN, KOSTA (1850–1921). A remarkable personality in the cultural development of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** during the **Austro-Hungarian** rule. He was born in Bjelovar, Croatia, and came to Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1878 as a Habsburg bureaucrat. Hoermann helped to establish a number of lasting and noteworthy cultural institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as the **Land Museum** and the Institute of Balkanology (1908) in **Sarajevo**. He was the first director of the museum that also had a significant library and was the editor of its publication, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*/Herald of the Land Museum. He also founded an influential literary magazine, *Nada/Hope*. Furthermore, Hoermann collected, edited, and published Bosnian folk songs and thus saved valuable treasures from permanent loss. He died in Vienna.

HOLBROOKE, RICHARD C. (1941–). A professional American diplomat, magazine editor, author, Peace Corps director, chairman of two important nongovernmental organizations, and an investment banker. The two highest diplomatic positions he held were U.S. ambassador to the **United Nations** (1998–2001) and U.S. ambassador to Germany (1993–1994).

Holbrooke played a major role in bringing about peace in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. After the tragic death of Robert Frasure and two other American diplomats in August 1995 near **Sarajevo**, he became the key U.S. peacemaking envoy to the so-called former **Yugoslavia**. Holbrooke became the prime mover of the peace process and the architect of the **Dayton Peace Accords** signed by the **Bosniac**, **Croat**, and **Serb** leaders on 21 November 1995. In 1998, he published *To End a War*, a personal account of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

HRUSTOVAČA. A well-known and beautiful cave in western Bosnia, near Sanski Most. Its main corridor is 650 meters (2,132 feet)

long. Some of its stalagmites and stalactites have created impressive free-standing pillars. Evidence indicates that the cave was used by humans in various time periods, including the Paleolithic.

HRVATSKA MISAO/CROATIAN THOUGHT. A journal published by the **Sarajevo** branch of Matica Hrvatska, a leading Croatian cultural institution. It is a continuation of the publication by the same name which was published in Sarajevo from 1942 to 1944. *See also* MEDIA.

HRVATSKA RIJEČ/CROATIAN WORD. A **Croat** weekly in **Sarajevo**. Its publication lasted from 1994 to 2001. *See also* MEDIA.

HRVATSKI LIST/CROATIAN GAZETTE. A **Croat** weekly launched in **Mostar** in May 1993. It was a continuation of *Vrisak*, a local paper from Široki Brijeg. *Hrvatski List* was owned by the Croat Republic of **Herceg-Bosna** and it served as its main hardline propaganda tool. It ceased publication in 1995. *See also* MEDIA.

HRVOJEV MISAL/HRVOJE'S MISSAL. A well-preserved 247-page manuscript, a Roman missal in **Glagolitic** script, written (1403 or 1404) by priest Butko in Split, Croatia, for the renowned Duke **HRVOJE VUKČIĆ HRVATINIĆ**. It is richly illustrated with about one hundred various miniature paintings. The art style indicates that the paintings were done by local artists under the influence of current art styles in Italy. The missal ended up in Budim (Hungary), but it was taken by the Turks as a war trophy in 1526 and, since then, it is kept in the sultans' library (Topkapi Saray) in Istanbul. Its first reprint was done in 1891 and the second in 1973. *See also* LITERATURE.

HUM OR ZAHUMLJE. A separate medieval geopolitical unit that probably emerged sometime in the eighth or ninth century in the region of present-day southeastern **Herzegovina**. Its confines were approximately from the hills behind the city of Dubrovnik, including the Pelješac peninsula in the south to Mount Vranica and land on both sides of the middle and upper flow of the Neretva River in the north, and from a line somewhere between the towns of Trebinje and Popovo Polje in the east to the Neretva River in the west. Two towns were the main centers of the region: Blagaj, near the sources

of the Buna River; and Hum, about 3.2 kilometers (two miles) southwest of present-day **Mostar**. People in Dubrovnik called the region Zahumlje or the “land behind the hills.” But people living in the region called it Hum.

From the eighth century, when Hum and other neighboring territories belonged to southern or “Red Croatia,” to the beginning of the 14th century, this region exchanged hands often. The rulers of Croatia, Dioclea, Byzantium, Bulgaria, and Serbia at one time or another extended their overlordship over Zahumlje. It was probably in 1322 when **Ban Stipan II Kotromanić** incorporated most of Zahumlje into his Bosnian realm. At the end of the 14th century, this territory came into the possession of the Kosača family and became the core of what later was known as Herzegovina.

HUMAČKA PLOČA/THE HUMAC TABLET. The oldest remnant of medieval writing in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. It dates from the 11th or 12th century and is written in a mixture of *bosančica* and **Glagolitic** scripts. The square-shaped tablet was found in the village of Humac near the town of Ljubuški in **Herzegovina**. Its short text deals with the building of a church dedicated to St. Michael by a man and his wife. *See also* LITERATURE.

HUMAN RIGHTS. During the past decade, the underlying problem of most, if not all, aspects of life in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** is the fact that the **Dayton Peace Accord** has legalized the results of war and **ethnic cleansing** and imposed an inefficient, complex, and very expensive colonial-type **government** on the country. Furthermore, the domestic elites, for the most part, continue to frame their political programs either in terms of ethnic homogenization, hoping that this will lead to a break up of the country, or in terms of a unitary Bosnia, in which the largest group, under the cloak of a citizens’ state, will dominate and make sure that the “others” are good citizens. The biggest victim of all of this is the individual, the ordinary human being, who desires peace, the right to be who he or she is, a job, security, and equal justice throughout the country. But the game is being played in such a way that it is hard for a common person to see the light at the end of the tunnel. This has resulted in feelings of uncertainty, cynicism, and lack of hope among the **population** at large.

Violations of human rights are evident horizontally in almost every area in all parts of the country, and vertically in all state structures and institutions. The most common violations stem from ethnic and religious intolerance. Violations of the rights of **refugees, women, minorities, and children** are a common occurrence. Human/women trafficking continues from the war time.

Most importantly, however, is the fact that there is no visible and earnest effort on the part of those who govern the country (international and domestic bureaucrats) to make painful but necessary structural changes that would guarantee security and rights of all citizens and to promote acceptance of those who are different so that a better future might be built for all citizens in every part of the country.

HVALOV ZBORNIK/HVAL'S COLLECTION. A 353-page long religious manuscript from the beginning of the 15th century. It belonged to the **Bosnian Church** tradition and was written (1404) by Hval krstianin/Christian Hval in *bosančica* script for the famous duke **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić**. The manuscript was written in Split (Croatia), adopted from an older original in the **Glagolitic** script, and was enriched by two local painters with various illustrations: miniature paintings, initial letterings, ornaments, and various figures. Although the manuscript comes from the Bosnian Church circles, it contains various elements that do not fit into what is believed to be the official teaching of the church, for example, the Annunciation, Crucifixion, and Ascension. The book is found at the University of Bologna Library. Its reprint was published in 1986. *See also* LITERATURE.

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ILIDŽA. A suburb of **Sarajevo** known for its beauty and sulphurous healing waters. This large and natural spa is also a recreation center of the city of Sarajevo.

In Roman times, this was an administrative and resort center. Excavated Roman ruins testify that Ilidža was an important and

prosperous colony. The natural healing powers of the Ilidža waters may also have been used by nearby settlements in the Middle Ages. Ilidža was reconstructed under **Austro-Hungarian** occupation. Hotels, restaurants, and a park, including a beautiful three-kilometer-long alley connecting Ilidža with the source of the river **Bosna**, were constructed at the time. The spa, the spring of the Bosna River at the foot of Igman Mountain, old trees, and lush lawns make Ilidža a beautiful site.

ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT. Croatian national movement in the 19th century that stood for Slavic unity. The leaders of the movement advocated the adoption of the Illyrian name as a common identity for all South Slavs, including the Bulgarians. It began as a cultural program, but it turned into a political party. The **Austro-Hungarian** regime saw it as a threat to the unity of the empire and banned the use of the Illyrian name in 1843. The movement was a prototype of Yugoslavism that emerged in the second half of the century. Illyrianism had a few fervent supporters among **Croats** in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, mostly among the **Franciscans**.

ILLYRIANS. Indo-European tribes found in the Balkan region from Epirus to Slovenia. It is believed that “the formation of historical Illyrian peoples” took place around 1200 BC. Illyrian tribes formed their own political and territorial organizations, and a powerful Illyrian state even emerged in the fourth century BC. However, after a long and fierce resistance (229 BC to AD 9), the Illyrians were conquered by the Romans. They divided Illyricum into Dalmatia and Pannonia, and the two names prevailed over the terms Illyricum, Illyria, and Illyrian. In modern history, the name Illyria was revived by Napoleon for the “Provinces of Illyria,” which were incorporated into the French Empire from 1809 to 1813, and the “Kingdom of Illyria” was part of Austria until 1849, after which time it was not used in the reorganized **Austro-Hungarian** Empire. It is believed that the present-day Albanians are descendants of an ancient Illyrian tribe.

IMPLEMENTATION FORCE (IFOR). *See* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA/NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA (NDH). The NDH was proclaimed on 10 April 1941, after the collapse of royalist **Yugoslavia** under German and Italian assault. The new state, which also included Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, was established under the protection of the Axis powers. While the southern regions of the country were under Italian occupation, the rest of the country was under German “protection.”

There were three main political factions among the **Croats** at the time: the nationalist forces, led by the *ustaša* revolutionary organization, which welcomed the opportunity to establish a Croat state and assume power; the **Croatian Peasant Party**, supported by the majority of the Croats before the war, which attempted to pursue a policy of noninvolvement; and the left-oriented groups, including segments of the Peasant Party, which joined the resistance movement led by the Communists.

While the *ustaša* rulers persecuted the **Serbs**, Jews, and the Croat Left, the Serbian *četniks* terrorized the Croatian and Muslim **population** in the regions they controlled, and also cooperated with the occupiers. The Communist-led partisans (Croats, Serbs, **Muslims**, and others) fought against the NDH and the *četniks* and also engaged in terror of their own during and after the war. The NDH collapsed in May 1945. *See also* KARADORĐEVIĆ, ALEKSANDAR; PAVELIĆ, ANTE.

INDUSTRY. In the prewar decades, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a home for several large enterprises of military industry, mainly in central Bosnia. However, any profits from such manufacturing were controlled by the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** and not by the **government** in **Sarajevo**. Some parts of the republic did experience a socialist industrialization program, namely in the steel, aluminum, and **mining** sectors in the post–World War II period.

Almost all of the existing industrial enterprises in the country were destroyed, severely damaged, or shut down during the recent war. After 1998, industrial activities began to register a steady annual growth, but they still have yet to reach prewar production levels. The main industrial activities in the country today are mining (coal, iron ore, lead, zinc, manganese, and bauxite), steel and aluminum production, electricity, the processing industry, tank and aircraft assembly,

textiles, chemicals, machinery, rubber and plastics, tobacco products, and furniture production. *See also* ECONOMY; TRADE.

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES. Just as Bosnia and **Herzegovina** has been disjointed politically and militarily from the outset of its independence, it has similarly been without a unified, country-wide, modern intelligence service. The existing agencies have competed against each other and served as instruments of powerful—official or unofficial—political structures and/or individuals that represent such structures.

Besides military intelligence services, there were three main intelligence agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 until recently. In the **Serb Republic** was the Intelligence and Security Agency/*Obavještajna Bezbjedonosna Služba* (OBS). In the Bosniac–Croat **Federation**, parallel services remained even after the **Dayton Peace Accords** went into effect. Instead of unifying the existing intelligence structures under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the **Sarajevo government** established the Agency for Information and Documentation/*Agencija za Informacije i Dokumentaciju* (AID) at the beginning of 1996. This was a purely **Bosniac/Muslim** agency. Soon after its founding, however, AID drew international attention because it came to the light that its members were being trained by Iranian intelligence operatives and that it had connections with some Islamist groups. It is believed that one faction of AID, known as Muslim Intelligence Agency/*Muslimanska Obavještajna Služba* (MOS) is especially close to the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, the main Muslim/Bosniac party. On the other hand, the National Security Service/*Služba Nacionalne Sigurnosti* (SNS) was in the service of Bosnia and Herzegovina's **Croats**. It was formed within the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna (HRHB) in 1994.

Since mid-1997, attempts have been made to form a new and single structure for the security and intelligence system in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. While the professionals, with the help of U.S. experts, had prepared the way for such a move, there was no political will to implement their proposals. In the spirit of the Dayton Peace Accords and under pressure from the international community, the two (official) intelligence agencies in the Federation

were merged (2002) into the Federal Intelligence Security Agency/Federalna Obavještajno-Sigurnosna Služba (FOSS). The unification, however, was mostly on paper and not in reality.

In order to create a single and professional intelligence agency for the entire country, the **Office of the High Representative (OHR)** ordered the **Council of Ministers** (Bosnia and Herzegovina's government) to come up with suitable legislation for such a move. But the government was not able to accomplish the task, and the OHR issued the Law on the Intelligence Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2004, establishing the Intelligence and Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ISABiH).

It is estimated that more than 80 percent of the human resources of Bosnia and Herzegovina's intelligence formations have been recruited from the infamous former Yugoslav civilian and military intelligence agencies. *See also* COUNTERINTELLIGENCE SERVICE; STATE SECURITY ADMINISTRATION.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICFY). Established in August of 1992 as a successor to the European Community (EC) Conference on **Yugoslavia**. After UN Secretary-General **Boutros Boutros-Ghali** accused the EC negotiators of making agreements on behalf of the **United Nations (UN)** without discussing them with him, the EC and UN established a common conference to deal with urgent issues in the former Yugoslavia. The ICFY's initial meeting took place in London on 26 August 1992. The chairman of the European Community Conference, **Lord Carrington**, resigned, and **Lord Owen**, a former British foreign secretary, became EC's special envoy and cochair of the ICFY. The UN secretary-general's special envoy and cochair of the conference was **Cyrus Vance**, former U.S. secretary of state. The London meeting was hailed as a big success, mainly because the Serb side agreed to notify the UN of all heavy weapons and their positions within 96 hours and place the weapons under UN supervision within seven days. The promises, however, turned out to be a farce like many other promises before and after. The ICFY has also often been called the Geneva Peace Conference because, after its first session in London, its permanent location was Geneva, Switzerland.

The ICFY had six working groups: Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, humanitarian issues, ethnic and national communities, succession issues, economic issues, and confidence-security-building and verification measures.

The most important efforts of the conference were to find a suitable settlement in order to end the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A peace plan, known as the Vance–Owen plan, devised under the leadership of a Finnish diplomat, Martti Ahtissari, proposed the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous regions. After Cyrus Vance resigned (April 1993) and a Norwegian diplomat, Thorvald **Stoltenberg**, became the UN envoy and cochair of the conference, another similar peace plan was concocted by the ICFY. Both plans were tantamount to rewarding Serbian aggression and dividing Bosnia along ethnic lines. *See also* CARRINGTON, LORD; OWEN, DAVID; STOLTENBERG, THORVALD.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY). On 22 February 1993, the **United Nations** Security Council (Resolution 808) decided, under the 1949 Geneva Convention “that an international tribunal shall be established for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former **Yugoslavia** since 1991.” The decision was reaffirmed and strengthened by a similar resolution (Resolution 827) of 25 May 1993. This was the first war crimes tribunal since the Nüremberg and Tokyo trials after World War II. The tribunal is located in The Hague, the Netherlands. The chief prosecutors have been Ramón Escovar-Salom (Venezuela; 1993–1994), Richard Goldstone (South Africa; 1994–1996), Louise Arbour (Canada; 1996–1999), and Carla del Ponte (Switzerland; 1999–). As of September 2006, the Tribunal has indicted 161 people (106 **Serbs**, 37 **Croats**, eight **Bosniacs**/Bosnian Muslims, eight Kosovo Albanians, and two Macedonians). Of these, 47 were found guilty (31 Serbs, 12 Croats—out of which one served in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and one in the Bosnian Serb forces—and four Bosniacs); eight have been acquitted (two Kosovo Albanians, two Bosniacs, and four Croats); indictments were withdrawn in 27 cases or the inditees have died before the trial proceedings against

them began; four have died while in trial; 22 are serving their jail sentences in various European countries; 18 have served their sentences; 53 are currently at the ICTY detention unit; nine are on provisional release; 11 are to be tried in the countries of their origin; 20 are at pretrial stage; and six are at large, out of which the most notorious are **Radovan Karadžić**, former president of the **Serb Republic**, and **Ratko Mladić**, commander of the Serb army in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

Most international observers consider the ICTY a success because it has, among other things, brought accused war criminals (or most of them) to justice, provided the victims and survivors a forum to tell their quite often ghastly experience, and, by doing that, brought those victims at least some repose, established better accuracy of historical facts, helped to restore the rule of law to the region, individualized the committed crimes so that the peoples and countries in the region could start building a better future, sent a message that the international community will not tolerate such violations, and served as an experiment in dispensing international justice.

However, there has been a constant increase in criticism of the ICTY, even among those who had been its supporters. Some of the critical points include the following: The tribunal is not measuring up to the highest standards concerning the rights to a fair trial; secret indictments create uncertainties and apprehension on the part of many; trials are too long; there is an inability, or some would say unwillingness, to apprehend Karadžić and Mladić. Other problems include intent to equalize the real architects of the bloodshed and their victims; the tribunal's claiming to be an instrument of peace and reconciliation when in reality, by its approach and proceedings, the court has aggravated the existing tension. Also, the tribunal has indicted some newsmen for vindictive reasons; it has become a self-perpetuating industry that employs over one thousand well-paid people and has a two-year (2004 and 2005) budget of \$271,854,600. The chief prosecutor has too much unchecked power; and the tribunal has become a political instrument of the international power holders. The UN Security Council has asked the tribunal to finish all trials by the end of 2008, but it is expected that the proceedings will continue beyond the set deadline. *See also* HUMAN RIGHTS; MILOŠEVIĆ, SLOBODAN.

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. According to the dictates of the **Dayton Peace Accords**, initialed on 21 November 1995, a large and heavily armed 60,000-member peacekeeping Implementation Force (IFOR) under the auspices of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), began its mission in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in December 1995. The authorization for the operation came from United Nations Security Council Resolution 1031. This was the largest deployment of NATO forces, outside of its member states, in the history of the alliance. The IFOR's primary mission was to enforce the cease-fire agreement, separate the armed forces of the Bosniac-Croat **Federation and Serb Republic**, patrol a demilitarized Inter-Entity Boundary Line, and gather military forces and heavy weapons into approved locations.

The entire peacekeeping operation included approximately 75,000 troops, out of which 60,000 were in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 15,000 in neighboring countries. Although the bulk of the IFOR came from NATO countries, more than 30 countries, including Russia, contributed military contingents to this international operation. Those in Bosnia and Herzegovina were authorized to take all necessary actions in order to maintain the cease-fire and protect themselves.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into three sectors, each led by one of the main troop contributors. The United States, the largest contributor to the IFOR mission (with 20,000 troops), was to patrol northeastern Bosnia, and its troops were based in the town of **Tuzla**. The French forces (7,500 troops), that served as UN peacekeepers, remained in Bosnia and Herzegovina and monitored the **Sarajevo** region and the southeastern part of the country. The British (13,000 troops), were policing the northwestern regions from their main base in Šipovo and command headquarters in **Banja Luka**. The first commander of the IFOR was U.S. Admiral **Leighton Smith**, the former commander of NATO forces in southern Europe.

While implementation of the civilian aspects of the agreement were lacking, the IFOR was very successful in accomplishing its tasks. For that reason, leading international factors involved in Bosnia and Herzegovina concluded that a reduced military presence was sufficient to supervise security in the country. Thus, in December 1996, a new 32,000-member NATO-led formation, a Stabilization Force (SFOR), was established under UNSC Resolution 1088. Restructuring of

SFOR at the end of 1999 and beginning of 2000 resulted into a reduction of troops to about 12,000. While the IFOR implemented peace, the SFOR's primary mission was to contribute to the safe and secure environment necessary for the consolidation of peace.

The SFOR's mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina officially ended on 2 December 2004, and it was replaced by a European Union–led, multinational, 7,000-member force known as the EUFOR. The country is divided into three military areas of operation, commanded by British, Finnish, and Spanish officers reporting to the EUFOR headquarters in Sarajevo. The EUFOR troops consist of soldiers from 33 countries. The EUFOR's mission is similar to that of the SFOR, that is, to secure a safe and secure environment in the country and also to help the **Office of the High Representative (OHR)** in implementing civilian aspects of the Dayton peace treaty to help Bosnia and Herzegovina make progress toward European integration. *See also* UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE.

ISAKOVIĆ, ALIJA (1932–1997). A leading figure in modern **literature** and culture in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, chiefly among the **Bosniacs**. He was born near the town of Stolac, Herzegovina. He studied in various places, including Zagreb, Belgrade, and **Sarajevo**. Isaković expressed himself in diverse literary forms: novels, stories, dramas, radio dramas, essays, poetry, movie scripts, travelogues, and aphorisms. He also compiled and edited various anthologies, including *Anthology of Evil* (1994), which depicts the suffering of the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the last war, and the first dictionary of the Bosnian **language**, *Dictionary of Characteristic Words of the Bosnian Language* (1992). He was also editor of the literary journal *Život/Life*.

While Isaković remained faithful to multiculturalism, he was a leading voice in calling for affirmation of Bosniac national conscience and became one of the prominent architects of the contemporary Bosniac/Muslim national and political program. Although Isaković was primarily a writer, he will be remembered among the Bosniacs primarily as a pillar of the modern Bosniac nationalism.

ISLAM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. The Muslims of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, besides the Albanians, are the largest homogeneous Muslim community in Europe. The Sunni (traditional) variant

of Islam came to this part of Europe with the **Ottoman** invasion of the **Balkans** in the 15th century. Although there are a number of controversies regarding the history of Bosnia and Bosnian Muslims, most scholars agree that the appearance of Islam in the country predates the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom (1463). The first foothold of Islam in Bosnia was in the region of present-day **Sarajevo**, where the Ottomans established a frontier military post a few years before the fall of Bosnia. Furthermore, there is consensus that the overwhelming majority of Bosnian Muslims are descendants of the local medieval **population** that converted to Islam.

A certain number of Muslims from present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina migrated into Croatia and Hungary during the Ottoman expansion. At the end of the 17th century, however, when the Ottoman Empire lost those lands to the **Habsburgs** and Venice, most of the Muslim population migrated back to Ottoman-controlled Bosnia. Also, many Muslims found refuge in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the liberation of Serbia in the 19th century. On the other hand, major Muslim migrations from Bosnia and Herzegovina took place after the **Austro-Hungarian** occupation (1878), after both world wars, and during the most recent war. According to the 1991 census, Muslims made up 43 percent of the total population in the country.

Bosnian Muslims did not have a separate religious hierarchy while under the Ottomans. In 1882, the first local *reis ul-ulema* (head of the religious community) and a four-man council of advisors (*medžlis*) were appointed by the Habsburg emperor. It was only in 1909 that Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina took full control over their own matters concerning **religion** and **education**. Although the community directly or indirectly elected its leadership, the emperor in Vienna still had input in choosing the *reis ul-ulema*, who also had to receive the approval of the *Sheih-ul-Islam* in Istanbul to perform his duties.

In the first **Yugoslavia**, there were two separate Muslim religious communities from 1918 to 1930. Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia made up one and Muslims in Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro belonged to the other. In 1930, the two were unified, and regional divisions (*muftistva*) were abolished. Until 1936, the seat of the *reis ul-ulema* was in Belgrade, and then it was transferred to Sarajevo.

During socialist Yugoslavia, there were four regional ruling assemblies (*sabors*): Sarajevo, Priština, Skoplje, and Titograd. The Supreme Council was the highest organ that united the regional councils, and the *reis ul-ulema* was the head of the Muslim religious community for the entire country.

Today the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina have separate religious administrative structures. The country is divided into seven regions (*muftistva*). The decision-making power is invested in the governing assembly (*sabor*). The *ri'aset* is the executive committee elected by the *sabor*. And the highest religious authority is invested in the *reis ul-ulema*, who resides in Sarajevo. *See also* BOSNIACS; DERVISH ORDERS.

ISLAMIC COMMUNITY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

See ISLAM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

ISLAMIC PUBLICATIONS. After the collapse of Communism, religious publications among **Bosnian Muslims** have proliferated. At present, the main titles are *Glasnik Rijaseta Islamske Zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini*/The Herald of the Riyasat of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** (published under different names since 1933); *Preporod: Islamske Informativne Novine*/Rebirth: Islamic Informative Gazette; *Takvim*/calendar/anthology; *Islamska Misao*/Islamic Thought; *Glas MM: Glasilo Udruženja "Mladi muslimani"*/Voice MM: Voice of the Society of **Young Muslims**; *Novi horizonti*/New Horizons, **Zenica**; *Islamski Omladinski Časopis SAFF*/Islamic Youth Journal SAFF, **Sarajevo**; *Saff: Islamski Omladinski Časopis*/Saff: Islamic Youth Journal, Zenica; *Mladak: List Studenta Fakulteta Islamskih Nauka*/New Moon: Gazette of Students of the Faculty of Islamic Studies, Sarajevo; *Zemzem: Muslimanski Omladinski List*/Zemzem: Muslim Youth Gazette, Sarajevo; *Kabes: Časopis za Duhovnu i Nacionalnu Afirmaciju*/Kabes: Journal for Spiritual and National Affirmation, **Mostar**; *Kevser: Islamski List za Djecu*/Kevser: Islamic Gazette for Children, Sarajevo; *Šebi Arus: Godišnjak Tarikatskog Centra*/Šebi Arus: Annual of the Tarikat Center, Sarajevo; *Hikmet: List za Vjersko-Teološka i Kulturno-Historijska Pitanja*/Hikmet: Gazette for Religious-Theological and Cultural-Historical Questions, **Tuzla**; *Novi Muallim: Časopis za*

Odgaj i Obrazovanje/New Muallim: Journal for Upbringing and Education, Sarajevo; *Svjetlost: Bilten Kulturno-Prosvjetnog Društva Svjetlost*/Light: Bulletin of Cultural-Educational Society Svjetlost, Konjic; *Blagaj: Islamsko Predanje i Bošnjačko Naslijeđe*/Blagaj: Islamic Tradition and Bosniac Heritage, Sarajevo; *Semerkanđ: Časopis za Porodicu*/Semerkand: Journal for the Family, Sarajevo, and *Evlad: List za Pouku i Zabavu Mladih Muslimana*/Evlad: Gazette for Instruction and Entertainment of Young Muslims, Mostar. *See also* ISLAM; MEDIA.

IZETBEGOVIĆ, ALIJA (1925–2003). First president of the **presidency** of the Republic of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. His ancestors moved from Belgrade to Bosnia after Serbia gained independence from the **Ottoman Empire**. He was born in Bosanski Šamac, but his family moved to **Sarajevo** (1928) where he grew up.

At the beginning of World War II, the young Izetbegović became an active member of a newly founded group named the **Young Muslims**. Because he was one of the leading members among the activists who tried to revitalize the movement after the war, Izetbegović was accused of “activities against the people” and sentenced (1946) to three years of imprisonment by the Communist regime. After serving the jail term, he enrolled at the University of Sarajevo where he earned a B.S. in law in 1956. He became a legal advisor to the PUT enterprise and the director of a building company in Sarajevo, but at the same time, he continued to work on affirming Islamic ideas and ideals as much as it was possible in a socialist country at the time. Thus, Izetbegović’s religious, intellectual, and political activities got him in trouble with the regime again. In 1970, his treatise, known as the *Islamic Declaration*, became public. Although in it he called for a general Islamic renewal without even mentioning **Yugoslavia** specifically, he and his supporters were accused of reviving the Young Muslims organization and of a “conspiracy” to set up an “ethnically pure” Islamic republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1983, Izetbegović was tried again, with 11 other **Bosnian Muslims**, and sentenced to 14 years of prison. Out of that, he served five years.

In the post-Communist era, Izetbegović and his ethno-religious-oriented friends formed the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, and he became the leader of the Bosnian Muslims. After his party

won the majority of votes in the first multiparty **elections** (November 1990), he became a member of the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in December 1990 was elected president of the seven-member multiethnic state presidency. According to the constitutional arrangements at the time, Izetbegović was to head the presidency only for two years, but he remained in the office until 1996, claiming that “extraordinary circumstances” justified such a decision. As the war raged, Bosnia and Herzegovina drifted in various directions, mostly according to ethnic lines and allegiances, and in that situation, Izetbegović played a double role. He was primarily a leader of the Bosniacs/Muslims, representing their interests in all negotiations and at various internal and international forums. At the same time, he was the official head of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country that became more a virtual reality than a viable political entity. From 1996 until October 2000, Izetbegović remained a member of the three-member presidency and then stepped down for health reasons. He died in October 2003.

For most of the Bosniacs, Izetbegović is the father of the Bosniac nation. They refer to him in an affectionate way as *dedo*/grandpa, and for many he remains above criticism. Furthermore, the outside world, especially during the war, saw him not as a politician but as a powerful symbol of his suffering people and, more importantly, as a moderate Islamic leader that the West could accept and work with. The hope was that he, and such moderate Islamic intellectuals and leaders, could serve as models of tolerance and integration for Muslims in Western society. Some Bosniac and non-Bosniac circles inside and outside the country, however, have very different views on the late first president of the presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosniac critics see him as a weak leader for failing to anticipate the war and defend the country, and most of all for signing the **Dayton Peace Accords**, which in their eyes was disastrous for all except Serb separatists. Izetbegović’s adversaries also point out that his image in the West did not reflect his true views on **religion** and politics, as expressed in his writings. According to them, Izetbegović did not represent the secular and multicultural tradition, as many in the West saw him, but an Islamic teaching according to which secular institutions were incompatible

with **Islam**. Although he paid “lip service” to the principles of a multiethnic state, his ultimate ideal was *umma*, a single Muslim community, under the rule of an Islamic government. Moreover, officials of the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** have stated that if Izetbegović had not died, he might have faced charges for crimes committed by Bosniac/Muslim forces during the war.

Besides *The Islamic Declaration*, he has written several books, including *Islam between East and West*, *Problems of Islamic Renaissance*, *My Escape to Freedom*, *Notes from Prison, 1983–1988*, and *Inescapable Questions: Autobiographical Notes*.

Izetbegović has received the King Faisal’s Award for service to Islam and a medal from the Center for Democracy in Washington, D.C.

IZRAZ/EXPRESSION. A **Sarajevo** monthly journal for literary and art criticism since 1957. Its publishing was interrupted during the last war, but it reappeared after the guns were silenced.

– J –

JABLANICA LAKE/JABLANIČKO JEZERO. This lake was created in 1955 to power hydroelectric generators located on the Neretva River near the town of Jablanica, on the road between **Sarajevo** and **Mostar**. The lake is about 30 km (18.5 mi.) long, 2.5 km (1.6 mi.) wide, and 70 m (230 ft.) deep. It has become a popular excursion spot and tourist attraction. South of it begins the awe-inspiring Neretva canyon.

JAJCE. Town in central Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, about 150 kilometers (93 miles) northwest of **Sarajevo**, and an administrative center of the Jajce municipality in the Central Bosnian Canton. Although the town’s roots go back to ancient times, its glory days were during the medieval age, when it served as residence of the renowned nobleman **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić** at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century. It was Vukčić Hrvatinić who made the city worthy of later becoming the royal seat of Bosnian kings.

The last Bosnian king, **Stipan Tomašević**, was crowned in Jajce (1461) and, two years later, executed by the Turks under its walls. The town was liberated in the same year, its fortifications were strengthened, and it remained a major anti-Turkish stronghold until it fell under the **Ottomans** in December 1527. Several important historical monuments, churches, and mosques that survived through the centuries sustained major damage during the latest war in the country.

During World War II, Jajce came into the spotlight because the second session at the **Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ)** took place in the town, and during the session, on 29 November 1943, the new Yugoslav state was proclaimed.

According to the 1991 census, the Jajce district had 44,903 residents. Out of that, 38.8 percent were **Muslims**, 35.1 percent **Croats**, 19.3 percent **Serbs**, and 6.8 percent others. During the 1992–1995 war, Jajce and its inhabitants suffered major human and material losses. Serbs bombarded the city heavily in the summer of 1992 and, due to lack of Muslim–Croat cooperation, Serb forces occupied it in October of the same year. In the August–September 1995 counteroffensive, Jajce was liberated by Croatian forces, and since then it has been part of the Bosniac–Croat **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina**.

Jajce is also well-known for its beautiful waterfalls, where the Pliva River empties into the Vrbas River.

JAVNOST/THE PUBLIC. Sarajevo weekly newspaper. Its publication began in 1990 by the **Serb Democratic Party** in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. It became a major propaganda tool in preparations for the war against the non-**Serbs** in the country. After the war began (April 1992), its publication was moved to **Pale**, the Bosnian Serb stronghold near Sarajevo, and represented the views of the People's Assembly of the self-styled **Serb Republic**. The paper has ceased publishing. *See also* MEDIA.

JOVIĆ, MIRKO. Leader of the Serbian People Renewal Party (Srpska Narodna Obnova-SNO), one of the most radical Serbian nationalist organizations in the post-Communist era. His paramilitary force, **White Eagles/Beli Orlovi**, was one of the most brutal

instruments of **ethnic cleansing** during the war in Croatia and Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

JUDAISM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. Although probably a small number of Jews lived in present-day Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from Roman times, their number increased significantly as a result of two immigration waves, first from Spain at the end of the 15th century and second from various parts of the **Habsburg** monarchy after Bosnia and Herzegovina came under Austro-Hungarian rule in 1878.

Many of the Jews expelled from Spain found refuge in the **Ottoman Empire**, and some of those established themselves in **Sarajevo**. The small number of Jews who already lived there were easily absorbed by the better-educated and highly cultured Sephardic Jews arriving from Spain. The first Sarajevo Jewish community was established in 1565, and it remained a closely knit religious and ethnic group for centuries to come. Although they adapted to the new homeland and became a viable segment of the **population** at large, they retained their Spanish language (Ladino) and other customs they brought with them.

The second Jewish community emerged in Sarajevo after a new wave of immigrants came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from various parts of Austria-Hungary, especially from the Slavic-speaking regions. Many Jews came to this former Ottoman province looking for an economic opportunity or as Austro-Hungarian state employees. The new immigrants were better educated and more progressive Ashkenazi Jews. They established a separate community of their own in Sarajevo in 1879 and, a few years later, in **Tuzla** and **Banja Luka**. Because of the political, economic, and social changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also because of the newly arrived, more vibrant Jews from Central Europe, the old Sephardic Bosnian community was awakened from its conservatism and Orientalism, and the differences between the two groups began slowly to blur. After the creation of the **Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** in 1918 (known as **Yugoslavia** after 1929), a number of Jews from Serbia also moved to Sarajevo and other Bosnia and Herzegovina towns.

Statistics indicate that on the eve of World War II, there were 11,800 Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and after the war, only

about 1,300. While some escaped the persecutions, most members of the Jewish community became victims of the Nazis and their local collaborators. Although the number of Jews began to increase after the war, many migrated to the newly established state of Israel in 1948. Before the 1992 war, there were approximately 3,000 Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of them, however, have left the country as a result of the war. Those few who are still in the country are organized in a single commune that numbers less than 500 members in Sarajevo, and a small number reside in other towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *See also* HAGADA.

JUDICIARY. The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the supreme legal institution in the country. It passes final judgments on legal issues. Four of its nine members are chosen by the Bosniac–Croat **Federation**’s House of Representatives, two by the Assembly of the **Serb Republic**, and three by the presidency of the European Court of Human Rights with consultation by the **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Constitutional Court arbitrates constitutional issues between the entities and the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as between the two entities. Furthermore, it serves as a court of appeals for the entire country. Each of the entities has its own lower court system.

JUKIĆ, FRA IVAN FRANO (1818–1857). Also known as Slavoljub Bošnjak. A Bosnian **Franciscan** priest, writer, and tireless promoter of Bosnian cultural revival, freedom, and democratic ideals. Jukić was born in **Banja Luka**, studied in Fojnica, Zagreb (Croatia), Veszprém (Hungary). His short life and work reflect the exciting decades of romanticism, nationalism, and liberal ideals. While there was an ardent resistance to the **Ottoman** reforms on the part of the Bosnian Muslims at the time, Jukić, as a passionate believer in liberal democracy and national freedom, sent (1850) a memorandum to the reformist Sultan Abdulmejid demanding for Bosnian Christians (Catholics and Orthodox) equality under the law, religious and cultural freedom, public schools, freedom of press, and other modern rights for all inhabitants in Bosnia. This was the first draft of a European-style constitution in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

Jukić was also a tireless promoter of **education** and cultural revival, especially among the Bosnian Christians, whose culture was neglected through long centuries of foreign occupation. Among other activities, he established one of the first secular schools in Bosnia (1849), promoted the idea of forming a literary society “Bosnian Circle,” began to collect cultural treasures and advanced the formation of a national museum, started and edited the first literary magazine in the country (*Bosnian Friend*), and published various works, including a literary-style *Geography and History of Bosnia*. Because of his activism, Jukić was exiled from Bosnia by the local governor. After moving around for a few years, he settled as a parish priest in northern Croatia. However, his health was failing, and he died in Vienna in 1957, where he was seeking medical help.

JURKIĆ, GABRIJEL (1886–1974). A Bosnian Croat artist born in Livno. After finishing primary school, Jurkić began to pursue an education in commerce, and then switched to technology, and finally he found his true vocation, painting. First, he studied art in Zagreb and then at the Vienna Art Academy. In 1911 he returned to **Sarajevo**, where he lived and worked until 1953, and then he moved to Livno, where he spent the rest of his life working within the compounds of the local **Franciscan** monastery.

Jurkić’s impressionist paintings portray images from Bosnia and **Herzegovina**’s past, beautiful sights of life and nature from his native region, religious motifs, and portraits of people, especially women. He is the first of the true masters of art in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Franciscan monastery near Livno, where he lived and worked during the last period of his life, has opened the Gabrijel Jurkić’s Gallery in honor of this great but humble artist.

