Bosnia: War, History, and Nationality

The Croat graveyard
near Stara Bila, Bosnia

This soldier insisted on showing me the graveyard where they buried the soldiers killed during the fighting. He asked me to take his picture next to the grave of his brother, then began to cry.

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# Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Day 1: Nations and Nationality 2-3

Day 2: What is Bosnia and Who are the Bosnians 4-8
  Handout 1: County Profile: Bosnia-Hercegovina 9-12
  Map 1: Bosnia and Herzegovina 13
  Map 2: Economy 14
  Map 3: Ethnic Majorities 15
  Resource Sheet 1: What is Bosnia? Who are the Bosnians? 16

Day 3: Quiz 17
  Handout 2: History of the War in Bosnia 18-23

Day 4: War and Politics 24
  Map 4: 1991 Ethnic Composition 25
  Handout 3: Key Dates in Yugoslavia’s War 26

Day 5: Begin Independent Research Projects 27

Annotated Resource List 28-33
Introduction

From 1991 to 1995, the former Yugoslavia was torn by a brutal war between the different ethnic/national groups contending for dominance in a post-communist world. The most protracted and vicious of these conflicts was in Bosnia as it dissolved into a three-way civil war between Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Muslim Bosniacs. The Bosnian nationalist goal of a united country, with Sarajevo as