– K –

KÁLLAY, BENJÁMIN (1839–1903). A Hungarian nobleman and a common minister of finance in the **Austro-Hungarian** Empire and ex officio responsible for imperial policies in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from 1882 to 1903. Before becoming minister of finance, he

served in Belgrade for seven years in the Austro-Hungarian foreign service. He learned the Serbian language, wrote a history of the **Serbs**, and was considered a specialist on the **Balkans**.

Although Kállay was instrumental in bringing about a number of progressive changes in the country, he became best known for trying to protect Bosnia and Herzegovina from Serb and Croat nationalism and for promoting a separate Bosnian nationalism among the three main religious groups in the province (Muslim, Orthodox, and Catholic). His efforts, however, did not bring about the desired results.

KARAĐORĐEVIĆ, ALEKSANDAR (1888–1934). A member of the Karađorđević dynasty in Serbia and the ruler of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** (1918–1934). After a period of quasi-parliamentary politics, King Aleksandar abolished the constitution, banned **political parties**, divided the country into new administrative districts, changed the name of the country to **Yugoslavia**, and declared a personal dictatorship on 6 January 1929.

The new administrative borders greatly hindered the unity of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Turbulent nationalist tensions marked the political life in the country during his reign. The assassination of Croatian deputies in Belgrade's parliament by a Serb deputy in June 1928 led to radicalization of the political life in the country. As a result, Aleksandar was assassinated by Croatian and Macedonian nationalists in Marseilles, France, in 1934. *See also* PAVELIĆ, ANTE.

KARADŽIĆ, RADOVAN (1945–). An accused war criminal on the run and political leader of the Bosnian **Serbs** from 1992 to 1996. By implementing the will and nationalist program of **Slobodan Milošević**, president of Serbia, he emerged from obscurity and stepped to the forefront of the nationalist Serb movement in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in post-Communist **Yugoslavia**.

Karadžić was born in the village of Petnjica, the county of Šavnik in Montenegro. He came to **Sarajevo** (1960) to study medicine (psychiatry), specializing in neurosis and depression. He also spent a year (1974–1975) at Columbia University, New York City, as a graduate student. After finishing his studies, he and his wife Ljiljana (also a psychiatrist), son, and daughter remained in Bosnia. He worked in the state hospital system and was also a psychiatrist

to a soccer team. He served a prison term in the former Yugoslavia for embezzlement. Karadžić also claims to be a poet. In 1993, he received the highest award for poetry in his native Montenegro. However, the honors did not reflect his literary achievements but rather the regime's appreciation of what he had done for the "Serbian cause" in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Karadžić was cofounder of the country's **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)** in 1990, and he became the leader of the self-proclaimed **Serb Republic** of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1992, he led the Bosnian Serb rebellion against the legitimate **government** in Sarajevo in order to break up the country and to unite the Serb Republic with Serbia and Montenegro. Because of his leading role in implementing the policy of **ethnic cleansing** and genocide of the non-Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, he was indicted by the UN-sponsored **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia** in The Hague on 25 July 1995, and again on 16 November 1995.

Through significant American pressure on Serbia and its leader Slobodan Milošević, Karadžić was forced to resign the office of president of the Serb Republic in August 1996 and to remove himself from the political scene in the country. Shortly after, he went into hiding and has evaded several attempts by international forces led by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to capture him. He has strong protection from high political, military, and church officials in the Serb Republic and Serbia-Montenegro, and some believe that the international community, or at least some of its key members, has not shown the necessary determination to find him. The fact that Karadžić, although on the run, has been able to publish two books, *Miraculous Chronicles of the Night* (2004) and *Under the Left Breast of the Century* (2005), makes a mockery of the international community and its efforts to capture him and bring him to justice. Karadžić's ghost is still influential among Bosnian Serbs.

KERATERM. A **concentration camp** near the town of Prijedor. It remained open from May 1992 until November 1995. It is estimated that about 40,000 people passed through it. From 30 May to 4 June 1992, about 1,000 civilians were killed in the camp, and on 27 July 1992, in Pavilion III, 1,200 non-Serbs, mostly **Muslims**, were killed. The camp was especially active after the Serbs began to lose territory

in Croatia and Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in the summer of 1995. The commander of the camp in 1995 was Slobodan Vlačina, and his two brothers, Ninoslav and Ranko, were his assistants. *See also* ETHNIC CLEANSING; SERB REPUBLIC.

KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES. *See* YUGOSLAVIA.

KISELJAK. A town 34 kilometers (21 miles) from **Sarajevo** on the road to **Jajce**. It has been known for its mineral waters since the 15th century. The bitter, salty water, named after the town, is used as a remedy for numerous health problems (diabetes, gout, urinary diathesis, etc.). The Kiseljak natural mineral water is sold in many places as a health remedy. The town and the area are inhabited by the **Croats**. During the last war, it became a major profiteering center.

KLJUČ. A town 220 meters (720 feet) above sea level in western Bosnia. It had over 40,000 inhabitants before the last war. Its old fortress was one of the strongest medieval Bosnian bastions. The region around the town was known as **Donji Kraji** before the **Ottoman** invasion. The last Bosnian king, **Stipan Tomašević**, was captured by the Turks there and killed in **Jajce** in 1463. At the time of **Austro-Hungarian** occupation (1878) strong resistance to the Habsburg armies was put up by **Bosnian Muslims** in the region of Ključ.

KLJUIĆ, STJEPAN (1939–). Former member of the seven-member state **presidency** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. He was born in **Sarajevo** and a journalist by profession. In 1971, he was dismissed from his job at the leading Sarajevo daily *Oslobođenje* because the regime suspected him of antistate activities. From that time until 1990, he was a Sarajevo correspondent to the Zagreb (Croatia) daily *Vjesnik*. In 1990, Kljuić became the leader of the most popular Croatian party in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the **Croatian Democratic Union**, and a member of the presidency. However, because of his disagreement with the policies of Croatia's president Franjo Tuđman toward Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kljuić was removed in November 1992 from his party position and also from the presidency. But while his split from the party was permanent, he was reinstated in the presidency a

year later. Kljuić's support for the preservation of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina was unwavering, and he was an advocate of Muslim–Croat cooperation. In June 1994, Kljuić founded a **Republican Party** that was not based on ethnic or confessional support but sought to attract membership from various segments of society in Bosnia. It remains, however, a minor political formation. During the September 1996 **elections**, the Republicans were part of a five-party Bosnia and Herzegovina's United List coalition.

KOČIĆ, PETAR (1877–1916). A leading Serb writer in Bosnia during the **Austro-Hungarian** period. He was born in the village of Stričići near **Banja Luka**. Already during the years of his secondary **education** in **Sarajevo**, he was in trouble with the Austro-Hungarian regime because of his Serbian nationalism. After being expelled from school, he went to Belgrade where he finished high school. He returned to Austro-Hungarian Empire and studied at the University of Vienna. He was a political activist all of his life and editor of several newspapers. In 1910, Kočić was elected to the Bosnian parliament and became the leader of the nationalist opposition.

Storytelling and drama were Kočić's main literary forms. In them, he describes the life of his native region and the life of the Serb peasantry in Bosnia under Austro-Hungarian rule. All of his works reflect his political and social beliefs and nationalist emotions, often in satirical form. *See also* LITERATURE.

KOLJEVIĆ, NIKOLA (1936–1997). Former chair at the English Department at the University of **Sarajevo** and vice president of the **Serb Republic** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from 1992 to 1997. Koljević was born in **Banja Luka**. He finished higher education at the University of Belgrade. From 1960 to 1962, he worked at the *Glas* enterprise in Banja Luka, then moved to Sarajevo where he worked at the Svjetlost publishing house. From 1965 to 1990, he taught philology at the University of Sarajevo.

Koljević emerged as a leading figure in the **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)** in Bosnia after the first multiparty **elections** at the end of 1990 and became a member of the Bosnian multiethnic **presidency**. However, he resigned the post in April 1992 and became vice president of the self-declared independent Serb Repub-

lic. He was thought to be a moderate nationalist but he remained “**Karadžić’s** intellectual shadow” and supportive of the most radical policies until the end of the war. Moreover, it was Koljević who originally called upon the **Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA)** to “protect **Serbs**” in Bosnia and Herzegovina in April 1992. He committed suicide in January 1997.

KOMŠIĆ, IVO (1948–). A Croat member of the “war **presidency**” of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** until the 1996 **elections**. Born in the town of **Kiseljak**, he received his higher **education** at the University of **Sarajevo** in the field of sociology, where he teaches at the Faculty of Philosophy.

Once a high official in the Communist Party of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he became vice president of the Party of Democratic Reform (former Communist Party) in March 1991. He split with the reformists and cofounded (1993) the **Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)** of Bosnia and Herzegovina and was its president until October 1995. Soon after, he left the HSS and joined the **Social Democratic Party (SDP)**. Because of internal factionalism in the SDP after losing the 2002 elections, Komšić and several other leading social Democrats split from the party, and he became vice president of the newly formed Social Democratic Union (SDU) of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the war, Komšić stood for the integrity of the country and cooperation between the **Muslims** and **Croats** in their defense against Serbian aggression. He was among the founders of the **Croatian National Council** in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1994), a loose coalition of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Croats who opposed dismemberment of the country and the policies of the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**, the main Croat party in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Komšić is president of the council.

In the September 1996 elections, Komšić ran among the Croats as a candidate of the United List of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s coalition for the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He received about 10 percent of the Croat vote.

KOSAČA, KATARINA (1424–1478). Daughter of Stipan Vukčić Kosača—better known as **Herzeg Stipan**—and Jelena Balšić, whose noble family ruled in neighboring Zeta (Montenegro). Because her father adhered to the **Bosnian Church**, she was probably

raised as a Bosnian *kr'stjan*. But sometime before her marriage to Bosnian king **Stipan Tomaš** (1446) at the age of 22, she became not only legally but genuinely a Catholic. Her support of the **Catholic Church**, especially of the **Franciscan** order in Bosnia, was well known. She even became a member of the order herself. Katarina and King Stipan Tomaš had two children, Sigismund and Katarina. After the death of King Tomaš (1461), the new king, her stepson **Stipan Tomašević**, treated her and her children well. Even her rebellious father, who had been in a constant struggle with her husband, made peace with the new king.

Because of the swift Turkish invasion of Bosnia (1463) and the confusion that followed, she had to flee the country. After an arduous trip from Bosnia, she found refuge in the city of Dubrovnik, but her two children were not so fortunate. They were captured by the Turks. She was received politely by Dubrovnik's commercial aristocracy, but her presence was a liability to the city that was trying to live in peace with the Turks. For that reason, and hoping to solicit help for the liberation of her country, she moved to Rome. The queen and members of her court were well received by the church authority. Her hopes, however, that the pope might help liberate Bosnia soon dissipated. She was treated royally and supported monetarily, but nothing more tangible was undertaken on behalf of her country.

The queen's captive children were another painful concern. All her efforts to ransom them from the Turks failed. Moreover, both of them converted to **Islam**, so her son Sigismund and also her younger half-brother Stipan were lost to the Bosnian cause. They entered the **Ottoman** service and became high officials in the empire. Sigismund, renamed Ishak, became a *sandžak* bey, but the fate of her daughter was unknown.

Before Queen Katarina died on 25 October 1478, she bequeathed the Kingdom of Bosnia to the Holy See. She was buried in the church of the Franciscan *Aracoeli* monastery in Rome. In popular stories among the Bosnian Croats, Queen Katarina remains in high esteem as a saintly woman and a patron of the common folk. *See also* HERZEG OR HERCEG STIPAN VUKČIĆ KOSAČA.

KOTROMANIĆI. A ruling dynasty in medieval Bosnia. The beginnings of the family's ascendancy are not clear. They are mentioned

for the first time in documents of the city of Dubrovnik at the beginning of the 14th century, but it is likely the family was already well established in the country. It is believed that Stipan Prijezda the Great (1254–1287) was the first Kotromanić. His mother was the daughter of the Croatian nobleman Kotroman, and Stipan probably assumed the nickname *Kotroman* after his mother's ancestry. His successors were known as the Kotromanići, or sons of Kotroman. *See also* STIPAN II, KOTROMANIĆ.

KRAJINA/FRONTIER OR BORDER LAND. When the Croatian noble family Nelipići separated the **Zahumlje** region from Croatia at the end of the 12th century, the region between the Cetina River and the Neretva River became known as Krajina or Frontier. The territory, except for the town of Omiš, came under the rule of Bosnian **ban**, **Stipan II Kotromanić**, in 1324. A few years later, however, **Ban Tvrtko** had to relinquish Krajina (and Zahumlje) back to the ruler of Croatia (1357). In 1390, however, Tvrtko gained Krajina again. The region came into the possession of the powerful feudal family Kosača and became a part of the autonomous domain of **Herzeg Stipan Vukčić Kosača**. This region fell to the **Ottomans** in 1498. Parts of present-day western **Herzegovina** belonged to the medieval Krajina district.

KRAJIŠNIK, MOMČILO (1945–). Serb politician born in **Sarajevo**. Former president of the Assembly of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and a leading member of the **Serb Democratic Party**. After the creation of the self-proclaimed independent **Serb Republic**, he was elected president of its assembly and became one of the principal figures among the separatist **Serbs** in the country. He rejected the **Dayton Peace Accords** and urged the Serbs to leave **Sarajevo** rather than live under the Muslim-led **government**.

After **Radovan Karadžić**, as an indicted war criminal, was forced from the office of the president of the Serb Republic by international pressure in August 1996 and banned from political life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Krajišnik was selected by the Serb Democratic Party leadership to be its candidate for the three-man **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although he was unexpectedly challenged by **Slobodan Milošević's** Socialist Party candidate, Krajišnik achieved

an easy victory and became one of the three members of Bosnia's presidency. However, he was accused of war crimes, arrested (April 2000), and sentenced by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** to 27 years in prison for crimes against humanity on 27 September 2006.

KRALJEVA SUTJESKA. Although today only a quiet village near the towns of Kakanj and Vareš, it was a significant medieval settlement and a royal seat of the Bosnian rulers from the beginning of the 14th century, along with the nearby citadel of **Bobovac**. A town of merchants, craftsmen, and other dwellers, along with a major **Franciscan** monastery, developed in the vicinity of the royal residence, and the place became an important political, cultural, and religious center in medieval Bosnia.

With the occupation of Bosnia by the **Ottomans** (1463), Sutjeska fell into ruins. Although the Franciscan monastery and its friars have gone through many adversities under Ottoman rule, including demolition of the buildings in 1524 and a devastating fire in 1658, they always ascended from the ruins and are a living testimony to a Sutjeska's notable past.

The present-day monastery was built at the end of the 19th century, and this religious institution is an important custodian of the heritage and cultural treasures of medieval Bosnia. The local Catholic **population** is especially proud of guarding the memory of the last Bosnian queen **Katarina Kosača Kotromanić**, who lived in the town on the eve of Bosnia's fall to the Ottomans.

KRANJČEVIĆ, SILVIJE STRAHIMIR (1865–1908). A leading Croat writer in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** at the end of the 19th century. He was born in Senj (Croatia), where he finished his primary and secondary **education**. He began theological studies in Rome, but soon he returned to Zagreb where he finished the teachers' college. From 1886 until his death, Kranjčević taught elementary education in various towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina: **Mostar**, Livno, Bijeljina, and **Sarajevo**. Throughout his adult life, he was in constant struggle with various economic, political, and health predicaments.

Kranjčević is perhaps the most significant poet of the 19th century, not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also in Croatian **literature**

in general. His literary debut began during his high school days. Although many of his poems are inspired by the Croatian patriotism of the day, he successfully lifts himself to a level of universal themes of life struggles, doubts, alienation, and human idealism versus social conventions and injustices. His poems and reflections cut like a blade into the question of the meaning of human existence. Among Kranjčević's best-known poems are "Narodu," "Hrvatskoj majci," "Moj dom," "Radniku," "Iza spuštenih trepavica," "In tyrannos," "Povijesti sud," "Mojsije," and "Zadnji Adam."

Kranjčević was also the editor of the literary journal *Nada* (1895–1903), probably the best literary publication in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time. It reflected the contemporary European literary movement of modernism. Kranjčević died in Sarajevo, leaving an enormous literary legacy.

KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, HAMDİJA (1888–1959). A leading intellectual among **Bosnian Muslims** in modern times. He was born in **Sarajevo**, where he also received his lower and higher **education**. By profession he was a teacher, but through his research and writing, he contributed greatly to the studies of Bosnia and **Herzegovina's** history and culture, especially from the **Ottoman** period. He published over 350 works, including a number of monographs, in those and related fields. He became a professor at the well-known **Gazi Husrev-beg** Madrese in Sarajevo and, because of his accomplishments as a scientist, became a member of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb. He was also an important scientific contributor to the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Because of his pro-Croatian leanings, some of his pre-Communist era works were censored after World War II.

KULENOVIĆ, DŽAFER-BEG (1891–1956). A leading **Bosnian Muslim** politician between the two world wars and during World War II. He was born near Kulen-Vakuf. He received his secondary **education** in **Sarajevo**, **Tuzla**, and **Mostar** and finished law studies in Vienna and Zagreb. Kulenović was of Croatian national orientation from his youth until his death. In 1919, he became a member of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization and in 1939, he became president. Kulenović was also a representative in the Belgrade parliament and

a leading voice against Serbian unitarism. After the collapse of the First **Yugoslavia** in April 1941, he became deputy prime minister in the **Independent State of Croatia**. In 1945, he immigrated to the West and ended up in Syria, where he lived until the end of his life. His son Nahid was murdered for political reasons by Yugoslav secret agents in Germany in 1969.

KULIN. Ban (viceroy) of Bosnia (c. 1164–c. 1204). Kulin probably became *ban* of Bosnia in 1164, after *Ban Borić* was removed from power by the Hungarian-Croatian king. Soon, however, Bosnia and *Ban Kulin* came under Byzantine suzerainty. In 1180, Kulin freed his land from the Byzantine lordship and, with the Hungarian-Croatian king Béla III, invaded Byzantium as far as the city of Sofia in Bulgaria. Kulin successfully used the conflict between the two competing regional powers, Byzantium and Hungary, to advance his autonomy and expand the original Bosnian territory to the north (**Usora, Soli, and Lower Regions**) and to the south (region around Neretva River). Although he nominally recognized the sovereignty of Hungarian kings over Bosnia, he laid the foundations for future Bosnian statehood. Attributes and titles used by the pope and others to praise him suggest that he was a powerful nobleman and a generous ruler. Legends glorifying him and his “good times” remain in the memory of Bosnian people today.

The first allegation that an unorthodox Christian teaching was present in Bosnia appeared during Kulin’s rule. The ruler of Dioclea (approximately present-day Montenegro), Vukan, in his letter (1199) to Pope Innocent III accused Kulin himself and his family of adhering to a Manichean-like heresy. In all likelihood, Vukan had an ulterior (political) reason for such accusations, because there is no reason to believe that Kulin was anything but faithful to Rome. To ease the pope’s concerns and to prevent a possible crusade against Bosnia by Hungarian rulers eager to control Bosnia, Kulin sent a delegation to Rome and invited the pope to send a legate to Bosnia to investigate the matter. Kulin’s embassy to the pope cleared the issues in Rome. Also, the political and religious leaders met with the pope’s legate in 1203 at Bilino Polje, near **Zenica**. All heterodox practices were renounced, and the orthodox **Catholic** teaching was reaffirmed by the assembly. These wise moves by *Ban Kulin* averted a major political

crisis and a direct clash with the pope and the Hungarian king, who was not pleased with Bosnia's assertion of autonomy.

KURTČEHAJIĆ, MEHMED ŠAKIR (1844–1872). First modern Bosniac journalist and a newspaper editor. He was born in Bijelo Polje. He became very knowledgeable in various subjects, although he had only an elementary **education**. He was a self-educated man. With the support of **Topal Osman-Pasha**, who at the time attempted to implement **Ottoman** reforms in Bosnia, Kurtčehajić founded the first Bosnian newspaper, *Sarajevski cvijetak*/**Sarajevo** Floret. In his writing, he criticized the backwardness of his own people and urged them to embrace modern Western education and scientific advancements without rejecting their Islamic heritage.

KURTOVIĆ, TODO (1919–). One of the leading political personalities in post–World War II Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and **Yugoslavia**. He was born in Trebinje, was a member of the Communist Party from 1941, and was a participant in the partisan movement during World War II. Kurtović completed the program at the Higher School of Politics in Belgrade and held various high positions in the party, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Yugoslavia from 1945 until its collapse.

KUSTURICA, EMIR (1954–). A world-renowned filmmaker, born in **Sarajevo**. After finishing higher education in his native city, he graduated from the famed film academy in Prague (Filmová a televizní fakulteta Akademie múzických umění/FAMU), where he absorbed the Czech humanistic film tradition along with various Western influences. The first part of his career includes two locally produced feature films and various television productions. Kusturica's real debut was the release of *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?* in 1981, which he directed. This love story won him the Golden Lion Award in the first film category at the Venice Festival. His next film, *When Father Was Away on Business* (1985), a political scene in 1950s **Yugoslavia** from the perspective of a young boy, brought to Kusturica the Golden Palm, the International Critics Prize at Cannes, and a nomination for an Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film. His third feature, *Time of the Gypsies* (1989), which explores the exploitation of gypsy

children smuggled from Yugoslavia to the West to beg and steal for their masters, earned Kusturica the Best Director Prize at Cannes and the Roberto Rossellini Career Achievement Award in Rome. Since then, he has released *Arizona Dream* (1993), *Underground* (1995), *Black Cat, White Cat* (1998), *Super 8 Stories* (2001), *Life is a Miracle* (2004), and *All the Invisible Children* (2006).

Kusturica became a very controversial figure in his homeland, especially after the release of *Underground*, which was made with the help of Serbian movie studios and money. That was against the international embargo imposed on Serbia by the **United Nations** at the time and while his native city was under a Serb siege. The film reflected cheap Serbian nationalist propaganda against its neighbors and the West.

From the beginning of the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, Kusturica did not hide his pro-Serb sympathies. He went even further and was baptized (2005) into the Serb **Orthodox Church** as Nemanja Kusturica, claiming that he was simply returning to his Serbian roots. His move was celebrated by the **Serbs**, while Bosnian Muslims see him as a traitor. Kusturica has not visited his native city since 1992. *See also* SARAJEVO FILM FESTIVAL.

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LAND MUSEUM/ZEMALJSKI MUZEJ. The National Museum of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in **Sarajevo**. It was founded in 1888, during the **Austro-Hungarian** occupation of the country. Its establishment was a part of the Austro-Hungarian imperial efforts to bring the occupied province closer to Western cultural and educational standards and practices.

At the time of occupation (1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina was a mysterious and undiscovered land for most people and scholars in the Habsburg lands. Thus, there was great interest in its yet-unexplored past. There was also an urgent need to protect the national treasures from being taken away from the country by various amateur archeologists. For such reasons, the Museum Society was organized first, and then the government founded the National

Museum for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its first director was cultural activist **Kosta Hoermann**.

The Museum developed a large number of cultural, **educational**, and scientific activities. Today, it has three departments: the Department of Archeology, Department of Ethnology, and Department of Natural History.

The recent war (1992–1995) and the Serb's relentless bombardment of Sarajevo have caused devastation of the four museum buildings and severe damage to its treasures. Since the end of the war, thanks to help coming from various institutions around the world, the museum is on the way to recovery.

The museum has published numerous scholarly works. Its best known publication is the *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*/Herald of the Land Museum. This annual was continuously published from 1889 to 1991, and it has resumed publishing after the war. *See also* PARIK, KARLO.

LANGUAGE. Language was much more than a means of communication in the former multinational **Yugoslavia**. It touched the core of intranational relations. The country had three official languages: Macedonian, Slovene, and “Croato-Serbian” or “Serbo-Croatian.” The Serbian and Croatian languages were “united” for political and ideological reasons in 1954. Because the **Croats** considered the unification to be a form of Serbian imperialism, they persisted in keeping Croatian as a separate language. In Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, where **Muslims**, **Serbs**, and Croats lived, Serbian language influences were significant, and the use of both alphabets, Latin and Serbian **Cyrillic**, was enforced in schools and the official media.

At the present, there is no single official language in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbs use Serbian, the Croats Croatian, and the Muslims, in their desire to assert their newly discovered Bosniac nationality, have inaugurated the Bosnian language. However, naming their language Bosnian and not Bosniac is a clear indication on the part of the Muslim/**Bosniacs** to use the language as an instrument of homogenization of the non-Bosniacs in the country. Their approach to language policy is seen by some as an expression of a “greater Bosniacism.” *See also* BOSANČICA; GLAGOLITIC SCRIPT; LITERATURE.

LATAS, OMER-PASHA (1806–1871). A famed **Ottoman** officer who crashed the resistance of the Muslim feudal elite in Bosnia to the Ottoman reforms, as well as the revolts of the Christian subjects in their quest for equality. Omer-Pasha Latas was born as Mihajlo Latas in a village near Plaško, Croatia, into an Orthodox family. He entered the **Habsburg** military school in the nearby town of Gospić, but because of some financial embezzlement, he escaped to Bosnia in 1927. Soon after, he became a Muslim and entered the Ottoman military service. Latas became well-known for bringing law and order to various rebellious provinces. A close friendship to the Sultan Abdülmecid, a marriage to a rich heiress, and a disposition as a man of action secured him a quick rise in the imperial power circles.

Because of strong resistance and an open rebellion against Ottoman modernization reforms, the Sublime Porte sent Omer-Pasha (1850) to bring calm to the province. As usual, he used his proven methods to deal with the opponents: Many of them were executed and numerous exiled. Christian subjects were also treated severely because of their rebellious demands for legal protection and the rights promised by the porte. Furthermore, he abolished the separate status of **Herzegovina** and unified it with the Bosnian Ottoman province.

Ivo Andrić's posthumously published novel *Omer-paša Latas* (1977) was inspired by the life of this Islamized former sergeant in the Habsburg army.

LATIĆ, DŽEMALUDIN (1957–). A leading Bosniac Islamic scholar and dissident in the 1980s. He was born near Gornji Vakuf and received higher **education** at **Gazi Husrev-begova** Madersa and the Faculty of Islamic Sciences in **Sarajevo**, where he received his doctorate in 1999. He also studied **literature** in Zagreb (Croatia) and Sarajevo.

Latić's name became known after he, with a group of other Muslim intellectuals, including **Alija Izetbegović**, were arrested in 1983 for "antistate activities." He was sentenced to six and a half years, but was released in 1986. After coming out of prison, he became editor of *Preporod/Rebirth*, the official organ of the Islamic community in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, began publication of *Muslimanski glas/Muslim Voice*, and was the chief editor of the weekly *Ljiljan/Lily* from 1990 to 1994. Latić served as a political

advisor to the late Alija Izetbegović, former president of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was a leading ideologue of the (Muslim) **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**.

In 2005, he caused a considerable controversy when, in a speech in Sarajevo, he called for a “Bosniac cultural revolution and revitalization of the Islamic-**Ottoman** civilization.” He remains an influential figure among Bosnian Muslims.

LEUTAR, JOZO (1953–1999). Assassinated former deputy minister of internal affairs of the Bosniac–Croat **Federation**. He was born in Tomislavgrad, of Croat nationality. On 16 March 1999, a directional bomb on remote control exploded on a **Sarajevo** street, near the U.S. Embassy as Leutar’s official car was passing by. He was severely wounded and died a few days later. The assassination caused a flurry of allegations, false leads, and paid witnesses, as well as wrong imprisonments and wrongful judgments. Most of all, his death exposed serious divisions in the Ministry of Interior, struggles among and within various **intelligence agencies**, lack of the rule of law in the country itself, and mistrust between Bosniac and Croat state officials. State and international bureaucrats in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, notably Ambassador J. P. Klein, accused and imprisoned alleged members of the “Croat mafia” for Leutar’s death, but this proved to be a witch hunt. The case is still unresolved. Some Sarajevo publications claim that the assassination leads to key members of the Muslim Intelligence Agency (MOS) who were close to the ruling party (SDA) and influential in the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the time.

LICA/FACES. A journal published by the Writers’ Association of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** dedicated to cultural issues. Its publication began in 1967 and, in the prewar period, it was published by the Youth Association.

LITERATURE. The oldest remnant of medieval writing in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** dates from the 11th or 12th century (**Humačka Ploča/The Humac Tablet**) and the earliest known codices go back to the 12th century. These treasures are linked to an earlier Latin and even Greek literary heritage that is found in the region. Initially, the

manuscripts were written in **Glagolitic** and later in Bosnian **Cyrillic** script (*bosančica*), and most of them were in the *ikavian* dialect of the Croatian language. Besides religious texts and regal documents, a few writings of a secular nature were also written in medieval Bosnia, like genealogies, chronicles, and even a variant of a story about Alexander the Great (*Aleksandrida*). The epigraphic writing, however, has a special place in the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most such inscriptions are found on numerous **stećci**, unique tombstones found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the neighboring southern regions of Croatia, and parts of Montenegro and Serbia that used to be under Bosnian rulers. Many of these writings express much more than the usual data about the deceased and have a literary value of their own.

The medieval writing in Bosnia, as in other European lands, is closely linked to the needs of the church and most of the texts are religious in nature. Among the best-known codices are Miroslav's gospel (12th century), Batal's gospel (14th century), Srećković's gospel (15th century), Hval's collection (1404), Čajniče gospel (late 14th or early 15th century), and, one of the most beautiful codices, the Missal of Duke **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinović** (1404). *How Satan Created the World* and *Apocalypse of the Bosnian Christians* are among the best-known works of the medieval dualist Christian sect in Bosnia.

With the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom and the coming of the **Ottomans**, major cultural and religious shifts took place. The Islamic civilization that the Ottomans brought to the region took root and thrived. The importance of the Bosnian dualist church declined, and it slowly faded away. The **Catholic Church**, revitalized by the **Franciscans** toward the end of Bosnian independence, spun into major decline under the Islamic dominion. Furthermore, Orthodox Christianity began to spread in the country. During the Ottoman period (1463–1878), literary activities in Bosnia split in three main directions, corresponding to the three major religious communities: Muslim, Catholic, and Orthodox.

A number of educated Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina wrote in Oriental languages (Persian, Arabic, and Turkish) and made a major contribution to the literature and general growth of knowledge in the Ottoman Empire. The Persian language was used mostly for poetic expression, Arabic for religious texts, law, and

scholarly commentaries, and Turkish for a variety of other needs. Numerous native sons gave their literary contribution in Oriental languages. Some of them became well-known copiers and commentators of old texts.

The second type of literary expression that evolved among the **Bosnian Muslims** was the so-called *aljamiado* literature. The expression comes from the Spanish *alhamia* (from Arabic *al-'agamiya*) meaning non-Arabic or foreign. In literature, it denotes texts in non-Arabic languages written in Arabic script.

This type of literary writing, especially poetry, was very common among the literate Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many religious, didactic, satiric, and love songs, as well as prayers, sayings, and even a dictionary in poetic style, were written in the native language and in Arabic letters. This literary form provided the writers with a useful combination through which they could verbalize the riches of their indigenous culture but still remain part of a wider Islamic civilization. The oldest known *aljamiado* text in Bosnia dates from 1588 (*Hirvat türkisi*/Croatian song, by a man named Mehmed). *Aljamiado* literature increased in the later Ottoman centuries as the writings of the Bosnian Muslims in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish diminished. This form of artistic expression was most popular in the 19th and into the 20th centuries. Among the best-known names of *aljamiado* literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina are Muhamed Hevajji Uskufi and Hasan Kaimi (17th century), Mula Mustafa Bašeskija, Kadija Hasan, Mehmed Razija, Šefkija, Illhamia (18th century), poetess Umihana Čavidina, Arif Sarajlija, Jusufbeg Čengiđ, Rizabeg Kapetanović, Ahmed Karahodža, Omer Humo (19th century), and Alija Sadiković at the beginning of the 20th century.

In the middle of the 19th century, however, as a result of the Ottoman reforms, a new cultural life began to emerge among the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was during the rule of the progressive governorship of **Topal Osman-Pasha** (1860–1869) that a first printing press began to operate in **Sarajevo**, which in turn stimulated literary activities among the Muslims and members of the other two religious communities. Western influences in **education** and literature began to penetrate a very traditional Bosnian society.

During the Ottoman rule in Bosnia, the Serbian Orthodox monasteries were not significant literary centers. The low level of the

monks' education prevented them from making a serious cultural contribution. Besides some copying of church books, they wrote a few chronologies and hagiographic works. These works were written in Russo-Serbian church language and the Cyrillic alphabet.

As a result of their national awakening, however, in the first half of the 19th century, Bosnian **Serbs** came in closer touch with the Serbian cultural activities in the **Habsburg** realm and in Serbia. Under such influences, the local Serbs began to collect and publish folk literature. But under the influence of the Serbian language, reformer and national ideologist Vuk Karadžić declared all such works Serbian regardless of their ethnic origin. In 1849, he published an article ("Serbs All and Everywhere") in which he claimed that all people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and most of Croatia were Serbs. Besides some journalistic and polemical writing, most of the Serbian literary activities of the 19th century, therefore, centered around the collection of folk wisdom.

While the early Bosnian Muslim literature evolved under the umbrella of Islamic civilization, Serbian under Byzantine-Russian influence, Croatian literature was tied to the Western intellectual and spiritual tradition. The beginnings of Croatian literary activities under the Turkish rule are closely tied to the Franciscans and their book publishing for religious needs: theological and liturgical manuals, catechisms and simple religious texts for the common people, and translations of some Western Catholic authors. Besides the religious texts, chronologies, school textbooks, and books with simple medical advice were written. Furthermore, the first attempts to synthesize Bosnian history were made by the Franciscans.

Among the more significant contributors to the Croatian literacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Turkish period were **Matija Divković** and Stipan Matijević (16th–17th centuries); Stjepan Margitić, Lovro Šitović, Nikola Lašvanin, Filip Laštrić, and Beno Benić (18th century); and **Ivan F. Jukić**, **Petar Bakula**, and **Grga Martić** (19th century).

The Franciscans were writing in the Croatian language and in a style understandable to the "simple" folk. As such, they had an important influence on the linguistic development and popular literature among the Croats in the later centuries. Their early works were printed in the Bosnian Cyrillic (*bosančica*), while by

the first half of the 18th century, the Latin script prevailed among the **Croats** in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Besides literary expressions in the native language, there were a number of Catholic Croatian writers from the country who wrote in Latin. One such author was **Juraj Dragišić** (c. 1450–1520). He was a well-known Franciscan humanist and university professor. The Latinist tradition among the Bosnian Franciscans continued into the 19th century. They published works on subjects such as theology, philosophy, linguistics, poetry, and medicine.

Because the Franciscans considered education essential to the national revival of the 19th century, a number of them became very active in organizing schools and in publishing. One such enthusiast was Fra Ivan F. Jukić who published in 1850 the first modern journal in Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Bosnian Friend*). Toward the end of the 19th century, as a result of previous educational efforts, lay people began to join the literary circles.

Besides the three major ethno-religious literatures, the Jewish community, although small in number, had a literary input in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It started with the coming of the Sephardic Jews to Bosnia at the beginning of the 16th century. Their writings before the **Austro-Hungarian** occupation of the country (1878) dealt mainly with religious education, chronicles, epigraphic inscriptions, and, later on, lyric poetry. But while Jewish life in Bosnia and Herzegovina remained relatively quiet during those centuries, one of their members, Nehemija Hija Hajon, stands out. He was the passionate missionary of a cabalistic heresy and published several religious works in the West at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. Furthermore, one of the most important Jewish cultural, religious, and literary treasures is preserved in Bosnia. That is the Sarajevo *Hagada*, a religious manuscript with rich illustrations that originated in Spain. Only after a rabbinical school was established in Sarajevo at the end of the 18th century did Jewish literary activities rise to higher artistic levels. Besides the Hebrew language, Jewish literature was also orally transmitted and written in Ladino (Sephardic Jews) idiom. The best-known modern Jewish writer in Bosnia is **Isak Samokovlija**. His works reflect the life of the Sephardic Jews, their efforts to preserve their cultural identity, and the challenges that people face in the universal struggle between good and evil.

The Austro-Hungarian period (1878–1918), besides the political changes, saw major shifts in cultural activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina among all of the ethno-religious groups. Although the new cultural processes were not of the same intensity among the Muslims, Orthodox, or Catholics, these changes did push literary activities out of the religious realm and into the secular domain in all three communities. Serb opposition to Vienna and closer ties with Serbia increased. Croats strove for closer links to cultural activities in Croatia. Both Serb and Croat literatures became a vehicle for reaffirmation of national feelings and political activism. Among the Muslims, although their literary activities increased, there was confusion regarding their cultural and national affiliation. The old Ottoman pride and tradition were fading away, and the new sense of identity had not yet been formed.

Benevolent and cultural societies among the three communities were established at the beginning of the 20th century. They helped to nurture young literary talents. At the same time, the proliferation of newspapers and literary journals took place in the country. As a result, the literary activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina began to catch up with modern trends. Among the Bosnian Serb writers of the time, the best-known names were **Aleksa Šantić**, **Jovan Dučić**, **Petar Kočić**, Sima Milutinović-Sarajlija, and **Svetozar Ćorović**. They were gathered around the publications of *Bosanska Vila* in Sarajevo and *Zora* in **Mostar**. Among the Muslims, Mehmed-beg Kapetanović-Ljubušak was the first to write in the Bosniac language and Latin script. He was an advocate of the Bosniac identity. Others were **Safvet-beg Bašagić**, **Ćazim Musa Ćatić**, Osman Nuri Hadžić, **Edhem Mulabdić** (these considered themselves as Croats), and Osman Đikić (he identified with the Serbs). Leading publications among the Muslims were *Behar*, *Biser*, and *Muslimanska biblioteka*. Among the Croatian Catholic writers were Grga Martić, Ivan A. Miličević, Tugomir Alaupović, Mirko Jurkić, Petar Bakula, Ivan Zovko, and the best-known: **Silvije S. Kranjčević**. Their publications were *Hercegovački bosiljak*, *Glas Hercegovaca*, *Novi prijatelj Bosne*, *Osvit*, and, the most important literary publication, Kranjčević's *Nada*.

The best-known names among the modern Muslim writers are Ahmed Muradbegović, Enver Čolaković, Hasan Kikić, **Alija**

Nametak, Hamza Humo, Skender Kulenović, Midhat Begić, Derviš Sušić, Nedžad Ibrišimović, **Alija Isaković**, Izet Sarajlić, Abdulah Sidran, Feđa Šehović, Alan Horić (in Canada), Husain Tahmišić, Ferida Duraković, Nasiha Kapidžić-Hadžić, Hadžem Hajdarević, Bisera Alikadić, Dževad Karahasan, Semezdin Mehmedinović, and Jasna Šamić. **Meša Selimović** and **Mak Dizdar** stand out among the best writers in the literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Čolaković, Kikić, and Nametak were the pioneers of modern literary expression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Begić's critical comparisons of Bosnia and Herzegovina poets are especially valuable and, as a leading literary critic and theorist, he became well respected in European circles. Selimović became especially known for incorporating Bosnian Islamic tradition and the Koran in his writings. His works deal with the relationship between the rulers and the ruled in which the individual is always the victim. Dizdar, through his works, entered the world of medieval Bosnia by utilizing the inspiring literary and philosophical inscriptions from the ancient tombstones in the country. On the other hand, Sarajlić in his poems (many dedicated to the "heroes of socialist labor") glorified the former Communist regime and Leninist totalitarianism. Although of Muslim **religion** or of Islamic cultural background, Alija Nametak and Mak Dizdar considered themselves Croats, and Meša Selimović declared himself to be of Serb nationality.

Among the Serbs, Branko Ćopić, Mladen Oljača, Marko Marković, Vojislav Lumbarda, Mirko Kovač, Vuk Krnjević, Petar Zubac, Duško Trifunović, Dara Sekulić, Rajko Nogo, Nenad Radanović, Ranko Ristojević, Stevan Tontić, and Goran Simić (now in Canada) are the best-known literary names. The works of Ćopić and Oljača are known for their servitude to the ideals of socialist realism. Both writers remained faithful to the Communist regime. Kovač, on the other hand, in his works resisted the ideas of socialist revolution as well as Serbian nationalism. Reacting to the Serb aggression in Croatia (1991) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992), he went so far as to declare himself a Croat writer.

Among the Croats, **Antun B. Šimić**, Stanislav Šimić, Jakša Kušan, **Novak Simić**, Nikola Šop, Janko Bubalo, Lucijan Kordić, Vitomir Lukić, Andjelko Vuletić, Veselko Koroman, Ivan Loverenović, Vlado Pavlović, Gojko Sušac, Ićan Ramljak, Mirko Marijanović,

Ivan Kordić, Krešimir Šego, Stojan Vučićević, Marijo Suško, Nikola Martić, Tomislav Ladan, Željko Ivanković, Mile Pešorda, Ilija Ladin, and Miljenko Jergović stand out. The best-known Bosnian writer is **Ivo Andrić**, who won the 1961 Nobel Prize for Literature and who is by birth a Croat but did not consider himself, except in his younger years, as part of Croat literary circles. The poetry of A. B. Šimić represents a defiance of the traditional literary forms. As a young student he founded various publications in which he promoted contemporary European literary movements. In the post-World War II period, Bubalo destroyed all of his early works out of fear of the Communist regime. But after 1970, he became a leading poet of Catholic persuasion. Kordić spent five decades in the West, and became a foremost Croat poet in exile. Stojan Vučićević, as a high school student, was condemned to three years in jail for his political views, and his works reflect his political stands. Ramnjak is a well-known author of children's books in which he incorporates Croatian village life and traditions. Jergović has been acclaimed as an exceptional storyteller, and his works have been translated into many languages.

LJILJAN/LILY. A Bosnian Muslim (**Bosniac**) nationalist weekly with a forceful Islamic orientation. With the support of Saudi Arabia, its publication began in 1990. During the war, it was printed in Zagreb (Croatia) and Ljubljana (Slovenia), Visoko (Bosnia), and then in **Sarajevo**. Although it claimed to be independent, it was close to the (Muslim) **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**. From 1990 to 1994, its chief editor was **Džemaludin Latić**, a leading Islamic scholar and one of the ideologues of the SDA. The paper ceased publishing in 2005. *See also* MEDIA.

LJUBIJA. A small **mining** town in northwestern Bosnia near Prijedor. Although its mines were known from Roman times and the Saxon miners worked there in the Middle Ages, the first major explorations were made by **Austro-Hungarian** mining experts before World War I. They found that the region was abounding in a very rich iron ore. During the era of socialist **Yugoslavia**, Ljubija became the largest mine of iron ore in the country.

Recently, the town came into prominence because its mine pits were used as mass graves for thousands of **Muslims** and **Croats** who

became victims of the Serbian **ethnic cleansing** campaign. During 1992, the mine pits were places of executions and burials, but as the **Serbs** began to lose territory in 1995, remains from other mass graves in western Bosnia were transferred to the Ljubija mines as hiding places, and attempts were made to erase the crime by destroying the remains. It is estimated that about 8,000 people have been disposed of in the Ljubija mines. *See also* CONCENTRATION AND DETENTION CAMPS.

LJUBIJANKIĆ, IRFAN (1952–1995). Former foreign minister of the Republic of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. He was born in the town of **Bihać**. After finishing medical studies in Belgrade in 1977, he worked in Africa, Zagreb (Croatia), and his native Bihać. In the first post-Communist **elections**, Ljubijankić was elected to the **Sarajevo Parliament**, became a leading member of the ruling Muslim **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, and was appointed president of the Bihać district (1991). In October 1993, he was named foreign minister, and on 28 May 1995, Ljubijankić was assassinated. The helicopter carrying him and his assistants was downed by the **Serbs**.

LJUJIĆ MIJATOVIĆ, TATJANA (1941–). A former Serb member of the seven-member state **presidency** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from 1992 to 1996. She also served as a Bosnia and Herzegovina's ambassador, assistant mayor of **Sarajevo**, and on various state reconstruction committees.

Ljujić Mijatović was born in Sarajevo. She finished her **education** in the native city and Belgrade in a natural environment and preservation. Besides her professional activities, she was a political activist during the Communist and post-Communist period in the country. Before she became a member of the state presidency, she was a delegate to the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and president of the Association of **Women** during the Yugoslav period. After the 1992 war began, she remained in the besieged Sarajevo, rejected the policies of the Serbian nationalist leadership, and supported the preservation of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She is a member of the **Serb Civic Council** in Sarajevo.

LOWER REGIONS. *See* DONJI KRAJI.

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MACKENZIE, LEWIS (1940–). A Canadian retired general and commanding officer of **United Nations** forces in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** (**Sarajevo** sector) between June and September 1992. In June 1992, he opened the Sarajevo airport to relief flights and became an instant hero. The fame, however, lasted a short time because of his zealous insistence that all three sides in the Bosnian war were equally to blame.

After his removal from the Sarajevo post, he became an open advocate of pro-Serbian positions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of his speaking engagements were sponsored by SerbNet, a Serb-American lobby group. His stand, in essence, was to let the “three serial killers” settle their own scores. But his military “realism” actually supported the **Serbs** because they had an overwhelming power superiority. He was accused by the Bosnian government at the time of serious misconduct for participating in the alleged abuses of **women** while he was in Bosnia. Others claimed that the accusation was a total fabrication in order to get him out of the country.

MANDIĆ, DOMINIK (1889–1973). **Franciscan** priest and historian from **Herzegovina**. He was born in the village of Lise (Široki Brijeg) near **Mostar**. He received his higher education in Mostar and Fribourg, Switzerland, where he received a doctorate in theology. Mandić served in various important positions in his Franciscan order in Herzegovina and in Rome. In 1952, he went to the United States, where he dedicated himself to studying the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mandić published numerous works on the subject, especially on the period of medieval Bosnia.

MARKOVIĆ, ANTE (1924–). Last prime minister of socialist **Yugoslavia** (1989–1991). He was born in the town of Konjic in **Herzegovina** to a Croat family. He received his higher education in Zagreb in electrical engineering. He worked as an industrial manager and a member of the Economic Councils in the government of the Republic of Croatia and of Yugoslavia. He then served as prime minister and president of the **presidency** of Croatia. When Marković took office as prime minister of Yugoslavia (March 1989), the country was in

major economic, political, social, and ethnic turmoil. His radical reform proposals, well-acclaimed and supported by the West, were the last attempt to prevent and correct the instability in the country. He strove to steer the country to a free-market **economy**, believing that a sound economy would keep the various peoples together. Although Yugoslavia had reached the point of no return by the beginning of 1990, Marković attempted to preserve the unity of the country by forming his own all-Yugoslav Reform Party, “an alliance of reformist forces to build a new and prosperous Yugoslavia,” in the summer of 1990. But instead of preserving the unity of the country, he presided over the first phase of the war of its disintegration. It was on his watch that the **Yugoslav People’s Army** began the attack on Slovenia in June 1991.

MARTIĆ, GRGA (1822–1905). A distinguished **Franciscan**, poet, and cultural and political activist. Born in Rastovača near the town of Posušje. He received his education in Kreševo, Požega (Croatia), Zagreb (Croatia), and Stolni Biograd (Székesfehérvár in Hungarian). Martić served as parish priest, lecturer at the Franciscan school in Kreševo, and missionary in Bulgaria and Romania. In 1856, he became the representative of the Franciscan province for relations with the Turkish government and consular representatives in **Sarajevo**. It was in this position that he became a spokesman, not only for the **Catholics** in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, but quite often for Orthodox and local Muslim causes.

Martić not only promoted **education** and cultural activities, but also wrote a number of literary works himself in epic and lyric folk tradition. In his writings, he promoted the freedom and liberation of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whom he saw as part of a wider Slavic family. Initially, he was a supporter of **Austro-Hungarian** rule, but soon after the occupation (1878) he became disappointed with the new regime and withdrew from political activities. At the end of his life he dictated his memoirs, which were published after his death and which give insight into his life, as well as the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the 19th century.

MEDIA. According to some reports, there are close to 400 media operating in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** today, out of which there are

over 160 radio stations, close to 60 television stations, and about 140 newspapers, magazines, and journals, and several news and photo agencies. Because the media was heavily involved in ethnic propaganda and often used for fanning ethnic hatred during the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina's media, under the pressure of the **Office of the High Representative**, has undergone a major transformation since 1995. Although still not fully free or unbiased, there are more and more voices that openly expose **human rights** violations, injustices, and crimes among "their own," instead of constantly pointing the finger at "others," as in the not-so-distant past. However, Bosnia and Herzegovina's media, like the country itself, still has a long way to go in order to become a free and objective voice in a free society.

The main television and radio broadcasting in Bosnia and Herzegovina is under state management and consists of three segments: the Javni Radiotelevizijski Service Bosne i Hercegovine/Public Broadcasting Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina (PBSBiH) on the state-wide level, and two member broadcasting services, Radio-Television of the **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina** (RTVFBiH) and the Radio-Television of Republika Srpska (RTRS). The PBSBiH represents the country in the European Broadcasting Union. One of the major complaints about the present broadcasting arrangements and practices comes from Bosnia and Herzegovina's **Croats** because, while the RTRS is a voice of the **Serbs** and broadcasts in Serbian, the RTVFBiH is overwhelmingly dominated by the **Bosniacs/Muslims** and broadcasts generally in Bosnian. The Croats feel they are left without a state media outlet that can serve their needs.

The present broadcasting structure grew out of RTVBiH, which existed from 1992–1998. Although the war was in the making before 1992, the RTVBiH pretended neither to see nor to speak any evil. It promoted the notion that the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** would not turn against Bosnia and Herzegovina, a true "Yugoslav" republic. But once the war began, the RTVBiH became a mouthpiece of the **Sarajevo government**, or better said, the ruling (Muslim) **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**.

The following titles are among the main publications in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. *Dnevni avaz*, founded in 1995 in Sarajevo. The paper has a strong connection to the SDA. *Oslobođenje* began publishing in 1943 and remained publishing even during the worst

days of the 1992–1995 war. An evening daily called *Večernje Novine* began publishing in 1983 by *Oslobođenje*. After the war, it reemerged as *Jutarnje Novine*, an independent but weak paper. *Dnevni List* is a **Mostar** paper that has served mainly the Herzegovinian part of the country since 2001. *Glas srpske* is a Serb nationalist paper published in **Banja Luka** that was published as *Glas/Voice* from 1943 to 1992. *Front slobode* is a regional **Tuzla** paper that began publishing in 1943 and was in the service of the Communist Party until 1990, then of the largest Muslim/Bosniac party (SDA). However, it became an independent publication in 1993 and serves the Tuzla-**Podrinje** Canton. *Slobodna Bosna* is an independent Sarajevo weekly founded in 1991, known for its readiness to take on powerholders at all levels, including the Office of the High Representative. *Dani*, heir to *Naši dani*, is a Communist era, youth-oriented magazine. It began publishing as an independent paper in 1992, and it has been a very critical voice of the Sarajevo establishment. *Nezavisne novine* is an independent Serb paper that began publishing in Banja Luka after the war. It is the first significant Serb voice that began to break away from hardline nationalist ranks. Some other titles are: *Novi Reporter*, a weekly published in Banja Luka; *AS*, an independent “informative-political” review; *Behar*, an independent weekly for politics and culture; *Svijet*, published by *Oslobođenje* since the 1950s; *Azra*, a magazine for **women** and family published by *Avaz*; the quarterly review *Odjek* (Sarajevo), published since 1947; *Dijalog*, a journal for philosophical questions (new series since 1995), published by the International Center for Peace and Sarajevo Publishing; and *Status*, a periodical for political, cultural, and social questions, which began being published in 2002 by the “Dialogue” association in Mostar. *See also* CATHOLIC CHURCH PUBLICATIONS; ISLAMIC PUBLICATIONS.

MEĐUGORJE. A village in **Herzegovina** that has become a famous Marian shrine since 1981. Six children (Vicka, Mirjana, Marija, Ivanka, Ivan, and Jakov) claim that the Virgin Mary appeared to them on 24 June 1981. Daily visions continued in which Mary urged all humanity to conversion, prayer, love, and peace. As people began to flock to the hill of apparitions, the Communist regime at the time began to harass the visionaries, local **Franciscan** priests, and

pilgrims. While the local bishop openly declared that nothing supernatural was taking place in Međugorje, the Vatican neither approved nor prohibited the pilgrimages to this place, which many believe to be holy. Millions of people from around the world have visited Međugorje since 1981 and continue to gather there in prayer. Many books have been written, and even a motion picture (*Gospa*) has been made about this extraordinary phenomenon in a small Herzegovinian village. *See also* CATHOLIC CHURCH.

MERHAMET/MERCY. A Bosnian Muslim charitable organization. Although an independent society, it closely cooperates with other Muslim organizations in the country and in the world. The society was established in 1913, banned by the Communist regime in 1946, and revived in 1991. Its first president was the well-known and well-respected *reis-ul-ulema* **Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević**. Merhamet's role came to prominence especially during the 1992–1995 war. It helped to alleviate the suffering of thousands of **Muslims** caught up in the tragedy of war. *See also* NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

MIJATOVIĆ, CVIJETIN (1913–1993). A former leading political figure in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and **Yugoslavia** after World War II. Born to a Serb family in Lopare, near **Tuzla**, Mijatović was a leftist activist in his youth and became a member of the Communist Party in 1933. In the 1930s, he was sent to Bosnia to spread Marxist propaganda and establish Communist cells. During World War II, Mijatović was an active organizer of the partisan movement and a political commissar in his native region. After the war, he served in various high positions in **Sarajevo** and Belgrade. From 1958 to 1961, he was also the editor of *Komunist*, the official organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and, from 1961 to 1965, he served as ambassador to the Soviet Union. After his return from Moscow, Mijatović held the highest political positions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and served as president of the **presidency** of Yugoslavia.

MIKULIĆ, BRANKO (1928–1995). A Bosnian Croat politician born in Podgrađe near Gornji Vakuf. One of the leading Communist Party and Republican functionaries in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** during the

Titoist era. After serving in various local party positions in central Bosnia, he became a member of the Central Committee and also the secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1960s. Mikulić also served as president of the Executive Committee of the Assembly of the republic. In 1986, he became prime minister of **Yugoslavia**. At that time, the country was going through rapidly growing economic hardships, including galloping inflation and workers' unrest. His economic reforms, which included major austerity measures, were unsuccessful and unpopular. Inflation rose to 120 percent in 1987 and 250 percent in 1988, and the Yugoslav debt reached \$33 billion. After a vote of no-confidence in the Federal Assembly on 30 December 1988, Mikulić was forced to resign.

MILOŠEVIĆ, SLOBODAN (1941–2006). Former president of Serbia and of the Federal Republic of **Yugoslavia**, as well as leader of the Serbian nationalist forces in the 1990s. He was born in Požarevac, Serbia. His father was from Montenegro. His mother was a primary school teacher and a Communist activist. His parents divorced in his childhood and, later, both committed suicide. Milošević studied law at the University of Belgrade. He became a member of the Communist Party (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) and a political activist in 1959. As a party functionary and protégé of Serbia's Communist leader Ivan Stambolić, he successfully moved up through the party ranks. Milošević worked as an advisor on economic affairs to the mayor of Belgrade; deputy director and then director of Tehnogas; head of the Belgrade Information Service; president of Beogradska Udružena Banka (1978–1983); and leader of the Belgrade League of Communists (1984–1986). A clever manipulator who turned against his former patrons, he succeeded in becoming the president of the League of Communists of Serbia in 1986 and, at the time, he was considered to be a reliable party conservative. His wife, Mirjana Marković, a daughter of a well-known hardline Communist official, was a professor of Marxist philosophy at the University of Belgrade and a strong political activist.

In 1987, Milošević began to emerge as a leading nationalist voice in Serbia. Harvesting the rise of Serbian nationalism and also stimulating it by promising to achieve the Serbian dream of a Greater Ser-

bia, he solidified the control of the republic's Communist Party and of Serbia itself. In 1989, the Serbian parliament elected Milošević president of the republic. In May 1990, he renamed the League of Communists of Serbia the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and won the election in December of the same year. Although most **Serbs** generally supported the idea of a Greater Serbia, Milošević became the most important factor in bringing about Serbian aggression on the neighboring republics. As the man most responsible for the war in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, and Kosovo and for crimes against humanity committed by Serb forces during these wars, he was nicknamed the “Butcher of the **Balkans**” by Western media, and Lawrence S. Eagleburger, former U.S. secretary of state, listed him among the war criminals in December 1992. Realizing that the Serb war machine was losing steam and trying to salvage at least some of the gains, Milošević turned to negotiations that led to the **Dayton Peace Accords** in November 1995. However, from a peace-maker he soon turned to warmonger again.

After assuming the **presidency** of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in 1997, Milošević wanted to crush the Albanian liberation movement in the Kosovo province. His **ethnic cleansing** methods provoked relatively quick reactions in the West that led to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air strikes against Serbia in 1999 and ultimately the withdrawal of all Yugoslav security forces from Kosovo.

On 28 June 2001, Milošević was extradited by Belgrade's government to the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** in The Hague for war crimes committed by Serb forces under his watch in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. He served as his own attorney. His main defense consisted of accusing others, especially the West, for allegedly being anti-Serbian. Before the trial was over, he was found dead in his prison cell on 11 March 2006. *See also* SERB DEMOCRATIC PARTY; SERB REPUBLIC.

MINING. Mining activity in the regions of what is present-day Bosnia and **Herzegovina** began in ancient times. The Romans intensively exploited the iron ore riches of their province on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, especially in the regions of the Sana River. During the

medieval period, mining in Bosnia flourished. Besides iron, gold (Fojnica), silver (Kreševo, Fojnica, and **Srebrenica**), lead (Olovo), copper (Srebrenica and Foča), mercury (Kreševo), arsenic (near Kreševo), and some other minerals were mined in the country. It is estimated that on the eve of Turkish occupation, Srebrenica's silver mine alone brought to King **Stipan Tomaš** a tax revenue of 30,000 dukats/gold coins.

While Bosnia and Herzegovina was under **Ottoman** occupation, mining was neglected; its revitalization began under **Austro-Hungarian** rule and it began to thrive during the socialist period.

In recent history, the country's main mining production has been coal, iron ore, lead, zinc, manganese, bauxite, and salt. On the eve of the recent war (1992–1995), the country produced about 18 million tons of coal annually. Most of it was used for the production of electric energy. By the end of the war, the coal production was less than 10 percent of what it was in 1990. Breza, Zenica, Kakanj, Kreka, and Ugljevik are known for coal mines; Vareš, Jablanica, **Ljubija**, and Radovan for iron ore; Olovo, Vareš, and Srebrenica for lead and zinc; Bosanska Krupa and Bužim for manganese; Vlasenica, Zvornik, Čitluk, Posušje, Stolac, Tomislavgrad, Bosanska Krupa, **Jajce**, and **Banja Luka** for bauxite deposits; and **Višegrad** for nickel, just to mention a few of the mining centers in the country. The biggest challenges to Bosnia and Herzegovina's mining today is modernization and privatization in order to become once again a viable part of the country's **economy**. *See also* INDUSTRY.

MIRKO. An Implementation Force (IFOR)/Stabilization Force (SFOR)/European Union Force (EUFOR) publication designed for the youth of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The name is a derivative of the word *mir*, which means “peace.” This monthly magazine is published in Latin and **Cyrillic** scripts. It contains articles on movies, **music**, fashion, and other themes of interest to young people. It began publication in the spring of 1996. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

MIROSLAVOVO EVANĐELJE/MIROSLAV'S GOSPEL. A 181-page medieval manuscript in the Old Church Slavonic language written in Bosnian **Cyrillic** alphabet for Miroslav, the ruler (*knez*) of **Hum**. It is believed that the text was written between 1180 and

1195. During the **Ottoman** period, the manuscript ended up at the Serbian Orthodox monastery of Hilandar in Greece. In 1896, it was given to the Serbian king Aleksandar Obrenović, and it can be found at the People's Museum in Belgrade today. The manuscript is rich in miniatures, initials, and other art forms that were done under the influences of western—mainly near Dalmatian (Croatian)—and Italian influences. The document is an important cultural and religious article from medieval Hum that later became more or less the territory of **Herzegovina**. See also LITERATURE.

MITRINOVIĆ, DIMITRIJE (1887–1953). A leading Serb intellectual of his time, born in the village of Poplat near the town of Stolac in **Herzegovina**. His mother was a teacher and his father an **Austro-Hungarian** local official. The young Dimitrije, however, was involved in anti-Habsburg activities and was a member of **Mlada Bosna**/Young Bosnia. For a while, he edited *Bosanska Vila*, a literary paper in **Sarajevo**, where he published his first poems and literary criticism. However, most of his adult life he lived outside the country. In 1914, while studying art history in Munich, he was introduced to the writings of Erich Gutkind and soon after joined his *Blutbund*/Blood Brotherhood with an idealist mission to “lead mankind out of the wilderness of materialism.” This intellectual encounter had a lasting influence on his life and work.

From Germany, Mitrinović immigrated to England where he moved among influential intellectual and cultural circles, contributed to the radical journal *New Age*, and was concerned with organic world order. His interests ranged from art, **literature**, and psychology to politics, history, philosophy, and the occult. After his death, his friends and followers established the New Atlantis Foundation to continue his work and to spread his ideas. His followers, however, do not dwell on the elements of racism expressed in his works. The New Atlantis Foundation donated Mitrinović's library and archives to the University of Bradford in England, and a part of his library is found at the Belgrade University Library.

MLADA BOSNA/YOUNG BOSNIA. A loosely organized revolutionary nationalist movement among school boys before World War I in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Most of its members were of

Serb ethnic origin, and the organization was connected to two nationalist organizations in Serbia, People's Defense/Narodna obrana and Unification or Death/Ujedinjenje ili smrt, better known as the Black Hand. These two societies were the moving forces behind the Serbian agitation to unite all the **Serbs**, especially those in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Serbia. Thus, the Young Bosnia movement became an instrument, and also a loose cannon, of Serbian anti-Austrian and pro-Serbian activities, especially after the **Austro-Hungarian** annexation of Bosnia in 1908. Its members were involved in several assassination attempts of Austro-Hungarian officials, and some served as volunteers in the Serbian armed forces during the two **Balkan Wars** (1912–1913). But they are best known for the **Sarajevo assassination** of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Habsburg throne on 28 June 1914. The event touched off World War I. *See also* PRINCIP, GAVRILO.

MLADIĆ, RATIMIR (RATKO) (1943–). Commander of the Serb secessionist armed forces in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Mladić was born in the village of Božinovići, near Kalinovik, 40 kilometers (25 miles) south of **Sarajevo**. It was claimed that his father was killed by Croat *ustaša* forces during World War II and, therefore, Mladić was avenging the loss of his father during the 1991–1995 war. In the 1990s, he indicated that his father, as one of **Tito's** partisans, was killed by Serbian *četniks* and not by the **Croats**.

Mladić graduated from the Yugoslav military academy in Belgrade in 1965. In the same year, he became a member of the Communist Party. In 1991, after serving in Macedonia, he became a deputy commander of Yugoslav military forces in the troubled region of Kosovo. In June of the same year, Mladić was transferred to Croatia, where the secessionist local **Serbs**, the **Yugoslav People's Army**, and paramilitary forces from Serbia began to clash with the Croatian people and government. While in Croatia, he proved himself to be loyal to the Serbian nationalist cause and thus rose to the rank of colonel. As a proven hardliner, he was transferred to Bosnia and Herzegovina (May 1992) to take command of Bosnian Serb military operations and also was named a brigadier general. His regular armed forces were augmented by various Serbian regular and paramilitary groups from Serbia.

Mladić was close to Serbia's president **Slobodan Milošević**, who paid his and his officers' salaries and provided him with military supplies. His relationship with his immediate political superiors, however—especially **Radovan Karadžić**—became stormy in 1994.

Mladić implemented the most brutal military tactics against non-Serbs during the 1992–1995 war. He became known for his tactics of encircling Bosnian cities and mercilessly shelling civilian objects and population. His command to “stretch the brains” of his enemies became well-known.

Mladić was indicted by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** in The Hague on 25 July 1995 and again on 16 November 1995 for crimes against humanity, breaches of the Geneva Convention, and genocide for the attack on the **United Nations**-declared “safe area” of **Srebrenica** and mass killings that followed in July 1995.

As a result of the **Dayton Peace Accords** Mladić was marginalized, but he would not voluntarily give up his powers. On 9 November 1996, he and his entire general staff were officially fired by the new president of the **Serb Republic**, **Biljana Pavšić**. She named an obscure officer, Gen. Pero Colić, as his successor. Finally, on 27 November 1996, Mladić announced he was stepping down, but by naming Gen. Manojlo Milovanović as his successor, he provoked another confrontation with the political leadership in the Serb Republic.

Although a fugitive, Mladić has been seen in various public places in Serbia, Russia, and Greece and visiting the grave of his daughter in Belgrade, who was a medical student and committed suicide during the Serb offensive against the Goražde safe area in March 1994. Although the ICTY is pressuring Serbia to extradite him; he still enjoys relative freedom because either he still (as of summer 2006) has loyal support in high places in Serbia, or the pressure is not strong enough, or possibly both. *See also* ARMY OF THE SERB REPUBLIC; SREBRENICA MASSACRE.

MORILLON, PHILIPPE (1935–). French lieutenant general who served as the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** commander in Bosnia from December 1992 to July 1993.

Morillon came into prominence in March 1993 when he visited the besieged Muslim towns of Cerska, Konjević Polje, and **Srebrenica**

in eastern Bosnia. After his visit to Srebrenica, thousands of Muslim **refugees** prevented him from leaving the town. In solidarity with the besieged people, he declared that he would stay with them until United Nations help arrived. By his efforts, several hundred civilians, including about 100 wounded, were evacuated from the town, and he became an instant celebrity around the world. His celebrity status, however, did not last long. He, too, became a symbol of UN and Western indecisiveness in the Bosnian tragedy. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE; SREBRENICA MASSACRE.

MOST/BRIDGE. A journal dedicated to “cultural and social questions” published in **Mostar** since 1974. It also published literary contributions of various writers in the former **Yugoslavia** and translations of foreign authors. It is published by writers of the **Herzegovina-Neretva Canton**. *See also* MEDIA.

MOSTAR. This attractive city is the political, cultural, and economic center of **Herzegovina**. It is located only 59 meters (193 feet) above sea level, surrounded by rocky mountains in the valley of the Neretva River, which flows through the town into the Adriatic Sea. In 1991, the **population** of the city was close to 76,000, and that of the Mostar county was over 126,000. **Muslims** made up 34.6 percent, **Croats** 34 percent, and **Serbs** 18.8 percent of the population. In 2003, the city’s multiethnic population was 105,448, out of which the majority were Croats.

While most other towns in Herzegovina date from ancient times, the first indication that there was a settlement at the site of present-day Mostar comes from the mid-15th century. There are, however, strong indications that in Roman times, an early Christian diocese (Savsenterum) was located somewhere near the city. This suggests that this part of the Neretva Valley was attractive to various settlers in the early times.

A document from 1452 indicates that two towers and a bridge hanging over the Neretva River existed where the **Old Bridge** was later built. Another source from two decades later (1474) tells us that the settlement around the hanging bridge was called Mostar. The name comes from the word *mostari*, meaning the “men who guard the bridge and collect the crossing toll.”

The town, therefore, grew around a wooden bridge hanging on massive chains across the river with a watch tower on each of its sides. Being at an important trade and military location, the settlement slowly overshadowed the nearby town of Blagaj, which used to be the medieval capital of the Herzegovina region. One of the early sacral monuments of the town was a **Franciscan** monastery built in 1450 and demolished by the **Ottomans** in 1563.

At the beginning of the Turkish occupation, because the old wooden bridge was unstable and risky to cross, the town grew mostly on the eastern side of the river. A stone bridge built in 1566 (later known as the Old Bridge) permanently connected eastern and western Herzegovina, and the town of Mostar began to evolve into an important strategic base in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to its military relevance, the city became the heart of commercial, political, and cultural life in Herzegovina.

Besides the famous Old Bridge, Mostar was enriched by superb Islamic architectural achievements. Among them are the Karadoz-bey's Mosque, the Roznamedija Mosque, the minaret of the Čejvan-čehaja's Mosque, the Koski Mehmet Pasha's Mosque, and a number of other religious or secular objects dating from the 16th and 17th centuries. During the Ottoman rule, many scholars and writers (who were highly esteemed in the Islamic world) came from this town. Among them were Mustafa Ejubović-Sheikh Jujo (1650–1707), Dervish Pasha Bajezidagić (1566–1603), Husami Husejn Čatrnja (mid-17th century), Ahmed Mostarac (first half of the 18th century), and others.

In modern times, Mostar also gave rise to many poets, writers, singers, and artists. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, Mostar was a very active cultural center in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was also a hotbed of Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian national activism.

The beauty of Mostar is expressed in the synthesis of various civilizations and cultures. Its old nucleus (Kujundžiluk—the Coppersmith's Bazaar) and many mosques reflect a rich Ottoman and Islamic past. A short distance away, one finds examples of Austrian and typical Western **architecture** left from the **Habsburg** and interwar era. Socialist-style structures, industrial plants in the vicinity, and newly grown neighborhoods bear witness to the recent past. Its mosques and Christian churches were clear manifestations of the

religious mix of its population. It seemed that the single span of the Old Bridge joined the Oriental, Mediterranean, and Central European heritage into a single monument to all those who left a mark in this historic and charming city.

Unfortunately, however, the war that began in the spring of 1992 has brought tremendous destruction and a great loss of human life. At first, Serb forces, namely the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)**, heavily shelled the city and damaged or destroyed a number of civilian objects, including the local Franciscan monastery, the Catholic cathedral, the bishop's palace, the Karadžoz-bey Mosque, Roznamed-ij-Ibrahim-efendija Mosque, and 12 other mosques. The **Croat Defense Council**, with the help of the **Bosniacs**, liberated it in May 1992. Several months later (1993), however, the two victims of the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslims and Croats, began to fight each other, and some of the most brutal fighting of the conflict took place in Mostar. The city itself became divided into zones: The eastern part was controlled by the Muslims and the western by the Croats. Even the ancient link between the two parts of the town, the Old Bridge, became a casualty of the war. Croat forces destroyed it on 9 November 1993.

Only after the **Washington Agreement** (March 1994) did a slow reconciliation of the two sides begin. To mediate between the two communities and help rebuild the city infrastructure, the European Union took the responsibility of administrating the city. The city came under single administration in June of 1996, and several **elections** have been held since then. In practice, however, the city is still divided into two communities, Bosniac and Croat. The restoration of the Old Bridge was completed in 2004, but evidently it is harder to rebuild human bridges than stone ones. *See also* STARI MOST.

MOSTARIENSIA. A scholarly journal of the humanities published by the University of **Mostar** since 1994. Its contributors are mostly professors of that university.

MUJAHEDDEENS/HOLY WAR WARRIORS. A number of mujaheedeens came to Bosnia from the Middle East (Afghans, Turks, Syrians, and others) to fight the *jihad* (holy war) against the Orthodox

Serbs and the Catholic **Croats**. A number of local Muslim men joined the mujahedeen units that were operating under the umbrella of the **Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**. Besides helping the **Bosnian Muslims** fight the war, their second mission was to teach the local Muslims “true” Islamic practices and bring about an Islamic society in Bosnia. According to the stipulations of the **Dayton Peace Accords**, all foreign fighters had to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many of these foreigners, however, have married into local families or taken Bosnia and Herzegovina’s citizenship. Only after the 11 September 2001 tragedy in New York was pressure exerted on **Sarajevo’s government** to get the foreign mujahedeens out of the country. Some of them were accused of being Al Qaeda operatives and as such were transferred to the U.S. prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. There are still some foreign mujahedeens and/or local “new-born” Muslims who are exponents of Islamic fundamentalism, and as such remain a destabilizing factor in this sensitive multireligious and multinational country.

MULABDIĆ, EDHEM (1864–1954). A leading **Bosnian Muslim** writer and cultural and political activist. He was born in Maglaj to a family that was in state service. He benefited from the contemporary **Ottoman** reforms, and as a young man he received his **education** in a lower-secondary type of school, known as *ruždije*. After the **Austro-Hungarian** occupation, with a great personal effort to adjust to the new political and cultural situation, he entered the teachers’ college in **Sarajevo** and became one of its best students. In 1890, he became a teacher in the town of **Brčko**. Two years later, he became the head of a Muslim school for teachers in Sarajevo and, at the same time, his literary activities began.

Mulabdić was, most of all, a cultural activist. In 1900, he and his friends **Safvet-beg Bašagić** and **Nuri Osman Hadžić** began publishing the literary and informative bimonthly *Behar*, which, under his leadership, was a major voice of Bosnian Muslim literary talents until 1906. After a long break, the paper appeared again in 1927 as *Novi Behar*/New Behar. He was editor and contributor of several almanacs and papers and cofounder of various cultural societies: **Gajret**/Zeal, **Narodna Uzdanica**/People’s Confidence, and Društvo Muslimanske Omladine/Society of Muslim Youth, among them.

Mulabdić wrote numerous stories and novels about the life of the Muslim community in Bosnia at a time of major social and cultural changes, many of them for the purpose of uplifting the cultural level of that community. In his national orientation, he considered himself a Croat of Muslim **religion**. He also served as the people's deputy from Maglaj. *See also* BOSNIACS; LITERATURE; MEDIA.

MUSIC. Music in Bosnia and Herzegovina, like most other aspects of cultural life in the country, is a mixture of various influences that remained after foreign occupations. The **Ottoman** era left a strong Turkish/Islamic mark on traditional urban singing called *sevdalinka*. It is usually an expression of deep emotional feeling. In modern times, *sevdalinka* singers are accompanied by the accordion, drums, clarinets, and other musical instruments, but originally *sevdalinka* was a vocal melodic expression of deep feelings by an individual accompanied with a simple string instrument or was more often sung *a capella*.

Because there is a strong suspicion or an outright belief among Muslims that the use of musical instruments is forbidden, instrumental music in the country did not advance until modern times. Hesitation to use musical instruments and even their total prohibition had an effect on the development of music in urban as well as in rural areas. Old folk dances and songs in villages, for example, are most often preformed without the use of musical instruments.

Ganga, rural singing in Herzegovina, is a polyphony sung by two or more people, singing one-line lyrics. North and northeastern Bosnia has its own *ganga*-like singing, but it is accompanied by a simple, long-necked string instrument called a *šargija*. Some other traditional instruments that can be found in the country are the bagpipe, a variety of wooden flutes, and *gusle*, which is a single-string instrument, known throughout the **Balkans**, that accompanies the voice of a player who sings some popular heroic or legendary story.

In more recent times, the so-called "Turbo folk" music has become very popular. It is a mixture of a variety of traditional folk music, especially from Serbia and Macedonia, and pop music. Besides the new version of folk music, one can hear all sorts of contemporary music in the country, from jazz to hip hop.

MUSLIM ARMED FORCES/MUSLIMANSKE ORUŽANE SNAGE (MOS). A **Bosnian Muslim** military formation during the 1992–1995 war that stood for a Muslim-controlled Bosnia. MOS had a strong religious orientation; some would even say it was fanaticism. They came under the influence of the **mujahedeens**, volunteers from the Middle East that came to Bosnia to fight for the Muslim cause. *See also* ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

MUSLIM BOSNIAC ORGANIZATION/MUSLIMANSKA BOŠN-JAČKA ORGANIZACIJA (MBO). A small **political party** among **Bosnian Muslims**. It was founded (October 1990) by a few leading personalities who were expelled from the principal Muslim formation, the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**. The former vice president of the SDA and a long-time political immigrant in the West, **Adil Zulfikarpašić** became the president of the newly formed MBO. Its other leading figures were Muhamed Filipović and Hamza Mujagić. The party claimed to have a liberal-democratic political orientation in contrast to the ethno-religious program of the SDA. Because Zulfikarpašić was negotiating with the **Serbs** on his own and even proposed a Muslim-Serb alliance, declaring that **Yugoslavia** should be preserved as a single state with Bosnia and **Herzegovina** as a single entity in it, he was accused by the Bosnian Muslims and **Croats** of betrayal.

MUSLIM DEMOCRATIC PARTY/MUSLIMANSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA (MDS). This party was formed in 1992 by its president Armin Pohara and his confidants. Pohara blamed President **Alija Izetbegović** and his ruling party for misjudging the Serbian intentions and failing to organize the Muslim **population** to defend themselves against the Serb onslaught, and also for not cooperating with the **Croats** in a common cause. The MDS advocated a Muslim–Croat alliance and even a confederation between Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and Croatia. The party lost most of its appeal after the Muslim–Croat conflict erupted in the spring of 1993.

MUSLIMS OR BOSNIAN MUSLIMS. *See* BOSNIACS.

– N –

NAMETAK, ALIJA (1906–1987). One of the pioneers of modern literary expression in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Born in **Mostar**, he was educated in his native city and in Zagreb, where he studied Slavic **literature** and history. After his graduation from Zagreb University, he worked for a while in Podgorica (Montenegro). He spent most of his life in **Sarajevo**, where he worked in various cultural institutions and was editor of the literary journal *Novi Behar*. During World War II, Nametak was editor of the *Glasnik Islamske Vjerske Zajednice*/Herald of the Islamic Religious Community and a member of the editorial board of *Hrvatska Misao*/Croatian Thought. After the war, he was sentenced to 15 years of prison, out of which he served nine.

His literary works deal with life in his native **Herzegovina**, especially the life of the Muslim community after World War I. He keenly observed how the new historical events undermined the old social and moral structures, especially social stability, traditions, and virtues of the old Muslim nobility. The painful adjustments to the new way of life is Nametak's main literary theme. Besides his own writing, Nametak edited and published several collections of Bosnian folk stories and songs.

NAPREDAK/PROGRESS. The Croatian cultural association Napredak is the oldest existing Croatian cultural and benevolent society in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Napredak was formed in 1907 from two existing organizations with similar goals established in **Mostar** and **Sarajevo** in 1902. Napredak soon became a very vibrant society and had a major impact on the cultural and **educational** life of **Croats** in the country. It provided scholarships for students, published books, founded libraries, organized choirs and other cultural activities, sponsored economic endeavors, and proved to be the backbone of Croatian cultural life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1935, it had over 20,000 members and was one of the most successful societies in the entire country.

After World War II, Napredak was banned and its property confiscated. When the Communist regime collapsed in 1990, the society

was revived and once again became a dynamic cultural force. Its presence was especially felt among the citizens of besieged Sarajevo, where Napredak engaged in humanitarian and cultural activities despite the dreadful conditions in the city at the time. Besides providing scholarships, Napredak is engaged today in publishing books and periodicals and promoting education and activities in visual arts, **music**, and sports, as well as promoting various other competitions, among the young. It has also reestablished its once well-known library in Sarajevo.

Napredak has chapters in many towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Western Europe, Canada, and the United States. *See also* NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

NARODNA UZDANICA/PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE. A Muslim cultural and **educational** society. It was formed in 1923 by leading members of the Muslim educated elite that since 1908 has opposed a pro-Serb nationalist orientation in the **Gajret**, a Muslim cultural society founded in 1903. The Uzdhanica was banned instantly by the Belgrade regime, but a year later the ban was lifted. The organization prospered, especially in the 1930s. Local chapters throughout Bosnia and **Herzegovina** organized various cultural activities among Muslim youth. It had four boarding houses for its high school students (**Sarajevo**, **Mostar**, **Tuzla**, and **Banja Luka**) and one in Zagreb for university students. In contrast to Gajret, which enjoyed the sympathies of the regime, Uzdhanica was seen as an antistate organization. After World War II, the Communist regime banned both Gajret and Uzdhanica, and out of them created **Preporod/Rebirth** for the **Muslims** in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But it, too, was banned in 1949, just like all other similar ethnic or religious organizations in Titoist **Yugoslavia**. However, *Preporod* was revived in 1991, after the collapse of the Communist regime. *See also* BOSNIACS.

NAŠA OGNJIŠTA/OUR HEARTHS. A popular Croat **Catholic** religious monthly paper published by the Herzegovinian **Franciscans** in Tomislavgrad since 1971. The paper and its editors were harassed and persecuted during the Communist period. It even had to change its name for a number of years in order to survive repression.

NAŠI DANI/OUR DAYS. Journal of the **Sarajevo** University students from 1953 to 1990. The publication remained faithful to the official Marxist ideology during the period. However, under the influence of wider student movements in 1968, its “political correctness” was jeopardized, and the editorial board of the time was dismissed. In 1990, the publication moved from a Marxist to a liberal ideology without attaching itself to any political party and changed its name to *Valter*. It stopped publication in 1994. *See also* MEDIA.

NATIONAL PARKS. The mountains of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** are very rich in flora, fauna, and virgin forests. Many regions have been set aside as natural preserves. Two of the most important places are the national parks of Sutjeska in the southeast and Kozara in the northwestern part of the country.

The core of the Sutjeska Park is the Sutjeska River and a massive gorge around it. The high mountains of Zelengora and Maglić, and especially the Perućica primeval forest preserve area, are of extraordinary beauty and enormous importance for the preservation of nature. The virgin forests of Perućica are among the most beautiful in all of Europe. These ancient woods stretch along the stream by the same name. At a short distance from its flow into the Sutjeska River is the famous Skakavac waterfall that plunges 70 meters (230 feet) from a large rock into a deep gap. This beautiful park is accessible to tourists, mountaineers, and sports enthusiasts.

The Sutjeska region is also known for a major battle that took place in May–June 1943 between **Tito**’s partisans and German forces.

The Kozara National Park is about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) from Kozarac, near the town of Prijedor. Its main attractions are the Kozara Mountain and beautiful landscapes and virgin nature. Another major World War II battle took place between Tito’s partisans and the Germans on Kozara Mountain.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS. There is no agreement among the three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina (**Bosniacs**, **Croats**, and **Serbs**) regarding the country’s symbols. While the Serbs and Croats had national emblems that they identified with much before 1991, Bosniacs lacked such symbols, except religious (Islamic) ones.

After the Republic of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** gained independence, its new flag had a white background and a blue shield with three lily flowers (*fleurs-de-lis*) on each side of a transverse white stripe. It was based on the heraldry of the medieval Bosnian kingdom. Most of the Serbs at the time, however, neither recognized the country nor its symbols. The Croats, on the other hand, were among those who proposed such a flag for the country's standard.

Once the flag began to fly, a confusion of what were the state/country symbols and the traditional national/ethnic emblems quickly emerged. Most of the Croats accepted the new flag as the country's symbol that they could identify with. Because they lacked other ethnic/national symbols from the past, the Bosniacs quickly co-opted the new flag, and especially the coat of arms with the lily flowers, as their ethnic/national emblem, too. This adoption reinforced the already existing Bosniac nationalist platform that they were the "fundamental" people in the country. This development had contributed to the alienation of the Croats and other non-Bosniacs from the first postindependence flag.

After the **Dayton Peace Accords** were signed (1995), the question of the country's symbols had to be settled. Discussions were held under the sponsorship of the **Office of the High Representative (OHR)**, but no acceptable solution was found. Finally in 1998, the OHR decided what was to be the national flag, coat of arms, and national anthem.

The new flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina has a blue background, an upside down, right-angled yellow triangle to the right of the middle, and seven full five-pointed white stars and two half stars (top and bottom) along the hypotenuse of the triangle. The triangle symbolizes the three nations in the country (Bosniacs, Croats, and Serbs), as well as the shape of the country. The stars and colors represent Europe and the country's hopes to become one day part of the European Union.

The coat of arms contains the same symbols and colors as the flag. The post-1998 national anthem is entitled "Intermeco," a melody without lyrics.

Each of the two entities, the Bosniac/Muslim–Croat **Federation** and the **Serb Republic**, have their own flags. The Federation flag has three vertically placed colors: red, white, and green (red for Croats and green for Bosniacs), and a coat of arms in the middle. At the upper half of the coat of arms there is a green shield with a golden lily

flower (fleur-de-lis) for the Bosniacs, and a red and white checker board for the Croats. The bottom half has 10 stars on a blue background arranged in a circle representing the 10 cantons of the Federation. Because the Federation symbols do not include the Serbs, the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina has ordered (2006) the creation of a new flag for the Federation.

The flag of the Serb Republic is the traditional Serbian national tricolor: red, blue, and white horizontally arranged. Its coat of arms also has traditional Serbian symbols: a double headed eagle with Karađorđević crown, golden tongue and legs, chest covered by a red shield with the Serbian cross and four Cyrillic Ss (Cs), placed on a larger red shield. The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina has ordered (2006) the change of heraldry in the Serb Republic because the present ones represent only the Serbs and express the claim that the entity is a Serb state.

NERETVA BATTLE. A major battle between **Tito's** partisans and the German forces in the Rama-Konjic region in the Neretva Valley that took place in March 1943. The bridges over the Neretva River were blown up and, under great pressure from the German troops, pontoon bridges were used by the partisans to transfer their corps to the eastern side of the river. The battle became a myth in socialist Yugoslav historiography and resulted in a motion picture entitled the *Battle of Neretva*. See also SUTJESKA BATTLE.

NEUM. The only coastal urban dwelling in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. It is located in the narrow strip of land where the country exits to the Adriatic Sea, north of the medieval city of Dubrovnik. The town is a popular tourist location and, since Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence, it has become a haven for shoppers from neighboring Croatia and tourists in general. Its **population** is mostly of Croat nationality. In 1991, the Neum municipality had 4,268 inhabitants, out of which 87.6 percent were **Croats**.

NEWS AGENCIES. There are three main news agencies in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**: the *Federation BiH News Agency* (FENA), the *Serb Republic News Agency* (SRNA), and a private news agency ONASA. See also MEDIA.

NEZAVISNE NOVINE/INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER. A **Banja Luka** independent Serb paper. It began publishing after the war, and it is the first significant Serb voice that broke away from hardline nationalist ranks. *See also* MEDIA.

NIKOLAJ. Metropolitan of Dabrobosnian Metropoly in **Sarajevo**. His secular name was Gojko Mrđa. Born near Bosanska Dubica in 1928, he was educated in his native town, Belgrade, Smederevska Palanak, and Prizren. In 1953, Nikolaj became a monk and began his studies at the St. Sava Theological Faculty in Belgrade. Later, he taught theology in the same school, as well as at the Orthodox School of Theology in the monastery Krka (Croatia), where he became the head of the school. He was then sent to lead a newly founded Serbian Orthodox Eparchy in Australia. In 1978, he became in charge of the eparchy of Dalmatia in Croatia, and in 1993, Nikolaj was appointed the head of Dabrobosnian Metropoly. When **Serbs** began to attack Sarajevo, he left the city and moved to the town of Sokolac that was under Serb control. Today, he uses both offices, Sokolac and Sarajevo. *See also* ORTHODOX CHURCH.

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs). A variety of citizens' associations (local, pensioners, veterans, unions, students, and others) existed in prewar Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Such groups were oriented mostly toward organizing recreational activities and were supported by local authorities. Most of the time, such associations were under the wings of local Communist Party bosses. A few of the prewar volunteer associations, however, such as the Una's Emeralds, the Eco-Movement, and the Greens, were formed for environmental reasons. A very few of such associations operated during the war, and only some of them were revived after 1995 or have been turned into local NGOs.

In the postwar era, the international community has been the most important promoter of humanitarian and nongovernmental organizations; thus, the number of NGOs in the country has multiplied rapidly. Because the mission of such associations was to promote universal values, a number of the new NGOs began to emerge not only on the local but also on the national level, bridging administrative, ethnic, and religious divides. Many of such associations were focused on

the younger generation in an attempt to expand their horizons and sensitivity beyond the local and/or ethno-religious boundaries they found themselves in.

NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina are involved in **human rights**, **women's** rights, minority rights, return of **refugees**, **health**, **media**, war victims, material help, various community services, legal help, **education**, and a few are involved in political activities.

In the Bosniac–Croat **Federation**, NGOs have legal rights equal to humanitarian organizations and foundations, while in the **Serb Republic**, citizens' associations are the only ones that have legal status.

As a result of the chaos and confusion that followed the war, there have been various abuses of NGOs. Because many activists in local volunteer organizations and/or NGOs came from former Communist Party ranks, socialist trade unions, or prewar volunteer associations, or were simply unscrupulous individuals, it was often perceived, with some justification, that NGOs were used for personal and/or special group interests. As a result, people quite often view local NGOs as extensions of a ruling **political party** or of some other power brokers. International NGOs are often perceived as instruments of global power politics.

Millions of dollars have been channeled through NGOs and/or local officials, but often most of the money received was spent on salaries, useless gatherings, and worthless studies, not on the immediate needs of people. For these and similar reasons, international donations have been diminishing, and donors are demanding better accountability. There are signs, however, that the situation is being stabilized and that legitimate NGOs will be able to contribute to further affirmation of universal human values among the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina regardless of their too-often exaggerated differences.

The best-known **religion/ethnic**-based NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina are **Merhamet** and **Preporod** (Muslim/Bosniac), **Caritas** and **Napredak** (Catholic/Croat), Dobrotvor and **Prosvjeta** (Orthodox/Serb), and La Benevolencija (Jewish). But there are many others, including Agency of Local Development Initiatives, Center for Civic Initiatives, Center for Promotion of Civil Society, CGS Livno, Civitas, Commission for the Coordination of Youth Issues, CURE Foundation, DOSTA/ENOUGH, European Stability Initiative, GROZD, Helsinki

Human Rights Committee, International Crisis Group, KRUG 99, Nansen Dialogue Center, Nasa djeca/Our Children, Oaza-Center for People with Down Syndrome, Red Cross, Save the Children, Women of Srebrenica Society, Youth Cultural Center Abrasevic, and Youth Information Agency. *See also* MEDIA; REFUGEES; WOMEN.

NOVI PRELOM/NEW LAYOUT. A biweekly newspaper published by the Liberal Party of **Banja Luka**. Its publication began at the end of 1992. After seven issues, it was shut down by the ruling **Serb Democratic Party**. *See also* MEDIA.

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O'GRADY, SCOTT (1965–). Captain in the U.S. Air Force who was blasted from the cockpit when his F-16 was hit by a **Serb** SA-6 surface-to-air missile above Serb-controlled territory in Bosnia, near **Bihać**, on 2 June 1995. His mission was to enforce the **United Nations**–mandated no-fly zone over Bosnia when his plane was hit. Captain O'Grady survived six days in enemy territory eating insects, drinking rainwater, and enduring the cold Bosnian weather. Six days later, he was rescued by the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit from the *Kearsarge* helicopter carrier, which was sailing in the Adriatic off the coast of Croatia in a bold raid behind enemy lines. O'Grady, who was born in Brooklyn, New York, became an instant hero after his survival and rescue.

ODJEK/ECHO. A **Sarajevo** review for art, science, and social issues since 1947. Before the last war it was published biweekly, and after the war, four times a year. It prides itself on being cosmopolitan in its outlook and an important cultural bridge between Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and the rest of the world. It publishes essays, stories, critiques, reviews, translations, as well as a section of poetry from leading authors throughout the world. *See also* MEDIA.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVE (OHR). The chief civilian peace implementation agency in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The OHR was a product of the 1995 **Dayton Peace Accords**, ac-

cording to which the international High Representative (HR) was to oversee, coordinate, and facilitate the civilian aspects of the Dayton Agreement. While the military aspect of the agreement was clearly defined and means of implementation provided, its civilian aspects were left vague and divided among many international institutions, and the power to implement them was lacking.

These conditions provided ample room for the internal ethnic and political factions to obstruct the peace process. The OHR's role, however, moved relatively quickly from "facilitating" the peace process to becoming a sovereign institution not accountable to the electorate. Such powers were given to the OHR by the **Peace Implementation Council (PIC)** at its December 1997 meeting in Bonn. As a result, the OHR is above the law, and it lacks international legal accountability as well.

While many agreed at the time that the power of the OHR should have been strengthened, there are more and more voices in and outside the country who argue that the so-called "Bonn powers" are too excessive, colonial in nature, used arbitrarily, and counterproductive—stifling the growth of democratic institutions and processes in the country.

The following have served as the High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Carl Bildt (December 1995–June 1997), former prime minister of Sweden and the European Union's special negotiator at the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Carlos Westendorp (June 1997–July 1999), former Spanish secretary of state for European Affairs and minister of foreign affairs; Wolfgang Petritsch (August 1999–May 2002), the former EU chief negotiator at the Kosovo peace talks in Rambouillet; and Paddy Ashdown (May 2002–January 2006), liberal member of the British Parliament (1983–2001) and leader of his party (1988–1999). The present HR is Christian Schwartz-Schilling, an official of the German Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) and postal minister (1982–1992).

OLD BRIDGE. *See* MOSTAR; STARI MOST.

ORTHODOX CHURCH. The demarcation line established in AD 395 between the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire, stretching along the Drina River (between Bosnia and Serbia),

evolved into a permanent fault line between Western and Byzantine civilizations. Even the final split between the eastern (Orthodox) and the western (Catholic) churches (1054) was more or less along the same border. The perimeters between the two spheres, however, began to be affected by the rise of the medieval Serbian state and its autonomous Orthodox Church.

The medieval Serbian state resulted from the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. The so-called Latin Empire was established in Constantinople (1204–1262), and the republic of Venice began to assert its dominance in the Mediterranean. The Byzantine tragedy proved to be an excellent opportunity for the neighboring small principality of Raška (later known as Serbia) to advance its interests in the region. With the help of the West, Raška became a kingdom in 1217. By shifting its allegiance to the east again, the Serbian church gained its independence from Byzantine political and church authority in 1219. Both state and church powers were in the hands of the Nemanjić family.

As the political power of the Serbian rulers expanded to the southwest into traditional Catholic lands at the end of the 12th century, so did the institutions and influence of the Orthodox Church. Out of eight newly established episcopates, the founder of the Serbian church, Sava Nemanjić, placed one at Dabar (1220), on the very border with Bosnia, and two in the newly acquired Catholic territories of Zeta (later Montenegro) and **Hum** (later **Herzegovina**). Clearly, Sava had an ambitious vision of expanding his church and Serbian state borders to the west. The Serbian excursion into Hum, however, did not last very long. Their political and religious authority was rolled back by the rise of the Bosnian state and the republic of Dubrovnik, and the Orthodox Church lost firm ground in Herzegovina until the arrival of the Ottomans. Although the Orthodox episcopate in Hum lasted only until the 1250s, the Serbian church did establish its presence in the southeastern parts of present-day Herzegovina.

A visible increase in the Serbian Orthodox **population** in the Bosnian medieval kingdom occurred during the reign of **Tvrtko I** (1353–1391), when he occupied parts of southwestern Serbia (1376). Even the monastery of Miloševo, the burial place of Sava Nemanjić, came under Bosnian rule. A relatively small number of Orthodox adherents in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina were found in some locations

of northeastern Bosnia and eastern Herzegovina, but Serbian church institutions did not establish permanent footing in the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina until after the Ottoman conquest (1463).

Under the Ottomans, major religious and even ethnic shifts began to take place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The local **Bosnian Church**, already weak, practically vanished soon after the Turkish conquest. The **Catholic Church**, which flourished toward the end of the Bosnian Kingdom, began to lose its strong position and eventually became the church of a minority. **Islam**, as a state **religion**, became dominant in the country, and many natives converted to the religion of the new state. Furthermore, because of Turkish invasions, Orthodox Christianity established itself in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It grew from a small minority in pre-Ottoman times to the largest of the three religious groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the Turkish rule. The main reasons for this growth were migrations and conversions.

With the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia (1463), a significant migration of the Christian Orthodox population began from the eastern and southern **Balkans** to the northwest. These migrants served as guardsmen, pass-watchers, frontier raiders, herdsman, and transporters of military supplies. In return, they colonized devastated frontier regions, organized their settlements, preserved their tribal autonomy, and received various privileges. Most of those who migrated to Bosnia (and Croatia), along with the Ottoman armies, were of Orthodox religion, but not necessarily of Serbian ethnicity. Most of them were partly slavized Balkan Vlachs that lived in the region from Roman times. Those who migrated and the converts to Orthodoxy came under the pastoral care of the Serbian Orthodox Church and eventually all melted into the Serbian national body. Thus, the **Ottoman Empire** became the most important catalyst in the spread of Orthodoxy and ultimately Serbian identity across its traditional boundaries in the Balkans.

Once the Ottomans solidified their rule over the Balkan Orthodox regions, they modified their policy toward the Serbian Orthodox Church. Although from the middle of the 15th century the church was subordinated to the Greek-controlled archbishopric in Ohrid, and despite hardships it had to go through, it was a part of the Ottoman-recognized Orthodox religious community (*millet*). In comparison to the Catholic Church under the Ottomans, it had a privileged status. Furthermore, because the Ottomans needed Serbian support in their

struggle against the Catholic **Habsburg** lands and because of the sympathies of the grand vizier at the time, who was from Bosnia himself, the Serbian patriarchate of Peć was restored in 1557. By regaining church independence, the Serbian religious and national body became an autonomous entity in the Ottoman Empire that promoted its interests under Islamic rule. Moreover, the borders of the Serbian church greatly increased to the west (Bosnia and parts of Croatia) and numerous churches and monasteries were built in the new regions, mostly on the foundations of former Catholic churches. The close cooperation between the Serbian patriarchate and the Ottomans lasted until 1690, when patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, as the Habsburg ally, was forced to flee along with many **Serbs** from Serbia to Srijem, which was under the Habsburgs.

With the growth of the Orthodox population during the Ottoman centuries, the church's institutional structures also evolved in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The jurisdiction of the episcopate of Dabar, established by Sava Nemanjić on the border between Serbia and Bosnia (1220), stretched into Bosnia. In 1557, after the revival of the patriarchate of Peć, this church seat was moved to Bosnia itself and became known as the Dabro-Bosnian episcopate. In 1575, the same episcopate was transferred to a former Catholic monastery in Rmanj in western Bosnia and in 1713 to **Sarajevo**. It is not known when this episcopate was raised to the metropolitan level.

In the early 17th century (1611), the revived Orthodox episcopate of Hum was divided into two church regions. In the next century, however, the two parts were reunited again into the Zahumlje-Herzegovina episcopate. The local bishops resided mostly in monasteries around the town of Trebinje until 1777, when the seat of the episcopate was moved to the city of **Mostar**.

In northeastern Bosnia, an Orthodox episcopate was established in Zvornik in the early 16th century (c. 1532). This church center was transferred to **Tuzla** in 1852, and since then it has been known as the Zvornik-Tuzla episcopate.

Besides the three older metropolitan episcopates, a new one was formed in the city of **Banja Luka** in northwestern Bosnia in 1900, carved out from the Sarajevo church district. The **Bihać** episcopate was formed in 1925 and abolished in 1934. In 1990, the church authorities formed the Bihać-Petrovac eparchy, with its seat in Bosanski Petrovac.

In addition to the parochial structures of the church, Orthodox monasteries were also established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They too came into existence after the Ottoman conquest. During the 16th and 17th centuries, three such monasteries were established in Herzegovina and eight in Bosnia. These religious houses became the most important centers of Serbian Orthodoxy and Serbian national life in the country.

Because the patriarchate of Peć was abolished in 1766, the jurisdiction over the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina came under the patriarch of Constantinople. From that time until 1880, a few years after Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by the Habsburgs, the church leadership in the country was in the hands of the Greek bishops (Phanariotes), who were foreigners and cared little for the local needs of the church or the people. Because money was the most important factor for the ordination of priests, the quality of Orthodox clergy in Bosnia and Herzegovina was below the necessary level for religious leadership and vitality.

After the Habsburg occupation of the country in 1878, the new rulers were not sure how to gain the cooperation of the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina while at the same time limiting Serbia's influences over that church and the Orthodox people in the country. A solution was worked out with the patriarch in Constantinople (1880), by which the patriarch had jurisdiction over the Greek-Eastern Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Vienna was allowed to nominate its bishops. In turn, the patriarch in Constantinople was paid an annual fee by Vienna, and the local bishops were put on the state payroll. By 1891, all three episcopates were transferred from Greek bishops into the hands of native sons, the Serb hierarchy. As a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of the creation of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** (Yugoslavia after 1929), the episcopates in Bosnia and Herzegovina united with the metropolitan episcopate of Serbia in 1918. In 1920, the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate was established in Belgrade, and since then the Orthodox Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been under its jurisdiction.

Today, there are five Serb Orthodox Church territorial jurisdictions in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Dabro-Bosnian Metropoly and four eparchies, Zahum-Herzegovina, Zvornik-Tuzla, Banja Luka, and Bihać-Petrovac. During the 1992–1995 war, the headquarters of the

Metropoly was moved from Sarajevo to Sokolac, and today it functions from both locations under the leadership of Metropolitan **Nikolaj**.

OSLOBODENJE/LIBERATION. Sarajevo's daily paper. It began (1943) as a partisan propaganda news-sheet for the National Liberation Struggle and the Communist movement in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** during World War II. From the very beginning to the collapse of the Communist regime in **Yugoslavia**, *Oslobodenje* was an orthodox paper, never wavering in its support of the regime and its ideology. Even in the post-Communist era, at the time when Slovenia was attacked and the war in Croatia raged, *Oslobodenje* zealously supported the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** and remained faithful to the dogma of Yugoslavism. The paper, and Sarajevo's news **media** in general, were not able to name the war aggressor for a long time.

After the siege of Sarajevo began, the paper continued to be published under war conditions and attempted to keep a multiethnic image. Although it claims to be an independent paper and above ethnic affiliations, its critics consider it too close to the official line of the Sarajevo Muslim/**Bosniac**-dominated **government**.

Oslobodenje has received numerous international honors and awards in the last five years for defying the atrocious war conditions and keeping the voice of freedom alive. It was honored by the Sakharov Prize for **Human Rights**, the Oscar Romero Award, and the Freedom Award, among others.

Serbian authorities in **Pale** near Sarajevo for a while also published their own *Oslobodenje*, which claimed to be the true successor of the original paper.

OSVIT/DAWN. A journal for **literature**, culture, and social issues published in **Mostar** by the Association of Writers of **Herzeg-Bosna**. Its publication began in 1995. It was named after the Croatian paper *Osvit* that began publishing in Mostar in 1898.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE. A long-lasting state (1299–1922) formed in Anatolia (today's Turkey) by Turkic Sunni Muslim frontier warriors (*ghazis*).

Ottoman Turks were one of many Turkic tribes that migrated from central Asia westward and, having converted to Islam in the early

13th century, became fervent holy warriors against the Byzantine (Christian) Empire. Their ruling dynasty was named after Osman (c. 1280–1326), the first Ottoman (*Osmanli*) ruler. Initially, the Ottoman state was one of several petty states formed on the ruins of the once-powerful Seljuk sultanate in Anatolia, but its territorial expansion, growth of power and institutions, and longevity proved to be phenomenal. The Ottoman rulers were able to spread their realm rather quickly due to their capable leadership and because of the steady decline of the Byzantine Empire. Although the Ottomans expanded their possessions to the east, where their power was checked by the Persian Shi'a Muslim dynasties, their main military objective was the conquest of Constantinople and other Christian lands in Southeastern Europe. By taking Adrianople (Edrine) in 1361, the Ottomans secured their permanent presence in Europe and established a foothold for further expansion.

Feudal dissensions, often reinforced by religious divisions among the Christian ruling elite in Southeast Europe, prevented the formation of a common front against the growing power of the Ottomans. Thus, by the 15th century, they took present-day Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Albania, and Serbia. In 1453, Mehmet II (called “Fatih” meaning “Conqueror”) conquered Constantinople, the last hope of the once-powerful Byzantine Empire and Greek Orthodox Christianity. Renamed Istanbul, the city served as the Ottoman capital until the end of the empire. In 1463, Bosnia fell to Mehmet II, **Herzegovina** followed a couple of decades later, and the lands became a staging ground for further expansion into central Europe. About a century later, most of Hungary, parts of Croatia, Moldavia, parts of Poland, southern Ukraine, and other lands around the Black Sea were added to the sultan's possessions. At the same time, the states in the Middle East and Northern Africa accepted Ottoman overlordship. Under the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566) the empire reached its apex, and his armies even reached as far as Vienna (1529), although they were unable to take the city.

The Ottoman government, headed by the sultan, had two main branches: the ruling institution and the religious institution. The multilayered ruling institution included the grand vizier (first minister of the sultan) and a large bureaucracy that consisted of Ottomanized and Islamized men, taken as boys from Christian

families as *devşirme* (collection, blood tax). The military was also part of the ruling institution, including the well-trained and disciplined *Jeni Çeri* or Janissaries, who were “taxed” from their families in the Balkans. The religious institution consisted of the *ulema*—learned men of the law (*Şeriat*)—and it acted as a junior partner of the ruling elite.

The Ottoman state, although an Islamic empire, provided certain autonomous rights to non-Muslim minorities through an institution known as *millet*. There were three recognized *millets*: Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish. The *millet* leaders, through their religious hierarchies, handled religious, educational, judicial, and charitable activities independently from the standard institutions of the Muslim majority. Members of the *millets* were expected to be loyal subjects of the sultan.

By the end of the 16th century, the empire began a slow but steady decline. A number of factors contributed to this reversal of Ottoman fortune. Sultans were no longer proven leaders and warriors, as was the case during the first two centuries. Starting with Suleiman’s son, Selim II (the Sot; 1566–1574), sultans were raised within the harem and often became captives of influential individuals, including their ambitious wives, mothers, and grand viziers. Provincial governors asserted their authority, the discipline of the Janissaries eroded as their political influences and economic interests increased, cavalry (*sipahis*) became hereditary feudal landowners, and the life of the subject class (*raya*/flock)—mostly Christian in the European part of the empire—became increasingly unbearable. Furthermore, European successes in shifting trade routes from the Muslim-controlled Middle East to the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans resulted in a major surge of their economic and military power and technological advancements. Moreover, the Russian state began to assert itself, and its territorial ambitions were a direct threat to the Ottoman imperial holdings in the Black Sea regions and the Balkans. These and other factors culminated in the Ottoman permanent territorial losses in Europe that were confirmed by the Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovci) in 1699. The losses and the humiliating treaty was a first major shock to the Ottoman self-confidence and sense of superiority over the Christian infidels. At the same time, it indicated that Eu-

rope entered an offensive phase against the Ottoman power, once thought to be invincible. Sultans were increasingly faced with social, nationalist, economic, and political upheavals that they could not successfully resolve, and the country was falling rather quickly behind its European competitors.

Some modernizing efforts, especially in military matters, had already begun in the 18th century, but in order to preserve the unity of the empire, Ottoman sultans promulgated between 1839 and 1876 a series of sweeping reforms, known as the *tanzimat* (reorganization). By giving new and written guarantees of rights for all religious and ethnic groups, reforming sultans wished to turn them from subjects into free and loyal citizens. The reforms, however, were only partially successful. They were opposed by various forces, including the religious establishment, local elites—whose privileges were threatened—conservative bureaucrats, and even by sultans who could not give up absolutistic habits.

One of the byproducts of the *tanzimat*, however, was the formation of a new nationalist movement, known as the New (Young) Ottomans. These were educated men who advocated a replacement of *millet* identity and rights by an Ottoman nationality that would include all segments of society, whose rights would be guaranteed by a constitution and parliament. The New Ottomans drafted a constitution in 1876 and replaced two sultans in the same year in order to move the country forward, but their idealism could not resolve the interrelated issues, such as a huge debt, serious revolts in the Balkans, and outside interventions. Furthermore, Ottomanism as an identity could not compete with the rapidly growing nationalisms among diverse peoples in the empire.

The Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) turned out to be disastrous for the Ottomans. The balance of **Austro-Hungarian** and Russian interests in the **Balkans** was threatened, and this led to the Congress of Berlin (1878), which, among other decisions, recognized full independence of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro; Bosnia and Herzegovina came under Austro-Hungarian administration, and even the question of Armenian autonomy was raised. (See BERLIN, CONGRESS OF.) Being in a difficult situation, Sultan Abdulhamid (1876–1909) suspended the constitution, dissolved parliament, and ruled as an incompetent and cruel dictator. Various opposition groups, known as the

“Young Turks,” surfaced. They stood for restoration of the 1876 constitution, removal of Abdulhamid, and strengthening of the military.

In 1908, the Young Turks were able to force the sultan to restore the Ottoman constitution and hold parliamentary elections. But the achievements did not match the promises and intentions of the Young Turks or the expectations of the people and the world. Disintegration of the empire continued: Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bulgaria declared independence; Crete rebelled (1908); and Italy invaded the Ottoman province of Tripolitania in North Africa (1911). A year later, an alliance of the Balkan countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro) attacked the Ottomans in Macedonia, which is known as the First **Balkan War**. In a few months the Ottomans lost their European lands, including mostly Muslim Albania.

The Ottoman Empire found itself on the losing side at the end of World War I. The Treaty of Sèvres (1920), among other provisions, recognized an independent Armenia and an autonomous Kurdistan; Greeks gained control over the Aegean Islands; Italy and France were given parts of southwest Anatolia; and Ottoman sovereignty over Arab lands was lost. While Sultan Mehmet VI (1918–1922) accepted the imposed provisions, the Turkish nationalists, rallied around the charismatic leader Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), rejected the treaty dictates, took up arms, formed the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, abolished the sultanate, and established (1923) the Republic of Turkey on the ashes of the once-powerful Ottoman Empire.

OWEN, DAVID A., LORD (1938–). Former European Community (EC) mediator and cochairman of the Peace Conference on the Former **Yugoslavia** (1992–1995). He, together with **Cyrus Vance**, and then with **Thorvald Stoltenberg**, proposed two peace plans that would divide Bosnia and **Herzegovina** into semiautonomous cantons or three ethnic ministates. Both proposals fell through. He was replaced as EC negotiator by Carl Bildt in June 1995. Owen was accused of being ready to reward Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Owen was born in Plympton, South Devon, finished medical school, and served in various positions, including foreign secretary, in the British national government. *See also* INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

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PAGANIA/THE PAGAN LAND. Medieval name for the region west of **Hum** or Zahumlje. It stretched from the Neretva River to the Cetina River in the present-day Republic of Croatia. The south-western parts of western **Herzegovina** also belonged to the region of Pagania.

PALE. A village near **Sarajevo** that became headquarters of the Bosnian Serb, hardline leadership during the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. *See also* SERB REPUBLIC.

PARIK, KARLO (1857–1942). A renowned architect born in Czech lands but who spent almost 60 years of his life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was the architect of a number of prominent buildings in Sarajevo, including the Former Evangelical Church (Academy of Fine Arts now), the Ulema-Mejlis Building, the first gymnasium/high school, a Jewish synagogue, St. Joseph's Catholic Church, the Justice Palace, and several other buildings. His best-known **architectural** accomplishment is the **Land Museum**.

PARLIAMENT. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** consists of two chambers: a House of Representatives with 42 seats (28 from the **Federation** and 14 from the **Serb Republic**) and a House of Peoples with 15 seats. Members of the House of Representatives serve four-year terms and are not elected directly as individual candidates but by voting for party-lists. A list must receive a minimum of 3 percent of the popular vote in order to win seats in Parliament, which are allocated proportionately to the percentage of votes received.

The House of Peoples in the National Assembly consists of five **Bosniacs**, five **Croats**, and five **Serbs**. The members of this chamber are appointed by the parliaments of the two entities. The present House of Peoples was constituted in January 2003, and its mandate expires at the end of 2006.

The Bosniac–Croat Federation has a two-chamber legislature: a House of Representatives with 98 seats, elected by popular vote, and a House of Peoples with 60 seats (30 Bosniac and 30 Croat).

The Serb Republic has an 83-seat National Assembly, elected by popular vote, and a twenty-eight-member Council of Peoples (eight Serbs, eight Bosniacs, eight Croats, and four others). All mandates last four years. The last elections took place in October 2006. *See also* COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES; PRESIDENCY.

PARTY FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA/STRANKA ZA BOSNU I HERZEGOVINU (SBIH). The party emerged in April 1996 as a result of a split in the main **Bosniac/Muslim** party, **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**. The division was more a result of a clash of personalities than of ideological differences. The prime mover of the party was **Haris Silajdžić**, former foreign minister and prime minister of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. He was a member of the negotiating team in Dayton and cosigner of the **Dayton Peace Accords** in 1995.

The SBIH claims to be a multiethnic party, but in reality it is a Bosniac/Muslim party. Although Silajdžić participated in formulating the Dayton Accords, he and the SBIH are very critical of the agreement. Thus, in the 2006 **elections**, the SBIH scored a major victory by promising voters to fight for the abolishment of the two entities and against any constitutional amendments that would legitimize the present division of the country. It is suspected that the SBIH might go to the other extreme and try to make Bosnia and Herzegovina a unitary, Bosniac-dominated state, which would be unacceptable to the **Serbs** and **Croats**.

In the October 2006 national elections, out of the total Bosniac vote, the SBIH won 62.8 percent for the **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22.99 percent for the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22.16 percent for the House of Representatives in the **Federation**, and 4.01 percent for the National Assembly in the **Serb Republic**. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION/STRANKA DEMOKRATSKE AKCIJE (SDA). The leading nationalist **political party** among the **Bosniacs/Bosnian Muslims**. At the time of its founding (May 1990), it was perceived as a political organization that would rally not only the Muslims of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** but also the

Muslims throughout the former **Yugoslavia**. As the war erupted and Yugoslavia dissolved, its activities in Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia were greatly contained and even suppressed. The SDA has, however, an active membership in Croatia and many other foreign countries in the West.

Initially, the SDA portrayed itself and the Bosnian Muslim community as a convenient bridge between **Serbs** and **Croats** and between the East and West. It tried hard and for too long to be neutral during the 1991 war in Croatia. Despite visible signs that the war would spread to Bosnia, the SDA failed to make any preparations for the coming onslaught. Once the war in Bosnia began, it developed reluctant relations with Croatia and the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The “alliance” even broke down at the beginning of 1993 and turned into an open conflict over the 30 percent of the country that was not occupied by the Serbs.

Because the SDA received 37.8 percent of the electoral votes in the first multiparty **election** (1990), it won 86 of the 240 seats in the National Assembly. The president of the SDA, **Alija Izetbegović**, who was elected to the collective nine-member rotating **presidency**, was chosen as the first president of the presidency, and he formed the first coalition **government** made up of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats.

Although the party program emphasizes freedom and equality of all citizens, regardless of nationality, **religion**, race, gender, or political affiliation, the SDA tends to advocate a unitary and Bosniac-dominated state. The arguments are that they make up the majority of the **population** and, as the Croats and Serbs have their respective national states, so should the Bosniacs/Bosnian Muslims.

While Alija Izetbegović was alive, he had a dominant role in the party, and his support was especially strong among more conservative Muslim forces and the Muslim religious leaders, while the more cosmopolitan wing of the party rallied around Prime Minister **Haris Silajdžić**. A small but influential group of SDA members split from the party ranks and formed the **Muslim Bosniac Organization (MBO)** in October 1990.

In the October 2002 elections, SDA's candidate for the presidency, Sulejman Tihić, received 37.3 percent of the Bosniac vote. The party won 10 out of 42 seats in the House of Representatives

of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 32 out of 98 seats in the House of Representatives of the Bosniac–Croat Federation. In the latest national elections (October 2006), Tihić received 27.53 percent of the Bosniac votes for the collective presidency; his party (SDA) won 8 out of 42 seats in the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 28 out of 98 seats in the House of Representatives of the Bosniac–Croat Federation.

After former prime minister Silajdžić split from President Izetbegović at the beginning of 1996, he organized a political formation of his own, the **Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH)**. Although the SDA has lost the momentum and popularity that it had during the war and while Izetbegović was alive, it is still perceived as the guardian of Bosniac nationalist interests, and it remains the leading party among the Bosnian Muslims.

PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS/PARTIJA DEMOKRATSKOG PROGRESA (PDP). A minor Serb political party founded in 1999 in the **Serb Republic**. In the 2002 elections, it won two out of 42 seats in the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (**Sarajevo**) and nine out of 83 in the National Assembly of the Serb Republic (**Banja Luka**). It was founded by Mladen Ivanić, at the time prime minister of the Serb Republic. In the 2006 elections, the party received one seat in the **Parliament** in Sarajevo and six seats in the National Assembly in Banja Luka.

PATRIOTIC LEAGUE/PATRIOTSKA LIGA (PL). Muslim/Bosniac paramilitary force formed in 1991 under the wings of the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, without the knowledge of the Ministry of the Interior at the time. The PL civilian section was under the direct control of **Alija Izetbegović**, the military branch was lead by Muslim officers who deserted from the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)**. Its commanding officer was Sefer Halilović. Various paramilitary units were attached to the PL, as well as some criminal elements and **mujahedeen** volunteers. The PL defined its task as “defense of the Muslim nation and safeguarding of the integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” It declaratively stood for the preservation of a multinational Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it was purely a Bosniac force. The PL had uneasy relations with the **Territorial Defense** forces

and especially with the Muslim/Bosniac military and intelligence officers who came over from the JNA to join the Bosniac side once the war began to rage. The latecomers undermined the authority and prestige of the PL, discredited its military leaders, and even attempted to assassinate some of them, including Gen. Halilović. *See also* ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

PAVELIĆ, ANTE (1899–1959). Leader of the *ustaša* movement and head of the **Independent State of Croatia (NDH)** during World War II. He was born in the town of Bradina (**Herzegovina**). Pavelić finished his primary education in Bosnia, secondary in Croatia, and in 1915, he finished law studies at the University of Zagreb. From his youth, Pavelić was a member of the **Croatian Party of Right**, which emphasized Croatia's historical state rights and independence. He was also the founder of the Croatian Workers Federation. In 1922 and 1927, Pavelić was elected to represent the city of Zagreb in the provincial and national assembly.

After the assassination of leading Croatian politicians in Belgrade's Parliament (1928) and the imposition of King Aleksandar's dictatorship (1929), Pavelić turned to revolutionary methods to fight Serbian domination of the country and established the *ustaša*—Croatian Revolutionary Organization. Its main objective was the breakup of **Yugoslavia** and liberation of Croatia. In the same year, Pavelić left the country, and a few months later he was sentenced to death in absentia by the state court in Belgrade (17 July 1929) for “anti-state activities.”

In 1941, Pavelić returned with the help of the Axis powers to become the head of the Independent State of Croatia, which also included Bosnia and Herzegovina. In his regime there were persecutions of Jews, **Serbs**, and **Croats**, who were considered disloyal to the state. When the NDH collapsed at the end of World War II, he left the country and lived in Argentina where he survived an assassination attempt by Yugoslav agents in 1957. Finally, he and his family moved to Spain, where he died. *See also* KARADORĐEVIĆ, ALEKSANDAR.

PEACE IMPLEMENTATION COUNCIL (PIC). International body that solicits support, sets the goals, supervises, and reviews

implementation of the civilian aspects of the **Dayton Peace Accords**. The PIC was established during the London Peace Implementation Conference in December 1995 and it comprises 55 countries and agencies. The conference also formed the Steering Board as the PIC executive. Its members are Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom, the United States, the presidency of the European Union, the European Commission, and Turkey representing the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The Steering Board nominates the **High Representative (HR)**, and then the **United Nations** Security Council gives its stamp of approval. The HR also serves as the chair of the Steering Board. Critics point out that the Steering Board is a self-selecting and self-serving body and that the PIC is a power club that is not bound by any precepts of international law.

PEJANOVIĆ, MIRKO (1946–). A member of the seven-member state **presidency** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from 1992 to 1996. He was born near **Tuzla**, of Serb nationality. After working as a teacher for a few years, he pursued higher education at the University of **Sarajevo**, specializing in sociology. Besides serving in various local **government** functions in the city of Sarajevo, Pejanović also worked as a sociopolitical analyst for the governments of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the former **Yugoslavia**. During the first multiparty **elections** in the country (1990), he was president of the Democratic Party of Socialists. After the 1992 war began, he remained in Sarajevo and opposed the Serbian nationalist leaders. In 1992, he became a member of the Bosnian state presidency and a member of the state delegation to the peace talks in Geneva from 1992 to 1994. Pejanović is a cofounder and president of the **Serb Civic Council (SGV)**, an organization formed in March 1994 by leading **Serb** intellectuals in Sarajevo who accept the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its multiethnic life.

PELAGIĆ, VASO (1838–1899). Bosnian writer, founder and principal of the first Orthodox seminary in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, and a revolutionary Serb nationalist who later turned into an antireligious and socialist propagandist. Pelagić finished his studies in Belgrade and Kiev. He served in **Banja Luka** as an archimandrite and founded

there a school for the formation of Orthodox clergy in 1866. Because of his nationalist activism he was exiled from the **Ottoman Empire**, and he was expelled (1876) from the **Habsburg** realm because of participating in the 1875 anti-Ottoman rebellion in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He spent the rest of his life in Serbia, where he became a leading socialist writer and an advocate of the lower classes. His best-known works are *History of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Rebellion*, *Answer to Four Social Questions*, and *Reasoning of a Sound Mind*. For his revolutionary writings and activism, Pelagić spent a number of years in a prison. *See also* SERBS.

PITANJA KNJIŽEVNOSTI I JEZIKA/QUESTIONS ON LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. A journal dealing with issues of **literature** and **language** published at the University of **Sarajevo** from 1954 to 1958.

PLAVŠIĆ, BILJANA (1930–). Serb politician, former president of the **Serb Republic** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, and a convicted war criminal. Plavšić was born near **Tuzla** and finished her higher education in natural sciences and mathematics at the University of Zagreb, Croatia. First, she worked at the School of Philosophy at the University of **Sarajevo** (1956–1960), then at its School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics (1961–1977). After a two-year break, she returned to the same university and taught there until 1990.

Plavšić belonged to the **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)** and served as a member of the multiethnic collective **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina from November 1990 to April 1992. After she resigned from the presidency, Plavšić joined the Serb warring faction, and became vice president of the Serb Republic. She proved herself to be one of the most ardent advocates of Serbian separatism and remained an outspoken proponent of the Serb nationalist cause throughout the war. Her followers referred to her at the time as the *Serpska Carica*/Serb Tsarina.

After **Radovan Karadžić**, an indicted war criminal, was forced out by international pressure from the office of president of the Serb Republic in August 1996 and banned from political life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Plavšić became his replacement. She served approximately two years before she was pushed out of the office by

more radical SDS elements. In April 2000, she was indicted by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** for genocide, crimes against humanity, and violations of the laws or customs of war. Plavšić surrendered to the ICTY in January 2001 but was conditionally released in September of the same year. In December 2002, she plea bargained with the court and entered a guilty plea to one count of crimes against humanity. Plavšić was sentenced to eleven years in prison and is serving her sentence in Sweden. *See also* SERBS.

PODGORJE. Medieval territory in present-day northeastern **Herzegovina** created at the end of the 10th century out of the northern parts of **Travunja** and **Zahumlje**.

PODRINJE. Literally means “regions below the river Drina.” In pre-**Ottoman** times, the name designated a territory east of the upper flow of the Drina River, between the rivers Drina and Lim. It included the towns of Sokol, Pljevlje, Prijepolje, and the Serbian monastery Miloševo. **Ban Tvrtko** was the first Bosnian ruler to gain this area (1366). Podrinje remained under the Bosnian rulers until the Ottoman occupation.

POLITICAL PARTIES. During the first decades of **Habsburg** rule, or earlier under the **Ottomans**, a parliamentary system did not exist in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The first semblance of parliamentary life that emerged from 1910 to 1916, although with a limited franchise and lacking direct legislative powers, resulted from three factors. First, there was a belief on the part of the imperial Austro-Hungarian bureaucrats that Bosnia and Herzegovina was secure enough to allow more local political participation. Second, it became clear by the end of the 19th century that the supraethno-religious Bosnian (Bošnjak or Bosniac) identity, championed by Minister **Benjámín Kállay** (the joint finance minister responsible for Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1882 to 1903) was rejected even by the **Bosnian Muslims**. Third, during the first decade of the 20th century, the **Orthodox** and Muslim communities in the country gained religious-educational autonomies and were beginning to transform the gathering of cultural power into a political force.

The first political party in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Muslim People's Organization, was established in 1906. It advocated Bosnian autonomy under the sultan's sovereignty. Socially, it advocated freedom of the customary tenants (*kmets*) in order to make them free agricultural laborers. Its leader was Alibeg Firdus and later Šerif Arnautović. A second Muslim political party, the Croatian Muslim Progressive Party, was founded in 1908 under the leadership of Ademaga Mešić. It sympathized with the pro-Croatian policies and ethnic orientation, while preserving an Islamic religious heritage. It attracted many leading Muslim intellectuals through the publication *Muslimanska Sviest*/Muslim Consciousness. Because the Muslim People's Organization shifted its program closer to the Croatian side, some pro-Serb Muslims split from the party. However, they were not strong enough to form a party. Their only candidate in the first parliamentary **elections** of 1910, Osman Đikić, failed to be elected.

Toward the end of 1907, three Serbian activist groups (business, intellectuals, and peasants) formed the Serbian People's Organization. In the same year, another Serbian political party was formed, the Serbian People's Independent Party in **Sarajevo**, but because of its weak following, it soon faded away.

Among the **Croats** in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were two major parties before World War I. The Croatian People's Organization was founded in 1908, and the Croatian Catholic Union in 1910. The first emphasized its secular and supraconfessional orientation, while the second had a strong **Catholic**-centered program. The first political orientation was supported by the **Franciscans**, and the main champion of the second was the archbishop of Sarajevo, **Josip Stadler**.

In the first parliament, elected in 1910, the **Serbs** had 31 mandates, the **Muslims** 24, and the Croats 16. The working of the parliament was not, however, predetermined by the ethno-religious affiliation of its members. Various political shifts were taking place on different issues. The local **government** always attempted to have a "working majority" from all three ethno-religious communities.

After the creation of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** in 1918 (**Yugoslavia** after 1929), the unitarist ideology prevailed, and the various nations in the country were declared to be simply "tribes" of a "single Yugoslav nation." Regardless of this ideological

axiom, the political parties in the country continued to be based on ethnic and religious affiliation.

In 1919, the Democratic Party was organized out of three Serbian political circles and a small pro-Serb Muslim group. Its main ideological orientation was a Serb-dominated version of "Yugoslavism." Although its leaders advocated national unity, at least they were willing to discuss the concerns of non-Serbs. They rejected, however, all forms of federalism in the country. In the 1920 elections, the Democrats received only 5.59 percent of votes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

But most of the Orthodox (Serbian) **population** supported the Serbian Radical Party and the Alliance of Agrarian Workers or Serbian Agrarians. The Radicals and their political allies considered the Serbs to be a nation, while the others (Croats and Slovenes) were considered tribes. According to them, the new state rested upon the Serbian historical state tradition, whereby the Serbs were not equal but superior to others in the country. It was their task to "melt" the others into Serbs, and not, as some Yugoslav idealists believed, that all of the nationalities should transform themselves into a common Yugoslav ethnicity. The Radicals, reflecting a strain of Social Darwinism, claimed that the Serbs had a stronger national will and higher moral aspirations and, therefore, history was on their side.

The left-wing parties, Social Democrats and Communists, were marginal forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of the Social Democratic membership shifted to the Communist side. The Social Democrats in the 1920 elections, for example, received only 0.84 percent and the Communists, who were soon outlawed, 5.46 percent of votes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO) was established in 1919 from some smaller groupings among the Muslims. It attracted most of the Muslim political forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides its efforts to keep the administrative unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to protect the interests of its constituency, the JMO's main aim was to keep the Muslim population from political factionalism according to class divisions or from being caught between Serbian and Croatian nationalist rivalry. While there were small and insignificant pro-Serb Muslim political groupings (Muslim Husbandmen's Party, Muslim People's Party, and Muslim List of Šerif Arnautović), the JMO had overwhelming Muslim support in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The JMO, unlike the Serbian and Croatian political parties, was defined only in religious and not in ethnic terms. The ethnic identity of the Muslims was left ambiguous at the time. For example, after the 1920 elections, out of 24 JMO delegates, 15 declared themselves to be Croats, two Serbs, five undeclared, and one Bosnian. And after the 1923 elections, out of 18 JMO deputies and their alternates, all except its leader **Mehmed Spaho** declared themselves as Croats. Spaho decided to be a Yugoslav. Although the JMO made compromises with the ruling Serbian centralist forces, it was, with Slovenes and Croats, in a federalist political camp in the country.

The Croatian People's Organization was revived, and from it two parties later evolved: the Croat Husbandmen's Party and the Croat People's Party. The first one had much larger support among the Croat electorate, especially among the liberal-minded Croats, while the second was a clerical party. Soon, however, a third Croatian political formation appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1921, the **Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)** (from 1918–1925, known as Croatian Republican Peasant Party [HRSS]), the main political force in neighboring Croatia, began to spread its organizations there, and, already in the 1923 elections, gained overwhelming support among the Croat electorate. It also attracted some following among the Muslims. The two other parties were practically wiped out after 1923. The core of the political program of the Croat parties was federalism. They advocated national equality and decentralized government.

After the assassination of the Croatian political leadership in Belgrade's parliament in 1928 and the imposition of the royal dictatorship on 6 January 1929, King Aleksandar banned all political parties. An "all-Yugoslav" political organization, however, was formed according to royal dictates. After the assassination of the king in 1934, a quasiparliamentary life was revived, and in the 1935 elections, even under tremendous political pressure, the opposition led by the Croatian Peasant Party had an impressive showing. But the advent of World War II and the Communist takeover in 1945 eliminated all party politics in the country until 1992.

After the Communist Party gave up the monopoly of power in the former Yugoslavia, ethno-religious political formations in Bosnia and Herzegovina were rapidly constituted in the first half of 1990. The **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)** was formed in May 1990.

Under the leadership of **Alija Izetbegović**, it became the party that gathered most of the Bosnian Muslim electorate. Although Bosnian-centered, its goal at the time was to be a major political voice of all who adhered to Islamic cultural and religious tradition in the former Yugoslavia. Therefore, chapters of the SDA were formed in other republics of the former country. The party program stood for the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and preservation of its multi-ethnic, multireligious character within a decentralized Yugoslavia. Although its symbols were religious, the party leadership maintained that it stood for a civil society and a secular state. A group of SDA dissidents, led by an influential émigré returnee, **Adil Zulfikarpašić**, formed a splinter party, the **Muslim Bosniac Organization (MBO)**. The MBO emphasized the nonreligious nature of its program and was considered closer to the Serbs than the SDA. There was also a Bosnian **Republican Party** that was secular and closer to the Croats in its program. But it did not resonate among the Muslim population.

Most of the Bosnian Serbs gathered around the **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)** and its leader, the Montenegrin-born psychiatrist **Radovan Karadžić**. During the election campaign in the summer of 1990, the party's main emphasis was on the protection of Serbian rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina and not on a scheme to create a Greater Serbia. The **Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)** was also in the Bosnian first-election arena, but it had marginal support among the Bosnian Serbs. Karadžić and his party were the favorites of the Serbian president **Slobodan Milošević**.

The main Croat political party in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**, also the strongest party in Croatia. Its program emphasized that it stood for the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina but as a country of three equal peoples: Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. Its main concerns were Serbian expansionism and a possible Muslim domination in the country. The HDZ lacked strong leadership in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mainly because it was subservient to the ruling sister party bosses in Croatia. Two other Croatian parties were formed in the country, the Croatian Democratic Party (HDS) and **Croatian Party of Right (HSP)**, but the HDZ had overwhelming Croat support.

In total, there were 41 registered parties, of which only five managed to win a representation in the National Assembly in the first post-

Communist elections of November–December 1990. These elections were clearly won by the three major ethno-religious parties. The SDA won 35.81 percent of the votes, SDS 29.11 percent, and HDZ 18.75 percent of the vote. In the Chamber of Municipalities, out of 110 seats, the SDA won forty-three, SDSBiH thirty-eight, HDZBiH twenty-three, Party of Democratic Change four, Democratic Party of Socialists (DSS) one, and SPO 1. In the Chamber of Citizens, out of 130 seats, SDA won 43, SDSBiH 34, HDZBiH 21, Party of Democratic Change 15, SRSJBiH 12, MBO two, DSS one, Democratic League of Greens (DSZ) one, and Liberalna Stranka (LS) one. According to ethnic background, the 1990 National Assembly was composed of 99 Muslims, 85 Serbs, 49 Croats, and seven Yugoslavs. Many in the country believed at the time that there was a chance to resolve the longtime simmering but ignored ethnic problems in a peaceful way. Only a few months later, however, it became clear that an armed insurrection and aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina was imminent.

Among numerous registered political parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina today, the following are noteworthy:

Among the Bosniacs, there is Party of Democratic Action/*Stranka Demokratske Akcije*, **Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina**/*Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Bosnian and Herzegovinian Patriotic Party/*Bosanskohercegovačka Patriotska Stranka*, and Democratic People's Community/*Demokratska Narodna Zajednica*.

Among the Serbs, there is Serb Democratic Party/*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*, **Alliance of Independent Social Democrats**/*Savez Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata*, **Party of Democratic Progress**/*Partija Demokratskog Progresu RS*, Democratic Party of the **Serb Republic**/*Demokratska Stranka RS*, Democratic People's Alliance/*Demokratski Narodni Savez*, Pensioners' Party of the Serb Republic/*Penzionerska Stranka Republike Srpske*, Serbian People's Alliance of the Serb Republic/*Srpski Narodni Savez RS*, Serbian Radical Party of the Serb Republic/*Srpska Radikalna Stranka RS*, Socialist Party of the Serb Republic/*Socijalistička Partija Republike Srpske*, League of People's Rebirth/*Savez Narodnog Preporoda*.

Among the Croats, there is Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina/*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica BiH*, Christian Democrats/*Demokršćani*, Croatian Christian Democratic Union/*Hrvatska Kršćanska Demokratska Unija*, Croatian Party of

Rights/*Hrvatska Stranka Prava*, Croatian Peasant Party/*Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka*, Croatian Right Bloc/*Hrvatski Pravaški Blok*, People's Party-Progress by Work/*Narodna Stranka Radom za Boljitak*, New Croatian Initiative/*Nova Hrvatska Inicijativa*, and newly formed Croatian Democratic Union-1990/*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica-1990*.

Multiethnic parties include Bosnian Party/*Bosanska Stranka*, Citizens' Democratic Party/*Građanska Demokratska Stranka*, Liberal Democratic Party/*Liberalna Demokratska Stranka*, Pensioners' Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina/*Stranka Penzionera Umirovljenika BiH*, **Social Democratic Party** of Bosnia and Herzegovina/*Socijaldemokratska Partija BiH*, Social Democratic Union/*Socijademokratska Unija BiH*, **Republican Party**/*Republikanska Stranka*.

POPULATION. There are no population figures available for medieval Bosnia. The first data in **Ottoman**-occupied (1463) Bosnia (without **Herzegovina**) indicate that in 1468–1469 there were 37,272 Christian and 332 **Muslim** households in the territory. In 1489, there were 26,400 Christian and 4,485 Muslim households in the Bosnian *sandžak*/district. Herzegovina was occupied only a few years earlier (1482). Documents dating from 1520–1535 indicate that there were 68,985 households in the three Ottoman *sandžaks*/districts in the region. Out of that, in the *sandžak* of Bosnia, there 19,619 Christian and 16,935 Muslim households; in the *sandžak* of Zvornik, 13,112 Christian and 2,654 Muslim households; and in the *sandžak* of Herzegovina, 9,588 Christian and 7,077 Muslim households. (*Sandžaks* of Zvornik and Herzegovina included some territories of today's Serbia and Montenegro.)

According to **Catholic Church** sources, in 1624, Bosnia (without Herzegovina) had approximately 450,000 Muslims, 150,000 Catholics, and 75,000 **Orthodox** inhabitants. Estimates are that in 1626, there were 250,000 Catholics, the number of Muslims was less than Catholics and Orthodox together, and there were more Orthodox than Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole. For the year 1655, the Catholic Church reports indicate simply that the Muslims were the majority, that there were 73 thousand Catholics, and no figures were given for the Orthodox population in the two districts.

According to Justin McCarthy's calculations, the territory that became the **Habsbug** Bosnia and Herzegovina had 1,436,000 inhab-

itants in 1870. Out of that, there were 694,000 Muslims, 534,000 Orthodox, and 208,000 Catholics. There were also an estimated 3,500 Jews and 13,000 non-Muslim Gypsies in the land.

During the Austria-Hungarian occupation (1878–1918) four censuses were conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the 1879 census, 1,158,164 people lived in the two provinces. Out of that, 496,485 were Orthodox, 448,613 Muslims, 209,391 Catholics, and 3,675 others. In 1885, there were 1,336,091 people in the provinces. Out of that, 571,250 were Orthodox, 492,710 Muslims, 265,788 Catholics, and 6,343 others. According to the 1895 census, 1,568,092 people lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Out of that, 673,246 were Orthodox, 548,632 Muslims, 334,142 Catholics, and 12,072 others. In 1910, Bosnia and Herzegovina had a population of 1,898,044. Out of that, 825,250 were Orthodox, 612,137 Muslims, 442,197 Catholics, and 18,290 others.

In the post–World War I period, population numbers slightly declined. According to the 1921 census, Bosnia and Herzegovina's population was 1,889,929. Out of that, 829,162 were Orthodox, 588,247 Muslims, 443,914 Catholics, and 28,606 others. In 1931, there were 2,321,555 people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, out of which 1,028,139 were Orthodox, 718,088 Muslims, 547,948 Catholics, and 27,380 others.

From the end of World War II to the country's independence (1992), the population counts were the following: In 1948, there were 2,565,227 people in the republic, out of which 1,136,166 were **Serbs**, 788,403 Muslims, 614,123 **Croats**, and 28,218 others. In 1953, out of a total population of 2,847,790, there were 1,264,372 Serbs, 891,800 Muslims, 654,229 Croats, and 37,389 others. In 1961, out of 3,277,948 people, 1,406,057 were Serbs, 842,248 Muslims, 711,665 Croats, and 317,978 others. In 1971, the republic's population was 3,747,111. Out of that, 1,482,430 were Muslims, 1,393,148 Serbs, 772,491 Croats, and 99,042 others. In 1981, there were 4,124,256 people in the republic, out of which 1,630,053 were Muslims, 1,320,738 Serbs, 758,140 Croats, and 415,325 others. In 1991, the total population was 4,354,911. Out of that 1,905,018 were Muslims, 1,364,363 Serbs, 752,068 Croats, and 333,462 others.

As a result of the 1992–1995 war, major demographic shifts have taken place in the country. Excluding nearly 100,000 deaths, the war caused major internal and external migration of people. The difference

between the number of registered voters in 1991 (3,144,355) and the number of those who voted in 1996 (2,487,997) is a good indicator of how large the population change was. Most probably the 1996 number is even lower because of the reported irregularities in voter registration. Besides the population losses (killed, disappeared, banished, **refugees**, etc.), there was a major flight of the population from the villages to the towns during the war. Furthermore, the war has caused an ethno-religious homogenization in various regions of the country, especially in the Serbian Republic.

Estimates are that in 2005, about four million people lived in the country. The number should be taken with caution. Many registered returnees did not return but only registered in order to claim their property. In 2000, 43 percent of the total population lived in urban areas.

POSAVINA. A fertile region in northern Bosnia along the Sava River. The main towns in the region are Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Šamac, **Brčko**, Derventa, Doboj, Gradačac, Modriča, Odžak, and Orašje. The Posavina “corridor” is the only link between the eastern and western parts of the Serb-held territory of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Thus, it is not only economically but also strategically an important part of the country. The region was inhabited mostly by the **Croats**. While in some parts of the country, conflict between the Croats and **Muslims** escalated during 1993, in Posavina the two communities were not only able to prevent mutual quarrels but also able to fight together against the **Serbs** from 1992 until the end of the war. Although the Serbs were a minority in the region, the **Dayton Peace Accords** allotted most of Posavina to Serb-controlled Bosnia.

POZDERAC, HAMDİJA (1923–1988). He was born in Cazin, a town in northwestern Bosnia. He became a Communist Party member in 1942 and an active member of the partisan movement during World War II. His education included the Higher Party School in Moscow. He taught for a while at the University of **Sarajevo**. Pozderac became a higher functionary in the Communist Party and political structure in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and **Yugoslavia**, including membership in the Central Committee of the Party in the republic. Among other high offices, he became a member of the federal **presidency** and was in line to become the president of the presidency on 15 May 1988.

A few months earlier, however, a financial scandal erupted in one of the largest economic enterprises in the country (Agrokomerc) that involved him, other members of his family, and his younger protégé, **Fikret Abdić**, among many others. Because of this affair, Pozderac was removed from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in October 1987 and from the presidency in September 1988.

PREGLED/SURVEY. A well-known **Sarajevo** scholarly journal. Its publication began in 1910. Between the two world wars, the journal was a voice of the left-oriented intellectuals concerned about social and philosophical issues. In the post–World War II period, it was affiliated with the University of Sarajevo and had a strong Titoist orientation. Its publication ceased in 1991. Its English edition was entitled *Survey*.

PRELOG, VLADIMIR (1906–1998). A Noble Prize winner in chemistry. Born in **Sarajevo**, he moved to Zagreb at a young age, where he finished his secondary education. He pursued higher studies in Prague, at the Czech Institute of Technology, where he received a doctorate in chemistry in 1929. In 1935, he became a lecturer at the University of Zagreb. In 1941, Prelog settled in Switzerland where he remained for the rest of his life. He worked at the Organic Chemistry Laboratory at the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich and in time became its director. For his contributions to knowledge in the field, he received the 1975 Nobel Prize in chemistry. As a young student, Prelog was the recipient of a scholarship from the Croatian Cultural Society **Napredak**, and Napredak's present scholarship foundation is named after him, as well as after **Ivo Andrić**, another Nobel Prize winner and also a Napredak scholarship recipient.

PREPOROD/REBIRTH. Official biweekly religious organ of the **Muslim** community in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Its publication began in the early 1970s. The paper came under the Communist regime's attack in 1979 and its entire editorial board was dismissed, including a well-known theology professor, **Husejin Đozo**, and was replaced with a more "government-friendly" staff at the time. *See also* ISLAMIC PUBLICATIONS.

PRESIDENCY. As the Yugoslav state was collapsing and Bosnia and **Herzegovina** held its first multiparty **elections**, the chief state office consisted of a collective seven-person presidency. This style of leadership in the republic was introduced in 1974. Members of the first freely elected presidency were the following: two **Serbs** (**Biljana Pavšić** and **Nikola Koljević**); two **Muslims** (**Alija Izetbegović** and **Fikret Abdić**); two **Croats** (**Stjepan Kljuić** and Franjo Boras); and **Ejub Ganić**, a declared Yugoslav at the time, representing “others.”

According to the 1995 **Dayton**-formulated constitution, the highest state office of Bosnia and Herzegovina is headed by a collective three-person presidency, coming from the three constituent peoples: one Bosniac and one Croat from the **Federation** and one Serb from the **Serb Republic**. They are elected for a four-year term (eligible for a second term, but then ineligible for four years) and rotate as the chair of the presidency every eight months.

The first three postwar members of the presidency, elected by direct vote in September 1996, were Alija Izetbegović (Bosniac), **Momčilo Krajišnik** (Serb), and **Krešimir Zubak** (Croat). Others who served as members of the presidency were Živko Radišić (Serb), Ante Jelavić (Croat), Jozo Križanović (Croat), Beriz Belkić (Bosniac), Mirko Šarović (Serb), Borislav Paravac (Serb), Dragan Čović (Croat), Sulejman Tihić (Bosniac), and Ivo Miro Jović (Croat). Newly elected (October 2006) members of the presidency are **Haris Silajdžić** (Bosniac), Nebojša Radmanović (Serb), and Željko Komšić (Croat). *See also* COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; ELECTIONS; PARLIAMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES.

PRINCIP, GAVRILO (1894–1918). A Serb nationalist who assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie (28 June 1914) in **Sarajevo** and sparked World War I. Princip was born near Bosansko Grahovo and suffered from tuberculosis from his childhood. As a young man, Princip was involved with a Serb nationalist revolutionary group known as the Black Hand, which struggled for the creation of a Greater Serbia. He applied to study at the First Belgrade Gymnasium (secondary school) but failed the entrance exam. He also attempted to join Serb irregular forces fighting the **Balkan Wars**, but was rejected because of his small physical stature and poor health. Princip, however, proved his “greatness” by assassinating the

heir to the **Habsburg** throne. Princip was sentenced to twenty years of imprisonment, where he died of tuberculosis. A bridge in Sarajevo was named in his honor and he remains a Serb national hero. *See also* MLADA BOSNA; SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION.

PROSVJETA/EDUCATION. Serbian cultural and educational society in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** founded in 1902. In the beginning, its main goal was the material support of Serbian students in their efforts to finish secondary and higher **education**. With time, however, it became a leading Serbian cultural association that published textbooks, almanacs, and other **literature**. It also established various libraries, helped to organize and enlighten Serb peasants, and promoted various cultural activities. These activities also promoted national consciousness and were a part of the mainstream of the Serb nationalist movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 1914, the Prosvjeta was banned and its leadership imprisoned by the **Austro-Hungarian** regime for “antistate” actions. In the post–World War I era, Prosvjeta tried to expand its activities beyond Bosnia and Herzegovina and into other regions of the newly established **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes**, but without much success, except in some parts of southern Croatia and **Sandžak**.

Its official organ was also named *Prosvjeta*. From 1908 to 1914, it was a monthly and, after 1919 until World War II, a bimonthly publication. The association was banned by the Communist regime in 1949, but it was revived in 1993. The association awards scholarships; organizes lectures, exhibits, and other cultural activities; and publishes a literary magazine, *Bosanska Vila*/Bosnian Fairy, *Almanah*, and books. *See also* SERBS.

PRUŠČAK, HASAN KAFIJA (1544–1615/1616). Kafi was his *nom de plume*. He was a leading Islamic intellectual in Bosnia at his time. He was born in the village of Prusac near Donji Vakuf, Bosnia, and studied in Istanbul. In 1583, he was appointed *kadi* (judge) at his native Prusac administrative district (*kadiluk*). He gave up the office and turned to teaching and writing. Because of his scholarly successes, he received the Prusac *kadiluk* as a source of income for the rest of his life.

Prušćak had a wide range of scholarly interests, from **religion** and philosophy to politics and philology. He published 11 works. The best known among them is *Foundations of Wisdom about Administration of the World* (1596). It is a scholarly analysis of politics and morality, or lack of it, in the **Ottoman Empire** and the society he lived in. His final resting place is in his native Prusac.

PUCAR, ĐURO-STARI (1899–1979). A leading Communist politician in Bosnia immediately after World War II. He was born to a Serb family in Kosići, near Bosansko Grahovo. By profession he was a blacksmith. While learning his trade in Vojvodina, he also accepted Marxism-Leninism and became a member of the Communist Party in 1922 and an activist in the city of Subotica. After getting out of jail in 1939, he returned to Bosnia. During World War II, Pucar was an organizer of the partisan movement in western Bosnia and became a member of the leading political structure among **Tito's** partisans. After the war, he held the highest post in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, was among the leading figures in **Yugoslavia**, and received the highest party and state honors. Party loyalty was his greatest distinction.

PULJIĆ, VINKO (1945–). Cardinal of the **Catholic Church** and archbishop of **Vrhbosna (Sarajevo)**, the largest Roman Catholic diocese in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Born near the city of **Banja Luka**. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1970, consecrated archbishop in January 1991, and invested into the College of Cardinals in November 1994. He was the youngest cardinal at the time and the first from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Throughout the 1992–1995 war period, the archbishop remained in besieged Sarajevo. He was tireless in helping the needy and in his calls for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the region. Besides advocating the preservation of a multiethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina, he emphasizes that all citizens in the country have three principal rights: the right to life, the sanctity of home, and the right to personal identity. Puljić remains a strong voice of reason, justice, and acceptance of all peoples, **religions** and cultures in the country.

PUTEVI/PATHS. A bimonthly journal for literary and other cultural issues. It was published in **Banja Luka** from 1960 until the begin-

ning of the 1992 war. From 1955 to 1960, it was published under the name *Korijeni/Roots*.

– R –

RAPID REACTION FORCE (RRF). A 10,000-strong international military unit established in June 1995 in order to strengthen the **United Nations** mission and protect its personnel in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. It went into action for the first time on 23 July 1995, on the road to **Sarajevo** over Igman Mountain after Serb artillery had killed two French peacekeepers. With the signing of the **Dayton Peace Accords**, members of the RRF were merged into the newly established larger **Implementation Force (IFOR)** in December 1995. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

RAVNO. A village with a mostly Croat **population** in southeastern Bosnia and **Herzegovina** that was attacked by Serbian forces on 29 September 1991. The village was destroyed and a number of civilians were killed and others had to flee. This marked the beginning of Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a fact that is often ignored by scholars and **Sarajevo** politicians.

REFUGEES. It has been calculated that during the 1992–1995 war, approximately 1,250,000 people (28.4 percent of the total **population**) were directly or indirectly expelled from Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. In addition, 1,370,000 people (31.2 percent of total population) were forced to move from their homes and seek shelter somewhere else in the country. According to the Ministry for **Human Rights** and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, over a million of these refugees had returned to their homes by November 2005. The same source reports that about one million refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina have found new homes in 137 countries around the world in the last 15 years.

The numbers of returned given by the ministry, based on the **United Nations** High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reports, are most probably inflated. According to those who have close contact with the

refugees and returnees, the situation is less optimistic. For example, officials of the Alliance of Organizations for Refugee and Displaced persons report that only about a third of the displaced have returned to their homes. The **Catholic Church** Office of Justice and Peace in the country points out that the formula “one property returned is equal to one property and legal issue solved . . . does not correspond to the implementation of the return process.” Numerous people have claimed their property but have not returned home, or only an older member of a family has come back. Such situations are especially common in the case of the so-called “minority returnees.” Furthermore, no one is counting how many people have returned and then left their home for the second time. *See also* HUMAN RIGHTS.

RELIGION. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a land where three major religions converge: Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and **Islam**. Christianity took roots in these lands during Roman times, but the region became a borderland between **Catholic** and **Orthodox** churches after the split in the 11th century. Islam came to the region with the **Ottoman** conquest of the Balkans, and it has become the religion of the majority of people in the country today. The Jewish minority arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the expulsion from Spain at the end of the 15th century, and a second wave of Jewish migration came after the **Habsburg** occupation in 1878. Before the recent war, the land was a mosaic of various religious communities, but as a result of the war and the legalization of its results by the **Dayton Peace Accords**, the three main religious communities are practically isolated from each other, and only a small number of Jews have remained in the country.

REPUBLICAN PARTY/REPUBLIKANSKA STRANKA (RS). A small political party in Bosnia founded (1994) by **Stjepan Kljuić**, former member of the state **presidency** and the former head of the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**. The party seeks to attract membership from various segments of Bosnian society regardless of **religion** or ethnicity. *See also* ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

RIZVANBEGOVIĆ, ALI-PAŠA (1783–1851). The most remarkable political personality in the first half of 19th-century **Herzegovina**. He

was born in the town of Stolac into a prominent Muslim family, one of the clans that dominated political and economic life in the province. After struggling with his brothers, he served as captain (*kapudan*, *kapetan*) of the Stolac Kapetanija/captaincy from 1813 to 1833. This was the time when the central government in Istanbul attempted to introduce modernizing reforms and faced a major resistance among the Bosnian ruling and religious elites. Rizvanbegović was on the side of the reformers, and as such he joined the sultan's side and helped to crush the Bosnian revolt of 1831, led by **Husein-kapetan Gradašević**. As a reward for his loyalty and service, Herzegovina became an independent province (*elayet/pashaluk*). Rizvanbegović became its vizier (1833) and practically governed it independently until he was executed (1851) by the **Ottoman** forces in their effort to suppress yet another resistance of the Bosnian feudal oligarchy to the Ottoman reforms.

Rizvanbegović is remembered for establishing endowments and building a number of mosques and other edifices in various places in Herzegovina. He also contributed to **agricultural** improvements in Herzegovina by starting to drain some marshlands and introducing new crops to be grown in the province.

ROSE, SIR MICHAEL (1940–). A British lieutenant general who served as a commander of the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** in Bosnia for a year, from 21 January 1994 until 24 January 1995. After an initial “triumph,” when the **Serbs** pulled back their heavy weapons a short distance from **Sarajevo**, Sir Michael was condemned by the Bosnian **government** and many others for his reluctance to offend the Serbs in order to deter their attacks, such as those on Goražde in April 1994 and their push into the **Bihać** pocket in November of the same year. He was very disinclined to call for air strikes by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against the Serbs. After he was relieved of his duty in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, he tried to dissuade the U.S. Congress from supporting Senator Robert Dole's resolution that would require the U.S. government to lift the **arms embargo** against Bosnia and Herzegovina by 1 May 1995. His acceptance of an elaborate painting of himself surrounded with Serbian national emblems, at the time of his departure from Sarajevo, is

seen by some as a symbol of his partiality toward the Serbs while commanding UN troops.

Rose was born in Quetta and educated at Cheltenham, Oxford, and the Sorbonne. He was commissioned into the Coldstream Guards in 1964 and served in Aden, Germany, and Northern Ireland. Before his appointment to Bosnia, he was commander of the United Kingdom's Field Army and inspector-general of the Territorial Army. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

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SACIRBEY (ŠAĆIRBEGOVIĆ), MUHAMED (1956–). Former ambassador and foreign minister of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. He was born in **Sarajevo**. His family left the country in 1963, lived in Western Europe and northern Africa, and came to the United States in 1967. Sacirbey finished his higher education at Tulane University in Louisiana, where he received a doctorate of jurisprudence in 1980. Two years later, he earned an M.B.A. at Columbia University's School of Business. From that time until 1992, he held high positions in various large American firms.

In May 1992, Sacirbey was appointed Bosnia and Herzegovina's ambassador to the **United Nations**. At the beginning of June 1995, he was appointed minister of foreign affairs. In January 1996, however, he returned to his previous post as Bosnia and Herzegovina's permanent representative to the UN. Sacirbey was one of the best-known, most articulate, and most highly respected of Bosnia and Herzegovina's state officials in the 1990s.

In January 2002, a Bosnia and Herzegovina court issued a warrant for Sacirbey's arrest for "abuse of power," namely for the embezzlement of state money while serving as permanent representative to the UN. He was arrested by U.S. marshals in March 2003 and released on bail in July 2004. Sacirbey has denied any wrongdoing and claims that the allegations were trumped up by political enemies in order to destroy his credibility. He is fighting extradition to Bosnia and Herzegovina and wants the case to be resolved in American courts.

SAMOKOVLJA, ISAK (1889–1955). The best-known Jewish writer in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in modern times. He was born in Goražde, finished secondary education in **Sarajevo**, and completed medical studies in Vienna. From his literary debut in 1927 until his death, he published numerous short stories, dramas, and poems. Most of his stories reflect the history of Sephardic Jews, through whom the author sees his own vision of the past. His writings, however, ponder not only the Jewish struggle for existence but also a wider universal quest to overcome the complexities of human life.

Samokovlja was also the editor of the literary journal *Brazda* (1948–1951) and of the publishing house Svjetlost. *See also* LITERATURE.

SANDŽAK OR SANJAK/DISTRICT. A border region between present-day Serbia and Montenegro that was a part of the Bosnian medieval state and also of the Bosnian *pashaluk* (**Ottoman** province) with an area of 8,686 square kilometers (2,250 square miles) and a **population** of 426 thousand, out of which about one-half are **Muslims**. The capital is Novi Pazar. This narrow strip of land, known as the Sandžak of Novi Pazar (New Bazaar) and wedged between Serbia and Montenegro, was permanently severed from the Bosnian *pashaluk* in 1877. Although it remained under Ottoman jurisdiction, **Austria-Hungary** was granted permission by the Congress of Berlin (1878) to station troops in the region (*see* BERLIN, CONGRESS OF). In 1908, however, Vienna pulled its troops out of this strategically important junction. After the 1912–1913 **Balkan wars** and the defeat of the Ottomans, the Sandžak of Novi Pazar was divided between Montenegro and Serbia. Before World War I, 75 percent of Sandžak's population was Muslim; after the war, 51 percent, and 33 percent in 1969. Many Sandžak Muslims, identified as Bosnian Muslims, immigrated to Turkey and to Bosnia, where some of them reached high political positions. The political situation and relations between **Serbs** and Muslims in Sandžak have remained tense.

ŠANTIĆ, ALEKSA (1868–1924). A well-known poet from the so-called **Mostar** literary circle, consisting of a group of writers that promoted Serb literary and cultural activities in **Herzegovina** at the end of the 19th century. Šantić was born in Mostar. After studying in Ljubljana and Trieste, he returned to Mostar in 1883 and, together

with a few other patriots, began to cultivate nationalist and cultural activities among the **Serbs** in Herzegovina. Among other endeavors, they published the literary journal *Zora* (1896–1901).

Šantić began to write poetry in his youth. However, his early literary expression is self-taught and modeled on the poetry of older Serbian writers. Only at the beginning of the 20th century did he evolve into an original and esteemed lyric poet. Patriotism, intimate love, and nature are his main themes. His style and language are light and close to folk lyric expression. *See also* LITERATURE.

SARAJEVO. The capital of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The **population** in the 10 municipal counties in 1991 was over 527,000, of which 49.2 percent were **Muslims**, 29.8 percent **Serbs**, and 6.6 percent **Croats**. Today, however, the city's population is overwhelmingly Bosniac/Muslim.

The city stretches on the slopes of the magnificent mountains of Trebević and Igman along the narrow valley of the Miljacka River at around 600 meters (close to 2,000 feet) above sea level. Also in its vicinity is the source of the **Bosna** River, after which the country was named.

Archeological findings have confirmed that not only a Neolithic settlement but also an entire Neolithic culture prospered in the area. In the first century AD, the Romans, most probably attracted by the sulphurous springs of present-day **Ilidža**, built a settlement there. The nucleus of the Bosnian medieval state began to evolve in that part of the country during the 10th century. At the core of the principality was the town of **Vrhbosna**, the political, economic, and religious center. An independent **Catholic** diocese was established for Bosnia in the middle of the 11th century, and the cathedral of St. Peter was built in Vrhbosna at that time. In the 15th century, Vrhbosna was taken by the **Ottomans**, who already controlled the eastern **Balkans**. In 1435, the military fort of Hodidjed was captured by the Turks. A few decades later a military commander in the region, Isa-bey Ishaković, built for himself the villa Saray in the area. He also established (1462) a religious endowment for the upkeep of the newly built *tekija* (*tekke*) for the Mevlevi **dervish order** and free room and board for needy people. These buildings and devout institutions were the beginnings of the present-day city of Sarajevo.

The oldest-known record of the name of the city comes from 1507. The name Vrhbosna faded away, and it was preserved only in the use of the **Catholic Church**. The city passed through its golden age in the 16th century, during the governorship of **Gazi Husrev-beg** (1521–1541), who enriched it with major monuments that formed the old *Čaršija* (the Old Market) of Sarajevo. Those monuments are Husrev-Beg Mosque, the Kuršumli-Mederse, the Imaret, the Clock-Tower, the Bursa-Bezistan, and the Hammam. These buildings became not only the **architectural** pride of Sarajevo, but also the main **educational** and cultural centers of the Bosnian Muslims.

Other Islamic architectural monuments in Sarajevo are the Ali-Paša Mosque (1560–1561), the Baščaršija Mosque (early 16th century), the Sultan's Mosque (1566), the Čekrkčija Mosque (1526), and the Ferhat-Paša Mosque (1561–62). Among the non-Islamic monuments stand the Old Synagogue (1580), the City Hall (1896), the **Orthodox Church** (1720), and the Catholic Cathedral (1889).

Being located on the main route between the Ottoman capital and Central Europe, various trades with well-organized craft guilds (*esnafs*) prospered in Sarajevo for a long time. Present-day *Čaršija* and its core (*Baščaršija*) were the centers of Sarajevo's rich and colorful business life for centuries. Foreign commerce was also exuberant during the prosperous Ottoman centuries, especially with the city of Dubrovnik. Special living quarters for Dubrovnik merchants were located on the west bank of the Miljacka River, known as *Latinluk*, or the Latin quarters. The prosperity of Sarajevo was ensured while the empire was expanding further into Central Europe. The city was a major economic, cultural, and religious hub of an expanding superpower.

However, fortune turned against the Ottomans in the 17th century and the city began to stagnate. Bosnia and Herzegovina was no longer a springboard for expansion but a bulwark against the **Habsburg** onslaught. It became clear that the city was vulnerable when Prince Eugene of Savoy, a famed Habsburg military leader, burned the city to the ground in 1697. Various other misfortunes (fires, earthquakes, and epidemics) contributed to the decline of the city until its slow recovery in the second half of the 19th century and its growth into a modern city in the last few decades.

Besides the concentration of political and economic power in the city, Sarajevo is the most important cultural center in the country. It

has a national theater, a puppet and children's theater, a philharmonic orchestra, a chamber theater, a university, two Catholic theological schools, the **Academy of Sciences and Arts**, the National Library, the Gallery of Art, the **Land Museum**, and many other cultural, educational, and religious institutions.

The city also hosted the Winter Olympics in 1984. Many sports facilities were built at that time, and the Olympics have put Sarajevo on the map as a major tourist attraction. The city, unfortunately, has also become a symbol of human suffering and merciless destruction. Thousands of innocent people have been killed and most of the city, including priceless historic monuments, were destroyed by the Serb artillery that kept Sarajevo under siege from 5 April 1992 until 29 February 1996. Since then, the city has been undergoing major reconstruction, not only of its ruined buildings, but more importantly of shattered human lives and social relations. *See also* GAZI HUSREVBEG; SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION; SARAJEVO DAYS OF POETRY; SARAJEVO FILM FESTIVAL; SMALL EXPERIMENTAL SCENES SARAJEVO.

SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION. The assassinations of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the **Habsburg** heir apparent to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife Sophie took place in **Sarajevo** on 28 June 1914. The seven-member assassination team (**Gavrilo Princip**, Trifko Grabež, Nedjeljko Čabrinović, Danilo Ilić, Vaso Čubrilović, Cvijetko Popović, and Muhamed Mehmedbašić) belonged to a revolutionary organization called **Mlada Bosna/Young Bosnia**. All of them except for one were young men of Serb ethnic background who wanted to liberate Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from the Habsburgs and unite it with Serbia.

Although there is some disagreement as to how much Serbia was involved in the assassination, there is no doubt that the assassins were in direct contact with the revolutionary nationalist organization the Black Hand, whose leadership was directly linked with the military command of Serbia. Furthermore, three of the assassins (Gavrilo Princip, Trifko Grabež, and Nedjeljko Čabrinović) were trained, armed, and sent from Serbia, where they were living, to Sarajevo to join the other members of the team in an attempt to slay the archduke who was visiting the city.

After an initial failure of the assassins and following some fatal mistakes on the part of the royal visitors, Princip succeeded in killing the archduke and his wife on the streets of Sarajevo. Princip and his companions became instant Serbian heroes, and the event sparked World War I.

SARAJEVO DAYS OF POETRY/SARAJEVSKI DANI POEZIJE.

An international literary event that, every spring since 1962, brings together writers from Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and countries around the world. This remarkable cultural gathering was started and is annually organized by the Association of Writers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The event brings together writers from various cultures and languages who share their literary achievements and cultural heritage with their colleagues and the public at large.

This literary manifestation was not interrupted even through the war years (1992–1995), when **Sarajevo** was cut off from the rest of the world. Writers who remained in the city kept the event alive and used it to express their own pain and that of the people of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina through poetry. *See also* LITERATURE.

SARAJEVO FILM FESTIVAL (SFF). A leading film festival in Southeastern Europe. It was founded in 1995 by the artists involved with the Obala Art Center (established in 1984) and the War Cinema. Although **Sarajevo** was still under siege, their ideas and efforts brought unexpected results. The first SFF was held from 25 October to 5 November 1995. Despite the harsh and deadly situation in the city, and in the country as a whole, 15,000 people viewed 37 films from 15 countries at the festival. Since then, the SFF has flourished into a significant cultural event that brings local and international celebrities every August to show and see feature and short films. The SFF is one of 11 such festivals allowed to nominate a film for Europe's Best Short Film award. Sarajevo is especially proud of **Danis Tanović**, whose *No Man's Land* was the SFF's winner in 2001 and also of an Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film in the same year.

SELIMOVIĆ, MEHMED-MEŠA (1910–1982). One of the best-known Bosnian writers. Born in the town of **Tuzla**, he finished his primary and secondary education in his native town and graduated

from the University of Belgrade with a degree in **literature**. During World War II, Selimović joined the Communist-led partisan movement, became a political commissar, and a member of the propaganda bureau toward the end of the war. In the postwar era, he was a member of the Communist cultural elite in Belgrade, then a professor and art director of “Bosna-film” in **Sarajevo**. Finally, he turned to full-time writing and became a leading figure in various literary and cultural organizations in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

As a writer, Selimović was acclaimed by critics only after the appearance of his novel *Derviš i Smrt* (Dervish and Death) in 1966. In the novel, he successfully incorporated the traditions of **Bosnian Muslims** and the teachings of the Koran with the questions of an individual's fate caught in the universal struggle of good and evil. Selimović died in Belgrade. *See also* LITERATURE.

SERB CIVIC COUNCIL/SRPSKO GRAĐANSKO VIJEĆE (SGV). A political organization of the **Serbs** in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** that stands for safeguarding the country's borders without internal ethnic divisions. The council was formed at the beginning of 1994 in **Sarajevo**. It grew out of a citizens' forum organized by Sarajevo Serbs in 1992. Some thirty-four Serb intellectuals belonged to the council at the end of the war. It is a grassroots organization that opposed **Radovan Karadžić** and the **Pale**, later **Banja Luka**, Serb regime. The leader of the Serb Civic Council is **Mirko Pejanović**, who was also a member of the **presidency** of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *See also* DIVJAK, JOVO; LJUJIĆ MIJATOVIĆ, TATJANA.

SERB DEMOCRATIC PARTY/SRPSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA (SDS). A political party in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** that united two main Serb political forces, socialists and neofascists. The SDS was formed in Bosnia in July 1990 by **Radovan Karadžić** and other leading Serb nationalists in the country with the blessing of Serbian president **Slobodan Milošević** and his Serbian Socialist Party in Serbia. The Bosnian SDS was a sister party of the SDS in Croatia, which had been formed earlier and led the Serb rebellion in Croatia. The most important point of the SDS program was its insistence on the national unification of **Serbs** living in Bosnia and

Herzegovina and Croatia with Serbia. Although a few other Serb parties were formed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the SDS quickly gained the largest following among the local Serbs, mainly because it had Milošević's support. In the 1990 **elections**, it gained 72 seats out of the 240-seat bicameral legislature.

The SDS opposed Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence and, after proclaiming Serb regional autonomies, its **Territorial Defense** units, the former **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)**, and various Serbian paramilitary forces occupied 70 percent of the country, to be united with Serbia. After the formation of the **Serb Republic (RS)** of Bosnia and Herzegovina in April of 1992, the SDS retained the majority in the Serb self-proclaimed government assembly. Even after it seemed that Milošević had begun to abandon the idea of a Greater Serbia, at least for the time being, the SDS retained its hardline stand. The party, however, was forced by Milošević to accept the **Dayton Peace Accords**, which rewarded the Serb aggression and genocide by 49 percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina's "ethnically cleansed" territory.

The SDS has been losing its power and vigor in the postwar period, thanks to the **Office of the High Representative (OHR)** for Bosnia and Herzegovina and other international pressures. Many of its leading personalities have been removed from various offices for corruption and abuse of power and several of them have been arrested and convicted for war crimes by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** in The Hague, except Radovan Karadžić, who is still in hiding. In the October 2002 elections, the party won 14 percent of the popular vote, 5 out of 42 seats in the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 26 out of 83 in the National Assembly of RS. At present, Dragan Čavić is the party leader.

The SDS, however, has retained the support of the more extreme nationalist elements and of the Serbian **Orthodox Church** leaders. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES.

SERB RADIO-TELEVISION/SRPSKA RADIO-TELEVIZIJA (SRT). The broadcasting network of the self-proclaimed **Serb Republic** of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** and the main propaganda tool of the Serb nationalist forces in the country. *See also* MEDIA.

SERB REPUBLIC/REPUBLIKA SRPSKA (RS). A political entity in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** under Serbian control, which was proclaimed in **Sarajevo** on 27 March 1992 by the Bosnian Serb leader **Radovan Karadžić** and an assembly of 70 deputies. Although it was announced that the city of **Banja Luka** was to be its temporary capital, **Pale**, a Sarajevo suburb, became its stronghold. The proclamation of the Republic came after Serb nationalists created several autonomous *krajinas* (regions) in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the fall of 1991. Furthermore, in November 1992, Karadžić announced that the Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the “Serb Republic of Krajina” in Croatia had established a confederation. The loyalty of these Serb entities was to the “all-Serb state of **Yugoslavia**” and not to the legitimate states in which they were formed. Both entities were an instrument of **Slobodan Milošević**’s policy of creating a Greater Serbia.

After the **Serbs** took control of about 70 percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Milošević began to shift his policy from confrontation to negotiation in order to consolidate Serb gains. The Bosnian Serb leadership, however, was not ready for any compromise. It demanded peace on its own terms. This led to the alienation of the Bosnian Serb leadership from the power holders in Belgrade, and in August 1994, Milošević announced that Yugoslavia was severing its economic and political ties with the Bosnian Serb Republic. Although this was more a political move than a real severance, disagreements over tactics were real. Because of external pressures and internal political and economic needs, Milošević finally disregarded the Bosnian Serb leadership and, in the name of the Bosnian Serb Republic, negotiated the **Dayton Peace Accords** in November 1995. The agreement legitimized the existence of the Serb Republic, which controls 49 percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is estimated that in 2005 the **population** in RS was about 1,400,000. Out of that, 1,248,000 were Serbs, 150,400 **Bosniacs**, and 12,700 **Croats**. The main reason for such an imbalance was the persecution, expulsion, and even genocide over non-Serbs during the 1992–1995 war and slow return of the exiles back to their devastated or often occupied homes and villages.

Through the pressures of the **Office of the High Representative** for Bosnia and Herzegovina, some positive changes have taken place in RS since 1996. Many of the wartime political leaders have been

removed from office, several of whom were arrested and convicted for war crimes by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia** in The Hague. However, Radovan Karadžić, the former president of the Serb Republic, and Gen. **Ratko Mladić**, the wartime military commander, have been indicted by the court, but are still on the run. The RS's self-rule has been significantly curbed by the process of merging Bosnia and Herzegovina's military forces, border control, **intelligence agencies**, single Bosnian **currency**, and similar integrating measures.

On the other hand, the Serb Republic experiences severe economic hardships because of political volatility, corruption, lack of investments, and meager productivity. But regardless of any adversities, isolation, and pressure from the international community, all the main political, cultural, and religious institutions, as well as most Serbs, are still determined to preserve the Serb Republic as a "Serb state" in the hope that it will one day be incorporated into a future Greater Serbia, an enduring dream among the Serbs. *See also* SERB DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. *See* ORTHODOX CHURCH.

SERBIAN RENEWAL MOVEMENT/SRPSKI POKRET OBNOVE (SPO). A Serbian ultranationalist political party led by **Vuk Drašković**. It claimed to be an extension of the *četnik* movement from World War II. Because the **Serb Democratic Party** had the support of the regime in Belgrade, the SPO gained only a minor following in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Its paramilitary forces, however, were fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina and were involved in the **ethnic cleansing** of non-Serbs.

SERBS. One of the Slavic peoples in the **Balkans**. There is not yet full agreement among scholars regarding their origin and national name. According to the Byzantine emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Serbs moved from north-central Europe to the Balkans in the early seventh century.

The initial phase of Serbian political autonomy began around the year 800, under the name of Raška in present-day southern Serbia. But Serb self-rule was constantly challenged by stronger neighbors Bulgaria and Byzantium. Only after Byzantine and

Bulgarian power was greatly diminished did the Serbs assert their political independence under the leadership of Stevan Nemanja (1168–1196).

Raška became a kingdom in 1217, and the independent Serbian **Orthodox Church** was established in 1219. Serbia reached the peak of its medieval power during the reign of Stevan Dušan (1331–1355) who, after a quick expansion of his domain, assumed the title of emperor (tsar) of the Serbs and Greeks. His rush to appropriate the title of the Byzantine emperors is indicative of his ambitions more than of the real power of the Serbs. Shortly after his death in 1355, imperial power began rapidly to decline. Besides internal weaknesses, Serbia became a victim of **Ottoman** expansion.

Although Serbia retained a semblance of autonomy under the Ottomans until 1459 by shifting the remnants of its power to the Danube regions in the north, the 1389 battle of Kosovo symbolizes the real end of the Serbian medieval state. This relatively minor battle became not only the symbol of national tragedy but the source and dream of a new future when vengeance over old enemies will culminate and a new, glorious Serbia will arise.

Regardless of the harsh life under Muslim rule, the Serb religious and ethnic identity was preserved mainly by the efforts of the church. In accordance with Islamic law, the Orthodox Christians were treated as an autonomous community (*millet*) in the state. Moreover, the Serbian independent patriarchate of Peć was restored in 1557, and the Serbian Orthodox Church was the guardian not only of the **religion** but also of national dreams.

After long centuries under the Ottomans, the Serbs' struggle for independence began at the beginning of the 19th century. From the time of the first uprising (1804) until the time of the Congress of Berlin (1878) Serbia moved from securing autonomy to a fully recognized independent state (*see* BERLIN, CONGRESS OF). It was proclaimed a kingdom in 1882.

In alliance with Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro, it declared war on Turkey in 1912, after which Serbia doubled the size of its territory by acquiring northern Macedonia. The **Sarajevo assassination** of the **Habsburg** archduke Francis Ferdinand on 28 June 1914 by a Serb nationalist led to Serbia's conflict with Austria-Hungary and World War I. In 1918, Serbia became part of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Cro-**

ats, and Slovenes, renamed **Yugoslavia** in 1929, ruled by the Serbian **Karađorđević** dynasty.

During the Ottoman invasions and domination of the Balkans, a major **population** movement took place in the region. Many Orthodox Vlachs and Serbs from the eastern and southern Balkans migrated westward to Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, Croatia, and Hungary. Such population movements from the past created a cultural and religious mix that became a major problem in the process of forming a modern national consciousness and nation-states in the 20th century. For the Serbs, the lands to which the Serbs migrated ought to be considered Serbia as well. Consequently, the idea of gathering “Serbian lands” has been a major cause of friction among the Serbs and their neighbors ever since Serbia gained its independence from the Ottomans. *See also* KARADŽIĆ, RADOVAN; MILOŠEVIĆ, SLOBODAN; POPULATION; SERB DEMOCRATIC PARTY; SERB REPUBLIC.

ŠEŠELJ, VOJISLAV (1954–). President of the Serb Radical Party (SRS). Born and educated in **Sarajevo**, Šešelj received a Ph.D. in the Marxist doctrine of military defense. He was a member of the Communist Party and a reserve officer. In 1984, however, he was sentenced to eight years in prison for political reasons. Released after serving 21 months of the jail term, Šešelj became a leading voice of Serbian nationalism. In 1991, he revived the Serb Radical Party and the ultranationalist paramilitary **četnik** organization. He even received (1989) the title of duke/*vojvoda* from the late Momčilo Đujić, a well-known World War II *četnik* war criminal living in the United States at the time. His militia implemented the most brutal tactics of warfare in Croatia and Bosnia and **Herzegovina** during the 1991–1995 war, causing former U.S. secretary of state Lawrence S. Eagleburger to list him, among others, as a war criminal.

In the December 1992 **elections** in Serbia, the Radical Party won 73 out of 250 seats in the Belgrade parliament. Although Šešelj had a turbulent relation with **Slobodan Milošević**, from being put in jail (1994–1995) to serving as vice president of Serbia (1998–2000), he remained his staunch ally in supporting extremist nationalist policies and goals.

Šešelj was indicted by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia** in The Hague on “eight counts of crimes against humanity and six counts of violations of the laws or customs

of war for his alleged participation in a joint criminal enterprise.” He surrendered to the court in February 2003.

Although Šešelj has become a marginal figure in Serbian politics, he has the support of Serbian right-wing forces, including elements in the **Orthodox Church**.

SILAJDŽIĆ, HARIS (1945–). Former foreign minister and prime minister of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Born in Breza, he received his education in **Sarajevo**, where his father was an imam at one of the oldest mosques (*Begova džamija*) in the city. He graduated (1971) in Islamic studies at Benghazi University in Libya and taught the Arabic language at the University of Priština, Kosovo. In 1980, he received a Ph.D. in history at the same university. His dissertation dealt with U.S. policies toward Albania in 1912–1913.

Silajdžić’s political career began in 1990 when, together with **Alija Izetbegović**—later president of Bosnia and Herzegovina—he became one of the founders of the Bosnian Muslim **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**. Soon after his party won the December 1990 **elections**, he became minister of foreign affairs. He spent most of the time outside the country at the beginning of the war campaigning for support of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In October 1993, he became prime minister, returned to Sarajevo, and became the most popular politician in the city. He was also elected prime minister of the Muslim–Croat **Federation** in 1994.

Silajdžić became a well-liked personality among the Western diplomats and one of the few of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s politicians able to articulate the country’s tragedy and its cause to the world. He portrayed himself as a moderate in contrast to a more conservative faction in the SDA led by President Izetbegović. Because of political disagreements and personality clashes, Silajdžić resigned in August 1995, but for the sake of unity in a war-torn country, he continued to serve as prime minister until January 1996. Some, however, consider that his political maneuvering was in collusion with SDA leadership in order to pursue a two-track approach toward the same political and ideological goal of a unitary, **Bosniac**-dominated Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 1996, Silajdžić formed a new political party, the **Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH)**. He ran against President Alija Izetbegović for Bosnia and Herzegovina’s new collective **presidency** in the Sep-

tember 1996 elections and won about 14 percent of the vote. For a while, he remained on the political sidelines, but he has recently made a successful return. In the 2006 elections, Silajdžić received an overwhelming majority (62.8 percent) of the Bosniac vote for the collective three-person presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With this victory, he has become a leading figure on the country's political scene.

ŠIMIĆ, ANTUN BRANKO (1898–1925). A poet and literary critic. Born in Drinovci, **Herzegovina**. He studied in his native village, Široki Brijeg, **Mostar**, Vinkovci, and in Zagreb, where he lived from 1915 until his death. Despite poverty, sickness, and a short life, his exceptionally creative talents and powerful insights have had a major impact on Croatian **literature**.

Being well informed about contemporary European literary movements, Šimić became very critical of the traditional literary expressions of his older colleagues. His criticism became at once controversial and stimulating, and his expressionist poetry represents a defiance of the traditional literary forms. As a young student, he founded various publications in which he promoted contemporary European literary movements. The importance of Šimić's writings, however, was (re)discovered a few decades after his death.

SIMIĆ, NOVAK (1906–1981). A well-known writer from Bosnia. Born in the Bosnian town of Vareš to a Serb family, he finished his higher education in Zagreb, Croatia, where he lived until his death. This poet and superb storyteller successfully depicted and scrutinized individual and social conflicts of modern-day city life, personal struggles, rejections, failed love relations, and the general fate of human existence in a modernizing world. His best work is the novel *Braća i kumiri* (Brothers and Idols). In the post–World War II period, he was also the editor of the literary journal *Republika* in Zagreb. Although of Serb nationality, he considered his works as belonging to Croatian literary expression. *See also* LITERATURE.

SKYLARKS/ŠEVE. Special Muslim/Bosniac police “liquidation unit” formed in May 1992. It is believed that the unit was made up of individuals that switched over from Yugoslavia's **Counterintelligence**

Service (KOS) to the Bosniac side, former members of the 63rd Parachute Brigade of the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)**, and criminal elements. Its members specialized in sharpshooting skills and were used against non-Bosniac military forces, civilians, and **Bosniacs** who were deemed to be "hazardous" to the Bosniac cause. *See also* ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

SLOBODNA BOSNA/FREE BOSNIA. An investigative and somewhat sensationalist weekly newspaper that began publication at the end of 1991 in **Sarajevo**. Its editor-in-chief, Senad Avdić, has been targeted several times by various political interests for exposing their corrupt practices. When the war began in the country, the journalists working for the paper drifted to their respective ethnic camps. The paper became more and more a **Bosnian Muslim** voice. It escaped the Sarajevo siege, moved to **Zenica** at the end of 1992, and returned to Sarajevo after the war. *See also* MEDIA.

**SMALL EXPERIMENTAL SCENES SARAJEVO/MALE EKS-
PERIMENTALNE SCENE SARAJEVO (MESS).** An international theater festival held in **Sarajevo** every October since 1960. The words "small" and "experimental" express the original intent, nature, and purpose of the festival. It was an event where small and creative theater and modern dance groups from various nations were able to display their often-unconventional performances. In the last few years, however, the festival has increasingly featured traditional-style plays and is losing its experimental quality, as indicated even by its present-day name, International Theater Festival MESS.

SMITH, LEIGHTON W., JR. (1939–). Admiral in the U.S. Navy and commander of Implementation Force (IFOR), an international 60,000-member peacekeeping force led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that came to Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in December of 1995. Smith was born in Mobile, Alabama, and graduated from the Naval Academy in 1962. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE.

SMITH, RUPERT (1943–). A British lieutenant general who commanded the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** in

Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from January until the end of 1995. It was on his watch that the United Nations policy-makers began to shift from rigorous “impartiality” and “proportionate response” in Bosnia toward a more assertive role of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air power, in response to the lack of Serb cooperation and their shelling of the UN “safe areas.” His suggestion to create a **Rapid Reaction Force** to protect UNPROFOR from any, but mainly Serb, attacks and hostage taking, was also accepted. Although his calls for NATO air strikes in May were answered, it was in July, after the **Serbs** captured **Srebrenica** and killed thousands of Muslim men in the aftermath, that Gen. Smith’s strategy began to bear fruit. The power of decision over the air strikes was taken from the UN civilians and given to military commanders, which cleared the way for a forceful response to the Serb attacks on the civilian population in **Sarajevo** at the end of August. Thus, effective bombings, along with a U.S. diplomatic initiative, brought about a cease-fire and then the signing of the **Dayton Peace Accords** in November 1995.

Smith was educated at Haileybury and the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. He was commissioned in 1964 into the Parachute Regiment. He served in Kenya, British Guyana, Australia, Malta, Libya, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Belize, Zimbabwe, Northern Ireland, and the Persian Gulf. In September 1992, he became assistant chief of the Defense Staff in the Ministry of Defense. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP) OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. The leading opposition party in the country. It evolved from the former League of Communists of **Yugoslavia** (Yugoslav Communist Party). As the center of the Communist Party and the Yugoslav state was collapsing at the end of the 1980s, the Communist leadership in the former Yugoslav republics began to transform their parties into more open political organizations. Thus, the League of Communists of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**—the Party for Democratic Change—was born in 1988. In March of 1991, however, the name of the party was changed to Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party claims that their party has discarded all the vestiges of the Communist past and has

become a modern, European-style social democratic party. The program of the SDP advocates the preservation of the external borders of the country and rejects its internal division according to ethnic lines. Two journals (*Opredjeljenja* and *Sveske*) and a biweekly newspaper (*Styl*) were published by the Social Democratic Party. The publications, however, ceased during the war.

After the November 2000 **elections**, the SDP and its political partners in the Alliance for Change were able to form a new **government** at the Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosniac–Croat **Federation** levels. However, because of the internal weaknesses in the alliance, the SDP and its junior partners were swept out of power in October 2002. Because of this, a number of leading personalities left the SDP and formed the Social Democratic Union (SDU) in 2003. *See also* DURAKOVIĆ, NIJAZ; POLITICAL PARTIES.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION/SOCIJALDEMOKRATSKA UNIJA (SDU). *See* SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

SOKOL/SOKOL GRAD. A medieval town located on the Pliva River near **Jajce**, central Bosnia. In 1363, the Hungarian-Croatian king, Louis (1342–1382), invaded Bosnia from the north and came to the fortified town of Sokol, at the center of the county (*župa*) of Pliva. His intentions were to subordinate Bosnia and its **Ban Tvrtko I**. But King Louis could not take the city, and his campaign was unsuccessful. The main defender of Sokolgrad was Vukac Hrvatinić, father of the famous Herceg **Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić**. As a reward for Hrvatinić's friendship and help, Tvrtko granted Vukac the county of Pliva. Sokolgrad lost its significance with the rise of the nearby town of Jajce, and it was taken by the **Ottomans** in 1496. There were other medieval Bosnian fortifications with the same name (Sokol/Falcon).

SOKOLOVIĆ, MEHMED/SOKOLLU MEHMET PAŞA (1506–1579). Grand vizier to three **Ottoman** sultans: Suleiman the Magnificent, Selim II, and Murad III, and for a while de facto ruler of the empire. He was born in the village of Sokolovići in Bosnia to a Christian Orthodox family. As a child he was taken by the Ottomans as a “blood tax” (*devşirme*) and raised as a Janissary (*Yeni çeri*), in

the sultan's household troops and bodyguard, composed of enslaved Christian boys taken from the **Balkans** and converted to **Islam**.

After receiving the necessary education, Sokolović excelled as a soldier and an administrator and climbed quickly to the highest offices of the Ottoman imperial system. He served as commander of the imperial guard, high admiral of the fleet, governor-general of Rume-
lia, third vizier of the Porte, second vizier of the Porte, and finally the grand vizier of the Porte. He was assassinated in 1579.

In Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, Sokolović is most remembered for his endowment to build a bridge near the town of **Višegrad**. This 11-arch bridge was immortalized by **Ivo Andrić** in his famous novel *The Bridge on the Drina*.

ŠOLA, ATANASIJE (1878–1960). A Bosnian Serb political and cultural activist at the beginning of the 20th century. He was born in Trieste where he finished his lower education. He began his higher studies in Paris, but left the city before graduating. Šola lived in **Mostar** where, due to his strong opposition to the **Austro-Hungarian** annexation of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** (1908), he came to prominence. In 1911, he was elected to the Bosnian *Sabor* (Diet). After the **Sarajevo assassination** of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Šola was arrested for antistate activities and sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1916. At the end of the war, however, the National Council of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes for Bosnia and Herzegovina elected him president of the National Government in **Sarajevo** in 1919.

SOLI. Territory in northeastern Bosnia between the Sava, Drina, Drinjača, and Brka Rivers. The name derived from the salty springs and salt mines found in the region. The main regional town is **Tuzla**. Its name comes from the Turkish word *tuz* (salt). The region came under the rule of the Bosnian *bans* in the middle of the 12th century.

SPAHO, MEHMED (1883–1939). A leading political figure among the **Bosnian Muslims** during the 1920s and 1930s. He was born in **Sarajevo**, finished primary and secondary education in his native town, and completed law school in Vienna. Immediately before and during World War I, he worked at the Sarajevo Board of Trade. Spaho was a part of the National Council of the Serbs, Croats, and

Slovenes, which took power in Bosnia from the **Habsburg** authorities in 1918. From the beginning (1918) of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia)** after 1929) until his death, Spaho spent most of his time serving in various ministerial positions in Belgrade governments.

Besides his government positions, Spaho became the leading figure among the Bosnian Muslims and the most influential Muslim politician in Yugoslavia in the interwar period. He joined the **Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO)** in 1919 and was its president from 1921 until his death in 1939. Spaho's main goals were to preserve the administrative borders of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, to keep the unity among the Bosnian Muslims, and, by political maneuvering between the Serbs and Croats, to advance the Bosnian Muslim cause. Spaho died in 1939 in Belgrade under suspicious circumstances. *See also* BOSNIACS.

SREBRENICA. A town located 400 meters (1,312 feet) above sea level in the eastern part of Bosnia, the central Podrinje. It already had an important silver mine in Roman times. The name *Srebrenica* is derived from the word *srebro*, meaning silver. In the Middle Ages, Saxon experts were brought to the town to improve the **mining**. Because of its silver, the town was a constant target of various invaders during pre-Ottoman centuries, especially the **Serbs**. During the **Ottoman** period, however, the exploitation of Srebrenica's mines was neglected. Mining in the region began to flourish again under the **Habsburg** rule. *See also* SREBRENICA MASSACRE.

SREBRENICA MASSACRE (GENOCIDE). The largest mass murder in Europe since World War II and the immediate postwar period.

The **Bosniac** (Muslim) population in eastern Bosnia was a hindrance to the **Serb** design of creating an "ethnically pure" state of their own in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, which would be firmly connected to Serbia. Thus, the Srebrenica region, being mostly Muslim and in central **Podrinje**, was an obstacle to the Serbian expansionist plans. At the outset of the war in early 1992, Serb forces overran several towns in eastern Bosnia, including Srebrenica, killing and expelling some of the local Bosniac/Muslim population. In May 1992, however, the Srebrenica region was taken by the Bosnia and Herzegovina government forces, and the Bosniac/Muslim popula-

tion made significant progress in expanding the territory under that government's control. In spring 1993, the Serbs launched a large-scale offensive, capturing a number of towns and villages, and an estimated 50,000 Muslims ended up in the Serb-sieged Srebrenica enclave. In order to show his concern, Lt. Gen. **Philippe Morillon**, commander of the **United Nations (UN)** troops in Bosnia at the time, came to Srebrenica (16 March 1993) and gave an empty assurance: "I will stay here among these people until the day that their survival is assured." Furthermore, a month later, Srebrenica became the first out of six UN "safe areas" in the country.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops that were stationed in Srebrenica partially "demilitarized" Bosniac soldiers, but they could not do anything about the Serb forces, which continued to harass the enclave. The Serbs also claimed that the Bosniacs used the safe area as a base for launching a counteroffensive and that the UNPROFOR was not doing enough to prevent it.

The situation in Srebrenica was constantly deteriorating, and by the beginning of 1995, it was getting desperate. Food and medicine supplies were running dangerously low, even for the UN soldiers, a Dutch contingent.

On 9 July 1995, Serb forces entered the enclave but stopped short of coming into the town of Srebrenica itself. Emboldened by a lack of strong international reaction and meaningful Bosniac resistance, Serbs decided to take the town. Two days later (11 July) Serb forces under the command of **Ratko Mladić** entered Srebrenica. They successfully prevented any international community interference by threatening to kill UN (Dutch) troops in the enclave. As the town fell, an estimated 20,000 to 25,000 Bosniacs, mostly women, children, and elderly men, ran from the town to the nearby village of Potočari where the UN compound was located, hoping that the UNPROFOR troops would protect them. Bosniac soldiers, political functionaries, and some civilians decided that their chance of survival would be better if they escaped the enclave. But there was no protection by the UN force or much luck in escaping. Women and small children were expelled, and over 8,000 thousand men and boys were executed during following days in several locations in the region. The **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** has ruled that this massacre was an act of genocide. Mladić and a number of

other Serbs have since been indicted by the ICTY for the Srebrenica massacre and other war crimes.

In honor of those who were massacred, the Srebrenica Genocide Memorial was opened by former U.S. president Bill Clinton on 20 September 2003.

SRPSKI POKRET OBNOVE (SPO). *See* SERBIAN RENEWAL MOVEMENT.

STABILIZATION FORCE (SFOR). *See* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

STADLER, JOSIP (1843–1918). The first archbishop of **Vrhbosna/Sarajevo** and a leading personality in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, especially among its Croatian **Catholic population**, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Stadler was born in Slavonski Brod (Croatia). As an orphan, he was raised by a benevolent local family. He studied in Požega, Zagreb, and Rome, where he obtained doctorates in philosophy and theology at the Pontifical Gregorian University, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1868. After his return to Croatia, he taught first at the Zagreb diocesan seminary, and then at the Faculty of Theology, also in Zagreb. In 1881, Stadler was appointed the archbishop of Vrhbosna/Sarajevo.

As archbishop, Stadler was an energetic leader and organizer of numerous endeavors. Under his guidance a Catholic cathedral was built in Sarajevo, as well as a number of other churches or church-related buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He opened a minor seminary and gymnasium (high school) in Travnik, opened a school of theology in Sarajevo, sponsored the opening of two houses for needy children and elderly **women**, and founded the religious order of sisters “Servants of the Infant Jesus” to take care of deprived children and older people in need. Furthermore, he was instrumental in starting five publications in Bosnia: *Heart of Jesus*, *Vrhbosna*, *Herald of the Sacred Heart*, *Balkan*, and *Croatian Daily*.

At the initiative of the **Habsburg** monarchy, Pope Leo XIII revived the traditional diocesan hierarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, consequently, reduced the centuries-old Franciscan role among the Catholics in these newly acquired Habsburg provinces. This

change resulted in a tension between Stadler (and Bosnia and Herzegovina's bishops in general) and the **Franciscans** that is felt even today. The two sides differed not only on church issues, but also on their political orientation and activities. This, as well as his multifaceted activism, helped shape two opposing views of Stadler. Some saw him as an exponent of the Habsburgs, a conservative church disciplinarian, and a force behind clericalist politics among Bosnia and Herzegovina's **Croats**. For others, however, Stadler was a faithful servant of the church, a man who gave a new impetus to Catholic and Croatian national life and institutions in the country, a dedicated pastor and protector of the needy, and a virtuous servant of God.

STARI MOST/THE OLD BRIDGE. A magnificent stone bridge that spanned the east and west banks of the Neretva River in the city of **Mostar**. The building of this masterpiece was commissioned by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. Its architect was Master Hajrudin/Mimar Hayruddin, a pupil of the great **Ottoman** builder Sinan, and it was built in 1566. This single-span stone bridge, 30 meters (98 feet) wide and 24 meters (79 feet) high, is one of the most beautiful **architectural** monuments and tourist attractions in the city and the country.

Before the Ottoman occupation of this part of the country, there was a medieval wooden bridge hanging on massive iron chains at approximately the same location where the Old Bridge was built. A stone tower was also located at each end of the original bridge. Though modified, these medieval stone structures have survived until today. The tower on the right bank of the river is known as Halebija Tower, and the other as Herceguša.

As the Old Bridge stood splendidly above the rapid stream of the Neretva River, it seemed as if it stood above the ages and mortal predicaments. The bridge also seemed to fuse various cultural elements into a single harmony. But after being "wounded" many times, the Old Bridge became a casualty of the war on 9 November 1993. The standard view has been that the bridge was destroyed by the Croat artillery stationed on the west side of the river. More recently, however, some experts are raising doubts about such presumptions.

Reconstruction of the Old Bridge began in 2001. The \$12.5-million project was supported by, besides the local people and authorities, various countries and foundations around the world. The official opening

of the new Old Bridge took place on 27 July 2004, thanks to the “coalition of the committed” who helped to rebuild not only the Old Bridge, but also human links that were “blown up” during the war.

STATE SECURITY ADMINISTRATION/UPRAVA DRŽAVNE BEZBEDNOSTI (UDBA). The first security and **intelligence agency** on the territory that became socialist **Yugoslavia** was formed in May 1944 under the name Department for the Protection of the People (OZNA). It had four divisions: intelligence, counterintelligence, army security, and technical/statistics. In early 1946, the OZNA was reorganized, and first two divisions became known as State Security Administration/Uprava Državne Bezbednosti (UDBA). The third OZNA division was transformed into the **Counterintelligence Service/Kontra obavještajna služba (KOS)** under command of the Ministry of Defense, and later (1955) it became a security agency of the **Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA)**.

The UDBA became highly centralized in the hands of Aleksandar Ranković and his Serbian cronies so that it became a threat to the reformist forces, stability of the country, and to **Tito** himself. The clash between Serb centralists and non-Serb reformers came to the open in 1966, during a meeting of the top officials in the Communist Party. The party and the UDBA were purged, and its name was changed into State Security Service/Služba Državne Bezbednosti (SDB). As a result of decentralizing reforms in the country, the SDB was operating on two levels, federal and republican. But the structures and operations on the level of the republics were under the strict control of SDB officials in Belgrade, and ultimately of the Federal Secretariat (Ministry) for Internal Affairs.

The UDBA and its successor the SDB were instruments of the Communist Party, a political police eager to hunt down “domestic enemies,” “Cominformists,” nationalists, separatists, and all sorts of “enemies of the people.” Besides the use of classical terrorizing police methods against anyone it wished, the UDBA was also involved in political assassinations inside and outside the country. Most of those assassinated were Croatian political émigrés in the West.

Security services in the countries that emerged on the ruins of socialist Yugoslavia, including Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, are filled with former UDBA and KOS agents.

STATUS. A periodical dealing with contemporary political, cultural, and social issues, especially those facing Bosnia and **Herzegovina**'s society and the country as such. The journal has been published by the "Dialogue" association in **Mostar** since 2002. Every issue deals with a particularly relevant theme and brings 10–15 leading experts in the field from various ethno-religious backgrounds and parts of the country and elsewhere. It is perhaps the only journal in the country that publishes opposing views on a variety of subjects in order to promote an open dialogue and understanding among individuals and peoples in the country. *See also* MEDIA.

STEĆAK. A monthly magazine published in **Sarajevo** by the Croatian Cultural Society **Napredak** from 1994 to 2001. In May 1995, the magazine received the prestigious International Union of Catholic Journalists "Pierre Chevallier" Award in Geneva, Switzerland, for its contribution to freedom of expression and promotion of literary expression in war-torn Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. In the same year *Stećak* received the International Catholic Union of the Press Award for its exemplary defense of the freedom of information, as well as the Italian "Paolo Borsellino" Award in January 1996. *See also* MEDIA.

STEĆCI (SING. STEĆAK). The name comes from the verb *stajati* (to stand). Unique medieval tombstones found in present-day **Herzegovina**, the Bosnian interior, parts of southern Croatia, and southwestern parts of Serbia. Estimates are that there are close to 60,000 *stećci* in the region. A debate continues among scholars about their origin and significance. It was believed at first that the *stećci* only marked the final resting places of the followers of the medieval **Bosnian Church** (Bosnian Christians), but it has become clear that the *stećci* were raised by members of **Catholic** and **Orthodox** Churches, too, and that these massive tombstones even predate the appearance of the autonomous Bosnian Church.

Some scholars suggest that their origins are found in the pre-Christian Croatian burial practices. At first, according to this plausible hypothesis, there were ceremonial stone heaps (*gomile*) above and around the place where the dead were buried. Those who could afford it began placing a large stone—*stećak*—over their graves. For that reason, *stećci* are usually found near the old stone heaps and on hilltops.

Stećci come in three basic shapes of various sizes: slabs, boxes, and sarcophagi. Many are rich in ornamentation and in various symbols (the sun wheel, the crescent moon, the cross, the swastika, rosettes, braids, clover leaves, hunting scenes, and others). A small number have inscriptions, usually in the Bosnian **Cyrillic** (*bosančica*). Despite many uncertainties about the *stećci*, clearly they are artistic and literary treasures that bear witness to a medieval culture that transcends present religious differences and problems in this part of Europe.

Some other names for a *stećak* are *biljeg* or *bilig* (marker), *kalup*, *slamenija* (figure), and *mašeta* (from Italian *maseto*/big stone).

STIPAN II, KOTROMANIĆ. *Ban* of Bosnia (1312–1353). He was the son of Stipan I **Kotromanić** (1287–1302) and Elizabeth, daughter of Dragutin, the king of Serbia (1276–1282), who had to give up his throne and became a vassal of his brother-in-law, the Hungarian king Ladislas IV (1272–1290), who gave him the region of Mačva as his feudal possession. Stipan II was also a blood relative to the powerful Croatian Šubić family that overthrew his father, *Ban* Stipan I, in 1302. From that time until 1318, the Šubić family had the overlordship in Bosnia. Their growing feudal power, however, became a concern to the Hungarian-Croatian king, neighboring Venice, other feudal families in the area, and free cities along the Croatian coastline.

Ban Mladen II (Šubić), believing that young Stipan Kotromanić was his faithful relative and a junior partner, installed him as *ban* of Bosnia (1312). But young Stipan turned his back on his Šubić cousins. By supporting the power of the king, he consolidated his domain and advanced his expansionist aims at the expense of the neighboring Croat nobility. The **Hum** region (later known as **Herzegovina**), **Krajina** (the coastal region between the Neretva and Cetina Rivers), and Završje or Tropolje (region around the town Livno) recognized, at this time, the Bosnian *ban* as their overlord. Toward the end of his rule (1350), Stipan had to face the expansionist attack on Bosnia by the Serbian ruler Stevan Dušan, but the *ban* succeeded in freeing his lands from a short Serbian incursion.

This able *ban* signed treaties with Dubrovnik (1334) and Venice (1335), invited the **Franciscans** to Bosnia in 1340, coined the first Bosnian money, and extended the borders of his realm from the

Sava River to the sea and from the Cetina River in the west to the Drina in the east. It was Stipan II who set the stage for the rise of the Bosnian Kingdom.

Stipan II was married three times. His second wife, Elizabeth, was from a noble Polish family. His daughter Jelisava (Elizabeth) married (1353) the Hungarian-Croatian king, Louis I (1342–1382), and became the mother of the famous Polish-Lithuanian queen, Jadwiga (Hedwiga). All of his sons died before he did, and for that reason he was succeeded (1353) by his nephew Stipan **Tvrtko**, who became the first Bosnian king. *See also* KOTROMANIĆI.

STIPAN TOMAŠ. Bosnian king (1444–1461). He was an illegitimate son of the late King Ostoja. While his older brother Radivoj was a leading political adversary of King Tvrtko II and, with the help of the Turks, declared himself king of Bosnia (c. 1432), Tomaš, on the other hand, lived a secluded and humble life before he was elected to the throne. He was brought up in the schismatic **Bosnian Church**. In his adult life, however, he became a full-fledged Catholic and, after his first marriage to a woman of humble background was annulled by Pope Eugene IV (1445), he married Katarina, daughter of **Stipan Vukčić Kosača (Herzeg Stipan)**, a powerful and rebellious lord from **Herzegovina**.

Although the activities of Catholic religious orders were encouraged and generously supported, at first the king resisted the persecution of the Bosnian *kr'stjans*, who had support among the feudal lords. He promoted religious coexistence to keep peace and unity in the country. At the beginning of his rule, Stipan Tomaš even declined to accept the crown from the pope in order to preserve a factional equilibrium among various internal and external forces. But he was under constant pressure from the popes and Hungarian kings to make good on his promise to eradicate the “heresy” in the country. Thus, after securing his position as king, he did turn to persecute (after 1450) the adherents to the Bosnian Church who, by this time, were a small minority in the country. They found protection with Herzeg Stipan in his domain of Herzegovina.

Throughout the reign of Stipan Tomaš, the country was entangled in various conflicts with neighboring rulers and in internal discontent. More importantly, the **Ottoman** onslaught in the **Balkans** cast a shadow over his entire reign. To strengthen his position, Tomaš

decided to seek the protection of the West and its powerful **Catholic Church**. He turned to the neighboring Hungarian-Croatian king, Vladislav (1440–1444), and his energetic military commander John Hunyadi. They did affirm him as the king of Bosnia and promised him assistance, but in return Tomaš gave Hunyadi all the privileges in Bosnia and even promised to pay him an annual tribute. King Tomaš, on the other hand, had turbulent relations with the Serbian ruler, despot (title of Serbian rulers under Turkish suzerainty) George Branković and his successors, Turkish vassals themselves, and Stipan Vukčić Kosača, a defiant grand duke of the **Hum** region and the king's father-in-law. Branković wanted to acquire parts of northeastern Bosnia, namely the rich **mining** town of **Srebrenica**, and Vukčić constantly opposed the king's power.

Continuous conflicts and shifting alliances were taking place in the region. Major factors that prevented a much-needed unity in order to prevent Turkish expansion into Central Europe were the Republic of Venice, the Croatian nobility, the free cities along Croatia's coast, the Hungarian king and various pretenders to the throne after Vladislav's death at the fatal battle of Varna (1444), the Republic of Dubrovnik, the Serbian despots, Herzeg Stipan, the Bosnian king, and various feudal families. Even King Tomaš, although in a grave predicament himself, wanted to reassert his rule over territories that Bosnia had lost after the death of **Tvrtko I**. The Ottomans, however, were not only the main beneficiaries but also the instigators of such feuds so they could soften the resistance to their expansionist designs.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), the Balkans were ready for the final Turkish assault. Stipan Tomaš, although realizing the significance of the event, had to congratulate the sultan on his success, express his allegiance, and plead for the sultan's grace. Moreover, at the invitation of Herzeg Stipan, Sultan Mehmet II (1432–1481) sent his troops to southeastern Bosnia, and in 1456, the sultan demanded the surrender of four strongholds and an annual tribute in kind. At the same time, the Bosnian king, through his envoys, portrayed the gravity of the events in the Balkans to Rome and other Western capitals and pleaded for help. He emphasized that it was in the interest of Western neighbors to help him fight the Ottomans, but little help came from anywhere.

After a brilliant victory of John Hunyadi over the Turks in Serbia (1456) and the successful struggle against the Turks by the famous

George Castrioti (Scanderbeg) in Albania, Stipan Tomaš decided to undertake a campaign against the Turks himself. But despite the pope's efforts on his behalf, the response to the Bosnian war effort was meager. More importantly, the sudden death of the Hungarian king, Ladislas Postumus (1444–1457) and problems of the Hungarian succession caused political and military paralysis in the country that was Bosnia's main patron. Although Tomaš had some local successes at the beginning of the campaign, he quickly realized that the project was doomed to fail. Thus, in April of 1458, he concluded a peace with Mehmet II that brought Bosnia a step closer to Ottoman occupation.

Following continuous attempts by Serbia to gain and hold the Srebrenica region in Bosnia, King Tomaš and Despot Lazar, son of George Branković, became friends. They even arranged a marriage between Tomaš's son, **Stipan Tomašević**, and Lazar's daughter, Jelena Margareta-Mara. But Lazar died before the marriage took place. Since there were other claims to the despot's inheritance, the marriage was postponed. Finally, with the approval of the new Hungarian-Croatian king, Mathias Corvinus (1458–1490), the marriage between Tomašević and Mara did take place in 1459, and Tomaš's son became despot of Serbia. King Tomaš believed that this would strengthen his weak position against the Turks, but his involvement in what little was left of Serbia became an additional burden.

As a Catholic and an outsider, the new despot Stipan was perceived as an agent of Hungary. The Serb residents of Smederevo, a famous medieval fort at the confluence of the Morava and Danube Rivers, were especially angry. Since Stipan resided at Smederevo, the local **Serbs** helped the Turks to take this most important fortification in the region, rather than to see the Bosnian prince as their ruler. Moreover, the Bosnian king, his son Stipan, and his brother Radoje were falsely accused of treason in the West for the fall of Smederevo. This intrigue became a major problem for Tomaš, and instead of getting help against the Turks he had to clear his name and his reputation to potential allies.

Toward the end of Tomaš's reign, the situation in Bosnia was increasingly grave. The Ottomans required (1460) from the king a free passage through Bosnia, and he had to acquiesce to their demands. He even asked Venice to either help him defend Bosnia or take it as their possession, but Venice did not want to escalate its confrontation with

the Turks over Bosnia. Instead, the Venetian Senate promised a little help, urged Tomaš to reconcile with Herzeg Stipan, and, in case the king had to flee the country, gave him permission to come to Venice.

As if Tomaš did not have enough problems with the Turks and his internal opponents, he became an ally of Venice against the **ban** of Croatia, who attempted to regain possessions taken earlier by the Republic. It was during this “miniwar” in 1461 that Stipan Tomaš died, leaving the country, which was in a perilous situation, to his son Stipan Tomašević.

STIPAN TOMAŠEVIĆ. King of Bosnia (1461–1463) and the son of King **Stipan Tomaš** from his first marriage to a woman of humble background. His succession to the throne came on the eve of Bosnia’s capitulation to the powerful **Ottoman Empire**. Sultan Mehmet II (1432–1481) was already making preparations for the final assault on Bosnia, and Tomašević did not have a trusted ally who could help him and his country. Stipan’s father Tomaš had been an ally of Venice and even lost his life in a battle against the Croatian nobility fighting on the side of Venice. Thus, the **ban** of Croatia was not eager to help Bosnia. Neither was the Hungarian-Croatian king, Mathias Corvinus (1458–1490), who still suspected, although falsely, Stipan Tomašević of treason in losing the famous Smederevo fort to the Turks. Stipan Tomašević married Jelena Margareta-Mara, daughter of Serbian despot Lazarus in 1459 and became despot of Serbia himself. The new sovereign, however, as a Bosnian and a **Catholic**, was resented by the **Serbs**. His enemies in Smederevo helped the Turks to take the city, but the young despot Stipan; his father, Bosnia’s King Tomaš; and the king’s brother Radivoj were falsely accused of treason in the West for the fall of Smederevo. Even **Herzeg Stipan**, the ruler of **Hum**, was an opponent of King Stipan Tomašević.

To make preparations for the defense of the country, Stipan Tomašević began to make peace with his opponents, including his stepmother **Katarina Kosača** and her father Herzeg Stipan, and he sought help from outside the country. In order to boost his prestige among his noblemen and neighboring rulers, he sent a delegation to Rome to request a royal crown from the Holy See. Pope Pius II saw that such a move would strengthen Stipan’s position and, therefore, the defense of Bosnia and the Christian West. The crown was sent,

and Stipan was solemnly crowned in the presence of the pope's legate in **Jajce** 1461. At Stipan's request, the pope also established new dioceses in Bosnia to boost the vitality of the church. These very symbolic events and the king's success in achieving peace and unity in the country, however, proved to be inadequate to save Bosnia.

The first significant problem Stipan had to face was the displeasure of Mathias Corvinus. Mathias considered Bosnia a vassal-state, and the coronation implied full sovereignty of Bosnia; it made King Stipan an equal to Mathias. This was unacceptable to the Hungarian. All papal attempts to calm Mathias had little effect. Finally, to placate him, Stipan Tomašević paid a large sum of money to the Hungarian king. Furthermore, the Bosnian king had to cede four fortifications to Mathias, enter a common defense alliance against the Turks, and cease paying annual tribute to the sultan. After the sultan heard of the Hungarian-Bosnian treaty and that the tribute to him would cease, Mehmet II hastened his plans concerning Bosnia.

Stipan Tomašević began his preparation for the defense of the country. He pleaded for help from abroad but got only empty promises. Realizing his predicament, Stipan sent two envoys to Istanbul in the spring of 1463. They begged the sultan's pardon, promised to pay the tribute, and asked for a 15-year truce. While giving a positive answer to the Bosnians and lulling them into a false sense of security, the sultan, with his massive army, marched toward Bosnia only days after the envoys returned.

In the early spring of 1463, Turkish forces entered upper Bosnia from Serbia and through the Drina Valley. King Stipan and his family were at their royal residence in the town of Jajce. The news that the royal town of **Bobovac**, believed to be an impregnable fort, fell due to treason created panic and confusion. Resistance collapsed throughout Bosnia, and King Stipan tried to escape to Croatia, but a detachment of the Ottoman army caught up with him in the fortified town of **Ključ**. Instead of laying siege, the Ottoman commander negotiated the surrender of the king and the fort. A charter was issued guaranteeing the king's life, safety, and freedom. Trusting the Ottoman promises, Stipan Tomašević surrendered with the Ključ garrison in mid-May 1463. The king's life, however, was not spared. He was brought to the sultan in Jajce and beheaded there along with his uncle Radivoj. The rest of Bosnia fell rapidly, and the region of the original medieval Bosnia became a Turkish *sandžak* (military district).

Queen Mara, Stipan Tomašević's wife, while trying to escape from Bosnia was captured by the Croatian *ban*. She escaped and, in October 1463, came to Dubrovnik. From there she moved to the city of Split, which was under Venice at the time, where she lived in a Benedictine monastery until the Venetians forced her to leave Split. She went to Istria and then to Hungary where her mother lived. The last-known news about the queen came from 1498. At that time, she was in Jerusalem.

STOLTENBERG, THORVALD (1931–). Former Norwegian minister of foreign affairs who replaced **Cyrus Vance** in May 1993 as **United Nations** peace negotiator in the former **Yugoslavia**. In September 1993, he and the European Community negotiator **Lord Owen** proposed a peace plan that would divide Bosnia and **Herzegovina** into three ethnic semi-independent states. However, their plan failed. Stoltenberg became a special envoy of the UN secretary-general in Bosnia after the **Sarajevo government** refused to deal with **Yasushi Akashi**, a special UN envoy to the former Yugoslavia, and the head of the entire UN mission in the Balkan region. He became infamous for his explanation of the war in Bosnia. According to him, the **Bosnian Muslims** and Bosnian **Croats** were in fact “ethnic **Serbs**,” and the war was a product of “socioeconomic forces; the poor Serb peasants were fighting with the richer Muslims.”

Stoltenberg was born and educated in Oslo. He served in various positions in Norway's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including as secretary of its Embassy in Belgrade (1961–1964). He is a board member of the Oslo Labor Party and has served in the city government. He studied international law and international relations in Austria, Switzerland, the United States, and Finland. From October 1989 to January 1990, he served as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *See also* INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

SUTJESKA BATTLE. Major World War II battle in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also known as the Fifth Enemy Offensive. In May 1943, the Axis forces launched a major offensive in order to destroy the Yugoslav partisan forces that were concentrated in the area of the Durmitor Mountain in northern Montenegro. It turned into a month-long struggle of bloodshed and major losses on both sides.

According to Yugoslav sources, close to 130,000 land troops under German command encircled about 18,000 Yugoslav partisans and (at the beginning of June) almost liquidated **Tito**, the leader of the Yugoslav liberation movement. Finally, on 14 June 1943, the partisans were able to break out of the German encirclement by crossing the Sutjeska River in southeastern Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. Out of the 6,391 partisans killed, 3,222 were **Serbs**, 2,223 **Croats**, 644 Montenegrins, 192 **Bosniacs**/Muslims, 25 Jews, 3 Macedonians, 2 Slovenes, and 80 of other nationalities. Although about two-thirds of the partisan forces were killed or wounded, the “Battle of Sutjeska” was turned into a victory of mythological proportions in socialist Yugoslav historiography and, in 1973, a movie was made to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the battle and to prolong the myth of the partisan invincibility. *See also* NERETVA BATTLE.

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TANOVIĆ, DANIS (1969–). An acclaimed film director and screenwriter. He was born in **Zenica** into a **Bosniac**/Muslim family. The war in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** interrupted his studies at the Academy of Theatre Arts in **Sarajevo**, but after two years of filming the war front, he continued his higher education in Brussels and graduated in 1997.

Tanović is best known for his film *No Man's Land*. He wrote the script and directed this drama about the horrors of war in his native land. The movie has received numerous awards, including an Oscar in 2001 for Best Foreign Language Film. His other films are *L'Enfer* (2005), *11'09'01* (2003), *Buđenje* (1999), *L'Aube* (1996), and the documentary *Moja Mama Šehit* (1993). Tanović lives in Paris. *See also* SARAJEVO FILM FESTIVAL.

TERRITORIAL ANTIFASCIST COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA/ZEMALJSKO ANTIFAŠISTIČKO VIJEĆE NARODNOG OSLOBOĐENJA BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE (ZAVNOBiH). The ZAVNOBiH was the branch of the **Antifascist Council of the National Liberation**

of **Yugoslavia (AVNOJ)**. Its constitutive meeting took place in Mrkonjić Grad (Vrčar Vakuf) on 25–26 November 1943. The council elected its presidency and delegates to the AVNOJ meeting that took place a few days later. Officially, this body became the highest political authority in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** until the end of the war. *See also* JAJCE; YUGOSLAVIA.

TERRITORIAL DEFENSE/TERITORIJALNA OBRANA (TO).

A military force and structure for mobilizing all able-bodied civilians between the ages of fifteen and sixty in national defense in the former **Yugoslavia** from 1969 until its collapse. It was based on the military doctrine of the people's army defending its territory against an external attack. The TO units were formed on the level of the republics, autonomous provinces, and communes. Although its forces had their own command and arsenal, they were responsible to the leadership of the Communist Party and to the **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** central command as well. In the 1970s, command over the TO began to be more centralized, and the Council for Territorial Defense on the national level was established in 1980, but the infrastructure, logistics, and financial burdens remained on the lower administrative levels. Although the TO's primary mission was to defend the country from potential external attack, its equally important but quiet role was to act as a force against the Serb-dominated JNA, which was a potential instrument of Serbian expansionism. Every republic and autonomous province was supposed to be able to defend itself, but only Slovenia was successful in implementing that plan at the time of Yugoslavia's collapse. The Bosnia and **Herzegovina** leadership, namely President **Alija Izetbegović**, obediently followed Belgrade's orders to disarm the TOBiH forces before the war in the country began. The JNA, however, disarmed only those TOBiH units that were not under Serb control. *See also* ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA; ARMY OF THE SERB REPUBLIC; CROAT DEFENSE COUNCIL.

TITO. Josip Broz, better known as Tito (1892–1980), was president of the former **Yugoslavia**. He was born in the village of Kumrovac in northwestern Croatia, a part of the **Austro-Hungarian** Empire

at the time. As a young locksmith apprentice and a member of the Social Democratic Party, he served in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. After being captured by the Russians, he joined the Red Army in 1917. In 1920, he returned to the newly formed South Slavic state, where he became an ardent Communist activist. Because he was persecuted and served a jail sentence for his political and terrorist activities, Broz became noticed by the local Communist leaders and by the Comintern. In 1939, after the purge of the exiled Yugoslav Communists in Moscow, Tito, as Joseph Stalin's faithful follower, was picked (1939) to be the general secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. From that time until his death, he dominated the party and, after 1945, Yugoslav politics.

After Germany attacked the Soviet Union (22 June 1941), Tito began to organize attacks against the Axis powers and their collaborators on the territories of the collapsed Yugoslav state and became the commander of the Communist-led partisan forces. Because of his guerrilla activities, he was recognized by the Western Allies as the leader of the Yugoslav resistance in 1943. With Soviet and Allied help, Tito became the winner of the war in the region and took over power in the reunified and Communist-controlled Yugoslavia in 1945. Under his leadership, a vast number of people were executed, jailed, and terrorized as "enemies of the people" during and after the war. Many escaped to the West.

Tito faced a major crisis when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Soviet Bloc in 1948. The West, however, hoping that this was only the first crack in the Communist camp, helped Tito maintain his personal power and preserve the country's independence. After a short period of disorientation, he embarked on ideological experimentation that included national communism, workers' councils, self-management, and market socialism. Furthermore, Tito successfully used the conditions of the Cold War and exploited both the East and West for his benefit. He also promoted the idea of the Nonallied Movement among the newly independent countries in the so-called Third World and became one of its main leaders.

Tito believed that decentralization of some decision-making processes in Yugoslavia was possible as long as the Communist Party held the monopoly of power, especially control of the security forces

and the military. Because of such assumptions, a “controlled federalism” was implemented in Yugoslavia after conservative forces were subdued in the mid-1960s. But by the early 1970s, the true nature of Tito’s “liberal socialism” became obvious. The **economy** stagnated, a massive emigration to the West took place, a liberal movement in Croatia was brutally crushed, and all voices of freedom were subdued. Tito, in his lavish lifestyle however, remained a popular figure. In the international community, many believed that he had successfully resolved the national question in Yugoslavia and that he was a strong barrier against possible Soviet expansion in the **Balkans**. His sympathizers in the country praised him for being clever in using the East and the West in procuring Western aid, mainly cheap loans that secured a higher standard of living for the bureaucrats who, in turn, watched over the country.

Although various observers argue that the “Yugoslav experiment” did work, it became clear soon after Tito’s death in May 1980 that Tito’s “bigger than life” persona, an exalted image of Yugoslav “brotherhood and unity,” and a praised Yugoslav socialist model, were little more than a myth of the time.

TOPAL OSMAN-PASHA (1800–1874). Topal/Limping was his nickname. He was a learned **Ottoman** governor (*vali*) in Bosnia from 1861 to 1869. He came to Bosnia after his predecessor, **Omer-Pasha Latas**, crushed rebellions, brought relative peace, and forced through some of the sultan’s reforms in the province. Topal Osman-Pasha, by using gentler methods than his predecessor, was successful in implementing modernizing reforms as required by the Ottoman Tanzimat/Reorganization program at the time. He completed a new administrative system by dividing Bosnia and **Herzegovina** into seven *sandžaks*/districts, instituted a 28-member consultative council, introduced a new system of military conscription, built new Muslim schools and allowed the two Christian communities to increase the number of their schools, constructed roads and a public hospital, bought a printing press and published a weekly paper (*Bosna*), implemented legal reforms, and proved to be a man who desired to improve the lives of his subjects.

Although Topal Osman-Pasha’s governorship in Bosnia is viewed as successful, the reforms he implemented did not resolve the com-

plexities of Bosnian's deeply divided society. Soon after his departure, the situation in the province sharply deteriorated and culminated in the Ottoman departure from Bosnia in 1878.

TRADE. Besides the struggle to overcome the consequences of the recent, terribly destructive war (1992–1995), Bosnia and Herzegovina's **economy** is still suffering from socialist-cum-Balkan habits and practices, such as a slow-growing private sector, corruption, nepotism, cronyism, and similar ills that prevent development of a market-oriented capitalism. Thus, the country's trade, domestic and foreign, is a victim to various political and/or ethnic powerbrokers and their narrow interests. Such circles control sales of gasoline and cigarettes to retail establishments, and it seems there is no limit to their monopolizing appetites. Moreover, the free trade flow is restricted by the fact that the country is divided into two entities, the **Serb Republic** and the Bosniac–Croat **Federation**, and in reality each has its own economy.

Although from 1998 to 2005 Bosnia and Herzegovina's exports steadily increased, the country has a constant negative balance in foreign trade. For example, in 2001, its imports amounted to \$2.9 billion and its exports to \$740 million. In 2005, imports were over \$5.5 billion and exports \$2.2 billion. The country's main trading partners since the war have been the European Union (mainly Italy, Germany, Austria, and Slovenia) and Croatia.

Before the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina exported machinery, raw materials, chemicals, and other manufactured goods, but because of the war's devastation, today it exports mainly clothing, furniture, wood and wood products, leather goods, and electrical energy. *See also* INDUSTRY.

TRAVUNJA. A separate district dating from the eighth or ninth century that is partially in today's southeastern end of **Herzegovina**. Medieval Travunja included the town of Kotor in the southeast to Dubrovnik in the northwest, and territory from the Adriatic Sea toward the northeast along the present border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. The town of Trebinje was its main center. The region was ruled by members of the Serbian Nemanjić family from the end of the 12th century until 1377, when it was annexed to the Bosnian state by the first Bosnian king, **Tvrtko I**.

TREATY OF KARLOWITZ/KARLOVCI (1699). By signing this peace treaty, the **Ottomans** lost Hungary, northern Croatia, and Transylvania to the **Habsburgs**; Dalmatia, the Morea, and Aegean Islands to Venice; Podolya and southern Ukraine to Poland; and Azov and lands north to the Dniester River to Russia. The treaty marks the beginning of the Ottoman withdrawal from Europe and the switch from its offensive to a defensive position in relation to European powers. As a result, Bosnia and **Herzegovina** became an Ottoman line of defense toward the West, its borders began to resemble today's contours, and a large number of Muslim landlords and **population** migrated to Bosnia from Hungary and Croatia.

TRUHELKA, ĆIRO (1865–1942). A leading scholar in archeology and history. He was born in Osijek, Croatia, but he contributed a great deal to the knowledge of Bosnia and **Herzegovina's** past, especially in prehistoric, ancient, and medieval times. Truhelka was a key figure in establishing the **Land Museum** in **Sarajevo** in 1886. He was its first director and the editor of the museums' publication, *Glasnik/Messenger*. However, he lost his position and professional support after the formation of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia)** and had to move from Sarajevo. For a while he was a professor in Skopje, and then moved to Zagreb, where he died. Truhelka published a large number of scholarly works in the fields of archeology, history, paleography, and other areas dealing with Bosnia and Herzegovina's past.

TUDMAN, FRANJO (1922–1999). Former president of the Republic of Croatia. He was born in 1922 in Veliko Trgovišće near Zagreb. As a young man, he joined the Communist movement and the partisan resistance during World War II and became an army general. After the war, he worked in the Ministry of National Defense in Belgrade. He was also a student of history and received a Ph.D. in the field. In 1960, Tuđman left the military and became the director of the Institute for the History of the Labor Movement of Croatia, associate professor of history at Zagreb University, and a member of the parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. In the late 1960s, however, he came into conflict with the regime. He was dismissed from the institute in 1967, was given a two-year jail term in 1972, and was given three more years in 1981.

On the eve of the demise of Communism in **Yugoslavia**, and then of the state itself, he stepped to the forefront of the opposition forces and became cofounder and president of the **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**. The HDZ won the first multiparty elections, and Tudman was elected president of Croatia in 1990 and again in 1992.

One of the more controversial issues regarding Tudman's presidency has been his policy toward Bosnia and **Herzegovina** during the 1991–1995 war. There was constant, mutual mistrust between him and the Muslim leadership in **Sarajevo**. He was suspected of making a deal with **Slobodan Milošević** of Serbia to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina between the **Serbs** and **Croats**. Tudman's policy toward Bosnia and Herzegovina was not, however, as simplistic as is often portrayed. He made his policies as he saw fit at a given moment, but generally speaking, he went along with the suggestions and dictates of the West. *See also* HERCEG-BOSNA.

TUZLA. A town in northeastern Bosnia located 232 meters (761 feet) above sea level. The Tuzla Basin is one of the most industrialized parts of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**. The city is the seat of the Tuzla Canton and Tuzla Municipality.

It is not known for certain when the settlement was established, but it must have originated in ancient times because of large deposits of salt in the region. In medieval times, the region was known as **Soli** (salts), and the present name of the town comes from the Turkish word for salt (*tuz*). Besides salt, the Tuzla region is rich in coal deposits and other minerals. Because of its strategic location and salt production, the **Ottomans** made Tuzla an important administrative and military center. In the first half of the 19th century, the Tuzla region was known for its fierce resistance to Ottoman reforms of the time.

According to the 1991 census, Tuzla municipality had 131,000 inhabitants. Out of that, 47.6 percent were **Muslims**, 15.6 percent **Croats**, 15.5. **Serbs**, 16.5 percent Yugoslavs, and 4.7 percent others. Due to **refugees** from eastern Bosnia, estimates are that the city has about 160,000 inhabitants today.

Among the larger cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, only in Tuzla did former Communists ("the Reformists") win the 1990 **elections**. The town remained under the **Sarajevo** Muslim-dominated **government** and was relatively free of interethnic violence during the 1992–

1995 war. The most significant war tragedy in the city occurred on 25 May 1995, when an artillery shell fired by Serb forces landed in a crowded café, killing 71 and injuring 150 young people. The city government is dominated by the **Social Democratic Party (SDP)**.

TVRTKO I (1353–1391). *Ban* and first king of Bosnia. Stipan Tvrtko was the oldest son of *Ban Stipan II*'s brother, Vladislav **Kotromanić**, and Jelena Šubić. Because Vladislav was in poor health, he transferred his right of succession to his youthful son Tvrtko.

The first major problem the young and ambitious *ban* encountered was pressure from the Hungarian-Croatian king, Louis I (1342–1382), to assert his kingly powers over the nobility, especially in Bosnia. Furthermore, Louis I was the son-in-law of Tvrtko's predecessor Stipan II and considered himself the rightful heir to the Bosnian banship. Moreover, the threat of Serbia's expansion into Bosnia dissipated after the early death of its ambitious ruler Steven Dušan (1355), and Louis wanted to prevent Bosnia's possible assertion of autonomy. Thus, under a dictated agreement (1357) Louis I acquired lordship over the southwestern regions of the country under the pretext of obtaining his wife's rightful dowry. However, even after undertaking a major military campaign against Bosnia in 1362, the king could not subdue the resistance of the local feudal lords. Their support of Tvrtko was strong enough to repel the king's pressures at this time. However, by 1365, relations between the king and Tvrtko were normalized; the *ban* reaffirmed his loyalty to the king as his suzerain and the king recognized him as the *ban* of Bosnia. The antebellum status in the country was reestablished. But the agreements with the king obligated Tvrtko to expel the followers of the **Bosnian Church** from the country because the king considered them heretics. This was, however, a political move against the Bosnian feudal lords who supported local church traditions and resisted royal powers. This provision brought Tvrtko into conflict with the local gentry and the leaders of the Bosnian Church. An open rebellion erupted in 1365. Tvrtko was dethroned and, with his mother, had to flee the country to the court of King Louis I. However, with a small army that the king furnished and with the help of the nobility that remained faithful to him, Tvrtko crushed the rebellion (1367) and regained power.

By 1370, Tvrtko not only consolidated his power but began to expand his realm. First he turned to Serbia, the neighboring kingdom that was falling apart. The youthful Uroš IV (1356–1367), successor to his powerful father Dušan, was unable to prevent local lords from grabbing full control of their realms. Furthermore, Uroš was assassinated by an ambitious member of the aristocratic oligarchy. Besides the internal predicaments, the rise of the **Ottoman** Turks was overshadowing the events in Serbia. After the defeat of Serbian forces in 1371 on the banks of the Maritza River (Chernomen), Serbia had to declare allegiance to the sultan and pay tribute. Prince Lazar (1371–1389) of Serbia, therefore, became an Ottoman vassal and, simultaneously, became embroiled with other Serbian feudal lords. A situation like this was a tempting opportunity for Tvrtko to expand his domain. He became involved in the Serbian power struggle by supporting Lazarus against his enemies and, as a result, Tvrtko gained **Travunja** (southern **Herzegovina** and parts of Montenegro) with the sea coast to the port of Kotor and parts of Serbia (**Podrinje**). The disintegration processes in Serbia on the one hand, and King Louis's preoccupations with his Polish-Lithuanian affairs, his death in 1382, and a civil war in Hungary on the other hand, made it possible for Tvrtko to fulfill his ambitions. He expanded Bosnia's borders and made it the most powerful Christian country in the **Balkans**. In a quiet move (1377), without informing either King Louis I or Prince Lazarus of Serbia, Tvrtko had himself crowned king of Bosnia and, probably in a second ceremony at the Serbian Monastery at Miloševo, as king of Serbia.

Realizing that there was strong resistance among the Croatian nobility to the crowning of 12-year-old Maria (1382) as the legitimate successor to her father Louis I, he stirred up their defiance in order to prepare the way for the expansion of his domain further into Croatia. But when an open rebellion erupted, led by Ivan Paliža in Vrana near Zadar, Bosnian help did not come, and the rebellion was easily crushed. Tvrtko also made peace with Maria's advisors and acquired from them (1385) the port of Kotor (in present-day Montenegro).

Using the succession strife in Hungary and Croatia that continued until 1387 and the help of Croatian noblemen who found refuge in his kingdom, Tvrtko imposed his sovereignty upon

southern Croatia. In 1390, he even took the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia. His early death in March 1391, however, prevented him from consolidating his possessions and further expanding the Bosnian Kingdom.

The rapid rise of Tvrtko's personal and state power was doomed to collapse from the very start because of Bosnia's internal and external weaknesses. The problem of succession became a consistent impediment to stability in the country. A strong royal power became a prey to an ever-ambitious feudal oligarchy. Furthermore, the advancing Turkish armies were already at the gate of Bosnia.

In 1391, the Turks invaded southeastern Bosnia, devastated the countryside, and established a foothold in the land for further incursions. Moreover, the rise of Bosnia in the first place was possible only because of the neighboring countries' weaknesses. Any recovery on their part was an imminent threat to Bosnia. Thus the newly acquired regions of Croatia were slipping away from Bosnian control right after Tvrtko's death. His successor, Dabiša, in return for being recognized as king of Bosnia, had to accept the suzerainty (1393) of the Hungarian king, Sigismund, including the provision that after his death, the Bosnian royal crown would pass to Sigismund as the legitimate monarch of the country.

Tvrtko was married (1374) to Doroteja, one of the two daughters of the Bulgarian ruler Ivan Stracimir, who was captured in 1365 and kept as a prisoner until 1369 by the Hungarian king, Louis I. After Ivan's return to Bulgaria, his two daughters were kept at Louis's court for ransom. Thus, Doroteja came to Bosnia from Hungary. Tvrtko II was the only child born of this marriage. After Doroteja's death, Tvrtko I was arranging his second marriage (1390) to a daughter of Duke Albert III from the **Habsburg** family. But his sudden death on 14 or 15 February 1391 ended all his plans and ambitions.

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UNITED NATIONS (UN). An international organization founded in 1945 at the signing of the United Nations Charter by 51 countries. Its headquarters are in New York City and, at present (beginning of

2007), its membership consists of 192 countries. Its main goals are to uphold international peace and security; to promote friendly relations among countries of the world; to help solve economic, social, and humanitarian problems; and to advance human rights and freedoms around the world.

The UN's main administrative bodies include the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Secretariat, Trusteeship Council, and the International Court of Justice. The most important UN organ is the Security Council, which includes five permanent members (United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and China), each of which has veto power on any UN resolution. The UN secretary-general has a multifaceted role, from being a world diplomat and commander-in-chief of UN peacekeeping forces to making sure that UN offices function smoothly.

During the entire war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the UN secretary-general was Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992–1996). It was under his watch that Bosnia and Herzegovina was admitted to the UN in May 1992. The UN Security Council authorized deployment of the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** in June 1992. The UN cosponsored a multilateral conference to end the war, protected various convoys with humanitarian aid to evacuated refugees from besieged areas, and declared six “safe areas” under UN protection. Furthermore, the Security Council created the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** (February 1993).

The critics, however, point out that by failing to lift the arms embargo imposed on the entire former **Yugoslavia** (September 1991), the Security Council prevented the government of Bosnia and **Herzegovina** from defending the country and its people. Also, the UN policies of omission, appeasement, and tacit acceptance of Serb aggression allowed the perpetration of the worst crimes to take place in Europe since World War II, including even genocide. *See also* AKASHI, YASUSHI; INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA; SREBRENICA MASSACRE; VANCE, CYRUS.

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR). On 21 February 1992, the **United Nations** Security Council adopted Resolution 743 to establish a United Nations Protection Force to be

sent to Croatia in order to guarantee the implementation of the **Vance** peace plan that had gone into effect a month earlier. UNPROFOR was fully deployed in early June 1992. Its main assignments were to supervise the withdrawal of the former **Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)** from Croatia, take control of the Serb-occupied regions that did not recognize the Zagreb government, disarm the local **Serb** rebels, stabilize the region so that the **Croats** expelled from the Serb-controlled territories could safely return and live in their homes, and ensure that an ethnically balanced local authority could be established in regions that were under the control of the rebels. UNPROFOR accomplished only the first assignment successfully. The Serb forces not only did not disarm, they and the Serb civilian authorities in the so-called protected areas received a semiofficial status under the protection of the UN forces.

In the beginning, the headquarters of the UN mission in Croatia were in **Sarajevo**. But after the shelling began in April 1992, the UN withdrew from the city. On 11 June, an advanced party of about 150 UN Canadian troops led by Brig. Lewis McKenzie and a few French military monitors came to Sarajevo from Croatia. Their assignment was to open the Sarajevo airport for relief flights. On 29 June, the UN Security Council authorized (Resolution 761) redeployment of 1,000 more Canadian UNPROFOR troops from Croatia to Sarajevo. Again, on 14 September 1992, the Security Council authorized (Resolution 776) the enlargement of UNPROFOR's mandate and strength in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** to provide for the protection of humanitarian convoys. The UN peacekeeping contingent in Bosnia was also known as UNPROFOR-2 to distinguish it from UNPROFOR in Croatia. The number of UN troops in the region was on a steady increase, and by the end of November 1994 there were close to 39,000 UN peacekeepers from 37 countries in the **Balkans**; out of that, close to 23,000 were in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As a part of the **Dayton Peace Accords**, the UNPROFOR was replaced by the Implementation Force (IFOR) under North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) command in December 1995. The following officers were the UNPROFOR commanders: Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar (India) from 3 March 1992 to 3 March 1993; Lt. Gen. Lars-Eric Wahlgren (Sweden) from 3 March 1993 to 1 July 1993;

Gen. Jean Cot (France) from 1 July 1993 to 10 March 1994; Lt. Gen. Bertrand Guillaume de Sauville de Lapresle (France) from 10 March 1994 to 28 February 1995; and Lt. Gen. Bernard Janvier (France) until the end of the UNPROFOR mandate. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE.

USORA. Territory around the lower flow of the **Bosna** River; from the Brka River in the east to the Ukrina River in the west and from the Sava River in the north to the mountains Konjuh and Borje in the south. The region was named after the Usora River. The central town in the region is Doboj. The region became a part of Bosnian domain in the 13th century.

USTAŠA/REBEL. The Ustaša Croatian Revolutionary Organization was founded in 1929 by **Ante Pavelić**, a Zagreb lawyer and Croatian representative in the parliament of the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** in Belgrade, and by his political confidants. After the assassination of Stjepan Radić, the leading Croatian politician after World War I, and his associates in the Belgrade parliament (1928) and after the imposition of a dictatorship by King Aleksandar (1929), Pavelić and his comrades turned to revolutionary means in order to shatter the Yugoslav state and bring about Croatia's independence. Accordingly, all means were to be used in order to bring about these goals. Furthermore, as the Yugoslav state was a product of the post-World War I Versailles order, they believed the existing European state system had to be modified, and the principle of self-determination of peoples had to be respected. For that reason, the movement associated itself with the other revisionists of the time, especially those that were against the Yugoslav state, like the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) and Hungary.

In 1934, *ustašas* organized and an IMRO member assassinated King Aleksandar in Marseilles during his visit to France. After the collapse of **Yugoslavia** in April of 1941, Pavelić and his followers formed the **Independent State of Croatia (NDH)** with the help and under the protection of the Axis powers. Bosnia and **Herzegovina** was part of the NDH, and a sizable number of Bosnia and Herzegovina's **Croats** and **Muslims** were members of the *ustaša* movement and/or joined their armed units during the war. The move-

ment is blamed for its nationalist extremism, collaborationism, and war crimes, but to Croatian nationalists it symbolized most of all uncompromising anti-Yugoslavism.

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VANCAŠ, JOSIP (1859–1932). A renowned architect of, among other works, various monumental buildings in **Sarajevo**. He was born in Hungary and studied in Vienna. At the invitation of the provincial government in Sarajevo, he came to Bosnia and **Herzegovina** in 1883 and remained in the city until 1921. Vancaš was an especially industrious and productive individual. He was the architect of numerous houses, churches, schools, banks, villas, government buildings, hotels, and so on. He has left a significant mark on the urban development of Sarajevo. Vancaš was also a member of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Sabor/parliament in the pre-World War I era. From 1921 until his death, he lived in Zagreb. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

VANCE, CYRUS (1917–2002). Former U.S. secretary of state who served as personal envoy of the **United Nations** secretary-general in the search for peace in the former **Yugoslavia** from October 1991 to April 1993. He put together a UN-sponsored “permanent cease-fire” agreement between Croatia and Serbia that took effect in January 1992 and lasted, with some major breaks, until the summer of 1995. Representing the UN with former British foreign secretary **David Owen** as the European Community representative, he cochaired the **International Conference on Former Yugoslavia** on peace in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, which was held in Geneva. They proposed a peace plan that would divide Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous cantons, but the proposal fell through. After Vance resigned, he was succeeded by **Thorvald Stoltenberg**, former Norwegian minister of foreign affairs.

VEČERNJE NOVINE/EVENING PAPER. An afternoon **Sarajevo** newspaper of poor quality published by the same company as the

daily *Oslobođenje*, whose profile and political tenets it shared. Although under difficult circumstances, it was also published during the war. *See also* MEDIA.

VIŠEGRAD. A town located 344 meters (1,128 feet) above sea level on the border with Serbia in eastern Bosnia. The county of Višegrad in 1991 had a little more than 21,000 inhabitants, out of which 63 percent were **Muslim**, 33 percent **Serbs**, and 4 percent others.

During the **Ottoman** centuries, the town was an important link on the road from Bosnia to Istanbul. Višegrad is best known for its famous stone bridge over the Drina River. It was built as an endowment of Mehmet Paša Sokolović (Sokullu Mehmet Paşa), a native son taken as a boy-tribute by the Turks to Istanbul. Because of his talents, he advanced rapidly to the top of Ottoman bureaucracy and became a famous grand vizier (1565–1579), second only to the sultan. The bridge was built by a superb Ottoman architect, Mimar Sinan, between 1571 and 1577. It has 11 arches and is 175.5 meters (576 feet) long. The fame of the bridge was immortalized in modern times by the world-renowned Bosnian writer **Ivo Andrić**, who received the Nobel Prize for **Literature** (1962) for his novel entitled *The Bridge on the Drina*. During the 1992–1995 war, the non-Serbs, mainly Bosnian Muslims, were expelled from the town and the region.

VJESNIK MIRA OR GLASNIK MIRA/HERALD OF PEACE. A weekly paper published by the Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** after December 1995. Its purpose was to provide information on mine awareness, separation of forces, **elections**, and world and local news. It was published in both Latin and **Cyrillic** scripts at the American military base near **Tuzla**. *See also* INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

VJETRENICA. A cave that is one of the most beautiful phenomena in the country. It is located near the village of Zavala, above the Trebišnjica River in southeastern **Herzegovina**. Its main chamber, halls, and corridors stretch 7.5 kilometers (4.7 miles) and are famous for their beauty. The stone curtains, stalactites, and stalagmites of various shapes, small lakes, brooks, the wind, and the acoustics adorn

this natural beauty. The Golden Hall near the main entrance is its most famous section.

VRANDUK. Today, a village north of the town of **Zenica** in the canyon of the **Bosna** River. However, during pre-**Ottoman** times, there was a small but well fortified and strategically placed medieval town that occasionally served as the capital of the Bosnian state. It was occupied and destroyed by the Turks in 1463. The ruins of the town are still visible.

VRHBOSNA. A medieval administrative district (*župa*) in the region where the **Bosna** River begins to flow. The district became the nucleus of the medieval Bosnian state and three medieval towns developed in the area: Vrhbosna, Hodidjed, and Kotarac. Out of the three, Vrhbosna became the main political, economic, and religious center not only of the *župa*/district but of the growing state. The region was taken by the Turks in the first half of the 15th century, and the **Ottomans** built the city of **Sarajevo** on the ruins of the existing town of Vrhbosna. *See also* CATHOLIC CHURCH; SARAJEVO.

VUKČIĆ HRVATINIĆ, HRVOJE (?–1416). A leading nobleman in Bosnia and Croatia. Parts of medieval Bosnia known as the **Lower Regions** (around the upper flow of the river Vrbas) were in the possession of the nobleman Hrvatin at the end of the 13th century. His descendants, called Hrvatinići or sons of Hrvatin, became the leading aristocratic family in Bosnia and southern Croatia. At the time of the struggle between **Stipan II Kotromanić** of Bosnia (1312–1353) with Mladen II Šubić of Croatia, two of Hrvatin's sons (Pavao and Vukac) sided with Mladen, and the third (Vukoslav) with Stipan II. The victorious Kotromanić at first punished the two Hrvatinić brothers who did not support him by taking their inheritance, but in time they all reconciled.

Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić was the son of Vukac Hrvatinić and became the best-known aristocrat of Bosnia and southern Croatia at the end of the 14th century. In 1380, he was named grand duke of the Bosnian Kingdom by the first Bosnian king, **Tvrtko I**. After Tvrtko's death, he expanded his power and possessions and even became regent for the Bosnian king, Stipan Ostoja (1398–1404).

Because the fate of the Hungarian-Croatian king, Sigismund, was unknown for a few months after his defeat by the **Ottomans** at

Nicopolis (25 September 1396), a leading Croatian nobility elected Ladislav of Naples as the new king. But after Sigismund returned alive and well, he, by deceit, executed Ladislav's main supporters (1397). This resulted in a rebellion against Sigismund among the Croatian and Bosnian aristocracy. Hrvoje Vukčić defeated Sigismund's forces in 1398 and expanded his territory westward to the Una River and northward to the Sava River. This made him the leading personality in the pro-Ladislav party. The king of Naples came to Zadar in 1403 and, as a pretender to the throne, was crowned there as king of Hungary and Croatia. However, instead of proceeding to Hungary to seize the throne, he appointed Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić as governor of Croatia and Hungary and returned to Naples. Ladislav also gave Hrvoje the islands of Brač, Hvar, Vis, and Korčula and made him duke (*Herzeg*—from *Herzog* in German) of the city of Split. His main residences were at the town of **Jajce** in Bosnia and in Split on the Adriatic coast. He was married to Helen, daughter of Ivan Nelipić of a well-known Croatian princely family, and had a son, Balša. Hrvoje became the most influential nobleman at the time, not only in Bosnia, but also in Croatia.

To establish his lordship over Bosnia and southern Croatia, Sigismund unsuccessfully waged several campaigns against Hrvoje, as the leader of the opposition. After King Ostoja joined Sigismund's party, Hrvoje, with other leading Bosnian aristocracy, removed him and elected young Stipan Tvrtko II (1404–1409) to the throne. Realizing that he could not accomplish his goal alone, Sigismund summoned a large army from other European countries under the pretext of a crusade against the heretics in Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia. This time (1408) he achieved a victory over Bosnia; captured the Bosnian king, Stipan Tvrtko II; and executed about 170 leading men in the country. Hrvoje made peace with Sigismund and retained his possessions. Sigismund, however, turned against Hrvoje in 1413, when Hrvoje invaded the lands of another well-known nobleman, Sandalj Hrančić of **Hum** (later **Herzegovina**), while Hrančić fought the Turks in Serbia as an ally of Sigismund. *Herzeg* Hrvoje was declared a rebel and a heretic, and his possessions were to be taken from him. But Hrvoje made an alliance with the Turks and with their help routed Sigismund's army (1415) near Doboj, thereby maintaining his power. Following this vic-

tory, Turkish troops raided Croatia, penetrated as far as Celje in Slovenia, and asserted their influence in Bosnian affairs. Hrvoje's triumph, however, was short-lived. He died a year later at the town of Kotor on the banks of the Vrbas River.

Two well-known codices were written for this famous nobleman, **Hvalov Zbornik**/Hval's Collection (1404) and the **Hrvojev Misal**/Hrvoje's Missal (1403–1404).

– W –

WAR CASUALTIES (1991–1995). In the immediate postwar years, the number of war casualties was estimated to be over 250,000. However, the latest number issued in December 2005 by the Research and Documentation Center in **Sarajevo**, working closely with the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)**, are as follows: Total deaths 93, 837, out of which **Bosniacs** 63,687 (67.9 percent), **Serbs** 24,216 (25.8 percent), **Croats** 5,057 (5.4 percent), other 877 (0.9 percent); total civilians 34,610, out of which Bosniacs 30,514 (88.2 percent), Croats 2,076 (5.9 percent), Serbs 1,973 (5.7 percent), others 47 (0.2 percent); total soldiers 54,223, out of which Bosniacs 30,173 (55.6 percent), Serbs 21,399 (39.5 percent), Croats 2,619 (4.8 percent), others 32 (0.1 percent); unconfirmed 4,000. The center claims that it has completed 95 percent of the research on war casualties.

During the 1991–1995 war, some 2,680,000 people in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** became **refugees** and displaced persons, which is 59.6 percent of the total prewar **population**. Of that, about 1,250,000 persons, or 28.4 percent of the whole population, were expelled from the country and some 1,370,000 persons, or 31.2 percent of the whole population, were internally displaced. According to **United Nations** statistics, just about one million people returned to their homes by the end of 2005, the majority of those to the Bosniac–Croat **Federation**. However, one should keep in mind that of all those who were registered as returnees, many came back simply to register in order to reclaim their property but have not returned permanently.

WASHINGTON AGREEMENT. An agreement between Muslims/**Bosniacs** and Bosnia and **Herzegovina's Croats**. After about a year-long war between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia and the **Mostar** region, an agreement was reached and signed at the State Department in Washington between the warring parties on 18 March 1994. The negotiations were conducted under strong U.S. pressure and help, as well as with the cooperation of the Republic of Croatia.

The parties agreed to establishing a **Federation** in the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with a majority Bosniac and Croat **population**, and the presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia signed a Preliminary Agreement for a Confederation between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation.

The agreement stopped the hostilities between the two sides and even arranged a shotgun wedding that, under international pressure, did bring at least some normality to the lives of people who live in the Federal half of the country. The Washington Agreement became an important segment of the **Dayton Peace Accords** that were signed in November 1995.

The proposed Confederation between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation remained only an idea that neither side seriously pursued.

WHITE EAGLES/BELI ORLOVI. Serb paramilitary formation that operated in Croatia and Bosnia and **Herzegovina** during the 1991–1995 wars. The unit was a military wing of the Serbian People Renewal Party, led by **Mirko Jović**, and under the command of Dragoslav Bokan, a man with a degree in philosophy. The White Eagles were heirs to *četnik* ideology and military tactics and came from various parts of Serbia. After operating in Croatia, the Eagles moved into Bosnia and Herzegovina and were active in many places, including **Sarajevo**, Bijeljina, Bratunac, **Brčko**, **Višegrad**, and Zvornik. They were known for major **human rights** abuses, crimes against civilians, and looting. *See also* DRAŠKOVIĆ, VUK.

WOMEN. Although the constitution of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, as well as the constitutions of its two entities (Bosniac–Croat **Federation** and **Serb Republic**) contain all key international documents on **human rights**, including the rule that “rights and freedoms regulated through the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and

Basic Freedoms, and its Protocols (EC) [be] directly implemented” in the country, numerous laws and policies have been adopted countrywide without gender sensitivity. The discrepancy between the proclaimed principles and practice is very wide and, thus, the status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina is inadequate and discriminatory. Discrimination of women is prevalent, among others, in the fields of **education**, **economy**, property ownership, privatization, employment and labor rights, public and political life, **media**, and other. Family violence and various abuses at work places, from sexual harassment in offices and university classrooms to expectations that women serve coffee to their male bosses and even colleagues, are widespread.

Article 4.19 of the Election Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina states: “Every candidates list shall include candidates of male and female gender. The minority gender candidates shall be distributed on the candidates list in the following manner. At least one minority gender candidate amongst the first two candidates, two minority gender candidates amongst the first five candidates, and three minority gender candidates amongst the first eight candidates etc. The number of minority gender candidates shall be at least equal to the total number of candidates on the list, divided by three rounded up to the closest figure.” Despite such stipulations and the fact that women make up over 50 percent of the **population**, participation of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina’s **parliament** is 27 percent, and on the municipal level, the percentage is much lower. The existing **political parties** do not differ much in their treatment of women, and the international representatives that in practice govern the country have not done a lot to promote and secure gender equality.

There are many reasons for gender inequality in the country, it should suffice to mention only a few. Society at large is still very much traditional and patriarchal. It praises women as the pillars of the household, but it does not accept true gender equality. Furthermore, the socialist period, although paying lip service to equality, produced an elite that included only a small percentage of women in decision-making positions. After the collapse of socialism, the country and its people went through a horrific war that brought a tremendous suffering to most, especially to women, including **concentration camps**, mass rape, exile, general insecurity, and lack of protection. In the postwar period the country has been plagued

by an international trade of human beings, especially women, that involves even those who came from the international community to implement peace in the country. Bosnia and Herzegovina is undergoing a transition from war to peace, from communism to multiparty democracy, and from a state-controlled to a market economy, and not only does the issue of gender equality not have priority, but women are for the most part on the sidelines of these and similar processes. Moreover, the constitutional debates and the question of rights is focused primarily on national/ethnic equality, while the question of gender equality remains on the back burner. There are some efforts on the part of women's organizations to remedy the situation, but because of a lack of awareness and organizational experience, as well as a lack of support, unfortunately no major changes can be expected in the foreseeable future. *See also* NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

– Y –

YOUNG MUSLIMS/MLADI MUSLIMANI. An organization among the **Bosnian Muslims** that could be categorized as a movement that attempted to gather young Muslims, especially more educated ones, in order to promote religious ideals. Because in the eyes of its followers **Islam** is all encompassing, this organization was not only religious in nature but also dealt with all aspects of individual and communal life in the Bosnian Muslim community. It also had a pan-Islamic dimension in its program. An official document (*Our Movement*) from the time of its founding states that the “Young Muslims are not some new sect or *mesheb*. It is an educational, fighting Islamic organization.”

Although the organization was formed in March 1941, its followers claim that its real beginnings were in 1939. There are indications that the founding of the Young Muslims in Bosnia was directly connected to a similar organization (Esubani Muslimini/Young Muslims) in Egypt, where some of the leading members of the Bosnian organizations studied theology. The Croat-Serb agreement (*Sporazum*) of 1939, a generally negative view of Islam in Europe, and a

lack of leadership on the part of religious officials in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** prompted a group of educated Bosnian Muslims to start the movement. Initially, its followers and sympathizers were recruited in **Sarajevo** from the First Gymnasium (high school) for boys, a Muslim organization Trezvenost, and Muslim students studying at the University of Belgrade. The *ustaša* regime during World War II did not look favorably on the followers of the Young Muslims, and therefore the organization was officially dormant during World War II, but its members were in touch with each other and involved in religious and charitable activities.

After the war, the Young Muslims organization was reactivated under a new and younger leadership, but already in March 1946, a number of its leading members, including **Alija Izetbegović**, were arrested. Soon after, the Young Muslims became a secret, underground organization with branches in about 30 locations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Zagreb, Croatia. The branches in **Mostar** and Zagreb became the most active. The group even published in *samizdat* (self-published) form a few issues of *Mudzahid* and *Kolo*.

A new wave of arrests began in 1948 and culminated in 1949. The trials of August 1949 gave the last blow to the organization. In 1970, however, the Yugoslav regime accused Alija Izetbegović and his supporters, after his treatise (*Islamic Declaration*) became public, of conspiracy to revive the Young Muslims organization. When the Communist regime collapsed, the organization was revived, and its former and recent followers have become very influential in today's dominant Muslim party, **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)** in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

YUGOSLAV MUSLIM ORGANIZATION (JMO). See POLITICAL PARTIES.

YUGOSLAV PEOPLE'S ARMY/JUGOSLAVENSKA NARODNA ARMIJA (JNA). The armed forces of socialist **Yugoslavia**, the successor of the World War II partisan movement. After the Communist Party, the JNA was the most important pillar of Yugoslavism and the socialist revolution. Because its officer core was overwhelmingly Serb-dominated, it was seen by the country's

non-Serbs as an instrument of Serbian interests under the cover of Yugoslavism. The JNA quickly transformed itself into a Serb military force during the breakup of Yugoslavia (1991–1992). In October 1991, it changed its name to Army of Yugoslavia/Vojaska Jugoslavije (VJ), and at the end of April 1992 it ceased to exist. *See also* MLADIĆ, RATKO.

YUGOSLAVIA. As a result of the peace settlement of 1918, the **Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes** was formed of various parts of the former **Austro-Hungarian** Empire, namely Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and **Herzegovina**, Vojvodina, and the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. The creation of the new state was a result of romantic Slavism and resistance to the **Habsburg**, Hungarian, and Italian domination, but most of all it was a by-product of the post-World War I European power balance. In the eyes of the peacemakers in Paris, the newly created country was to serve as an important link in a chain of independent states from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Adriatic in the south in protecting the West from the spread of the Bolshevik Revolution and a possible German revival. After King **Aleksandar Karađorđević** imposed his dictatorship in 1929, the country was renamed Yugoslavia.

The “national question” remained the state’s Achilles’ heel and the main cause of its dismemberment in 1941 and again in 1991. From the outset, the country came under Serbian military and bureaucratic domination, which the others, mostly **Croats**, resisted. Nationalist antagonisms and social problems resulted in persecutions, assassinations, and finally the breakup of the country in 1941. Yugoslavia was revived in 1945 under the name of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) as a part of the post-World War II European settlement and came under the rule of a Communist regime within the Soviet bloc. The state was made up of six republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. The Republic of Serbia had two autonomous provinces: Kosovo and Vojvodina.

After its expulsion from the Soviet bloc (1948), Yugoslavia embarked on its own brand of socialism, also known as Titoism, named after the country’s leader, Josip Broz **Tito**. Many thought that Tito successfully bridged nationalist problems and that the Yugoslav social and economic institutions were models for the eventual conver-

gence of socialism and capitalism. But the collapse of the Communist regimes in Europe proved that the whole Yugoslav experiment was a temporary success and never had solid foundations. The country itself collapsed in 1991. Its former republics, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, became independent states, while Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in April of 1992. And finally on 4 February 2003, the FRY was officially abolished, and the country became a loose commonwealth of Serbia and Montenegro. However, through a referendum held on 21 May 2006, Montenegro, too, asserted its independence.

– Z –

ZAHUMLJE. *See* HUM.

ZAPADNE STRANE/WESTERN PARTS, ALSO KNOWN AS TROPOLJE/THREE-FIELD REGION OR ZAVRŠJE/THE EDGE LANDS. Names used in pre-Turkish Bosnia for the region of Glamoč, Livno, and Tomislavgrad (Duvno). This area belonged to the Croatian Kingdom until the middle of the 14th century. The Bosnian *ban*, **Stipan II Kotromanić**, extended his authority over the region sometime around the year 1330. At times, the three counties (Glamoč, Livno, and Duvno) were ruled as a single administrative unit, with Livno as the main center. At other times, all three became separate counties.

ZENICA. An industrial city located 309 meters (1,013 feet) above sea level, 84 kilometers (52 miles) northwest of **Sarajevo**. Indications are that in Roman times, the town of Bistua, with a separate church diocese, existed in the vicinity. Its modern growth and **industrial** development began when the **Austro-Hungarian** administration built metal smelting and refining furnaces and rolling mills in the 19th century. In the post-1945 era, Zenica became one of the most important industrial complexes in **Yugoslavia**.

During the recent war (1992–1995), Zenica became the command center for the Second Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina

and, because of the siege of Sarajevo, an important center for various operations of Bosnia's **government**. In 1991, the county of Zenica had 145,577 people, out of which 55.2 percent were **Muslims**, 15.6 percent **Croats**, and 15.5 percent **Serbs**. By the end of the war, however, the city had come under complete Muslim control.

ŽEPA. A town in eastern Bosnia that was declared by the **United Nations** a "safe area" (May 1993) for the **Bosnian Muslims** who were under a Serb onslaught. The enclave, however, fell to the **Bosnian Serbs** on 25 July 1995. *See also* SREBRENICA MASSACRE.

ZIMMERMANN, WARREN (1934–). The last U.S. ambassador to the former **Yugoslavia** (1989–1992) and also a political officer in the American embassy in Belgrade from 1965 to 1968. In implementing (and helping to shape) American policy toward Yugoslavia, he remained a staunch supporter of Yugoslav unity even when its collapse was imminent. Misreading the events and counting on Serbian forces to hold the splintering country together by force, he even declared (25 March 1992) that the United States "will be side by side with Serbia in war and peace" despite "sporadic misunderstanding." After the Serb onslaught in Bosnia, however, Zimmermann advocated a strong U.S. political and military involvement in the region and a firm posture against Serb aggression.

ŽIVOT/LIFE. A **Sarajevo** monthly journal dedicated to literary and other cultural issues. It published works from **literature**, theater, **language**, **music**, art, and various discussions and controversies on cultural issues. The journal began publication in 1952 and reached its best years in the 1960s, when its editor was the well-known writer **Mak Dizdar**. Its publication was interrupted during the war. The journal is published by the Writers' Association of Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

ZUBAK, KREŠIMIR (1947–). He became president of the Bosniac–Croat **Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina** in May of 1994. In September 1996, Zubak was elected as a member of the three-man **presidency** of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. After **Mate Boban** was forced to resign, Zubak became president of the Presi-

dency Council of the Croat Republic of **Herceg-Bosna** in February 1994 and served until its dissolution at the beginning of 1996. At that time he became a member of the dominant Croat party, **Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)**. However, he left the HDZ in 1998 and formed a new political party, the New Croat Initiative/Nova Hrvatska Incijativa.

Zubak was born in Dobož to a Croat family. He finished law school in **Sarajevo** and served in various **judiciary** positions before the war. From 1980 to 1984, he was undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

ZULFIKARPAŠIĆ, ADIL (1921–). An ambitious and influential **Bosnian Muslim** political activist and businessman. Born in the town of Foča, he studied law and political science in Austria and Switzerland. As a members of **Tito's** partisans during World War II and a Communist, he became a major general and a minister in the postwar Yugoslav government. After becoming a political immigrant in the West (1946), he became a well-to-do businessman and founder of the Institute of Bosnian Studies in Zurich that promoted a Bosniac national identity, claiming that **Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslims** in Bosnia and **Herzegovina** were of Bosniac ethnicity.

In 1990, Zulfikarpašić returned to his native land and became a political ally of President **Alija Izetbegović** in founding the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**. However, he drafted on his own an agreement with the Serbian leadership stating that Muslims and **Serbs** would be allies in preserving **Yugoslavia**, but Bosnia and Herzegovina would be maintained as a political entity. Because of this and other disagreements with Izetbegović, he was expelled from the SDA. Then, Zulfikarpašić and his confidants formed a separate political party, the **Muslim Bosniac Organization (MBO)**. Although he envisioned that the Bosnian Muslims (Bosniacs) would play an intermediary role between the **Croats** and Serbs, his political position while in exile and after his return to Bosnia was always closer to the Serbs than to the Croats. Presently he lives in Switzerland.

ZVIZDOVIĆ, FRA ANĐEO (c. 1420–1498). Head of the Bosnian **Franciscan** Custody at the time of **Ottoman** occupation (1463). Zvizdović, as the spiritual leader, met Mehmet II and was suc-

cessful in securing the privilege for the remaining **Catholics** in the now-Turkish province to practice their **religion** freely. The charter of freedom (*Ahdnama*) was issued by the sultan on 24 May 1463 and is kept in the Franciscan monastery in Fojnica. Although the guaranteed freedoms were often more fiction than reality, the document did serve as a foundation for the Bosnian Franciscans' ongoing struggle to protect the survival of **Croats** and Catholics in Bosnia and **Herzegovina**.

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INTRODUCTION

Bosnia and Herzegovina is indisputably one of the most complex newly independent countries in Europe. It is a region where major empires once clashed, and as a result three religions, cultures, and ethnic groups converge and interact today. The encounter of these peoples has been both peaceful and violent, and their views on Bosnia's past, present, and future are often diametrically opposed. These factors are reflected in most of the writings on Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only at home but also abroad.

To grasp the complexities of Bosnia's past, one has to study the history of its immediate neighbors and the former imperial powers in the region, mainly the Ottomans and Habsburgs. Readers are hereunder given some basic bibliography on the histories of these two imperial powers, as well as on the former Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

Among many excellent books on the Ottomans, we recommend Halil Inalcik's *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600*, Donald Quataert's *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, Daniel Goffman's *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, and Peter Sugar's *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804*.

On the Habsburgs, two works come to mind: Charles W. Ingrao's *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815*, and Alan Sked's *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815–1918*.

On the history of the Balkans, one may start with Mark Mazower's *The Balkans: A Short History* and then proceed to more scholarly works, such as Barbara Jelavich's *History of the Balkans*, Peter Sugar's *Nationalism and Religion in the Balkans since the 19th Century*, L. S. Stavrianos' *The Balkans Since 1453*, and Maria Todorova's *Imagining the Balkans*.

One of the most useful books on the former Yugoslavia is Ivo Banac's *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*. On the country's demise, one may start with Carol Rogel's *The Breakup of Yugoslavia and Its Aftermath*. It is a good and successful guide intended for a novice to the region. Sabrina Ramet's books, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević* and *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005*, are among the best on the subject. Also, her book *Thinking about Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav*

Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo is an excellent overview of published works and of different interpretations on the disintegration of the country. V. P. Gagnon's *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* provides a "nonstandard" view of the Yugoslav collapse. For a solid and critical view on the media portrayal of the tragic events accompanying the demise of Yugoslavia, one ought to consult Jim Sadkovich's *The U.S. Media and Yugoslavia, 1991–1995*.

Among the recent books on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Noel Malcolm's *Bosnia: A Short History* is thus far the best survey of Bosnia and Herzegovina's past in English. Norman Cigar's *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"* gives an excellent account not only of the grim reality of the recent war, but also of the political and ideological paradigms that led to such calamity. David Rohde's *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica: Europe's Worst Massacre since World War II* provides a detailed account of the events that culminated in the Srebrenica massacre. For an account of the role of the West in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one should read David Rieff's *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West*.

On religion and its role in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mitija Velikonja's *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina* provides a valuable account. Ivan Lovrenović's *Bosnia: A Cultural History* is a good presentation of its complex cultural heritage.

Timothy Donais' *The Political Economy of Peacebuilding in Post-Dayton Bosnia* explores postsocialist and postconflict economic reforms and their failings. The analyses issued by the European Stability Initiative (listed below) are very helpful in studying the unsettled post-Dayton political and constitutional issues. Florian Bieber's *Post-War Bosnia: Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance* points out the major challenges faced by those governing post-Dayton Bosnia.

Jennifer Trahan's *Genocide, War Crimes, and Crimes against Humanity: A Topical Digest of the Case Law of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia*, although a large volume, provides quick topical references and summaries of the ICTY judgments up to mid-2003. On the rule of law, or lack of it, and the need of comprehensive legal reforms in the country, Lewis H. Thompson's *Correcting Dayton's Oversight: Underpinning Bosnia's Democracy with the Rule of Law* is very useful.

Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina, edited by Alexandra Stiglmayer, exposes not only the horrors of the war, but also provides various theoretical aspects of gender issues. *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*, edited by Sabrina Ramet, provides a historical background concerning the lives of women in the region.

Marko A. Hoare's *How Bosnia Armed* is a useful account of the rise of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, personalities and loyalties within it, and its relations with the Muslim-controlled government in Sarajevo.

Richard Douglas McCreight's *Education in Bosnia: Language, Religion and Control* offers an overview of the development of the educational system in the country and the forces that shaped it.

The 1992–1995 war has spawned a significant amount of writing dealing with the so-called Bosnian tragedy. But because of space constraints, only a few of the cited works are in languages other than English. Furthermore, the above suggested titles, as well as those listed in the bibliography below, do not necessarily reflect the compiler's views or his endorsement. It is up to the reader to pursue various trails in seeking a better understanding of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its distant and recent past, and its present reality.

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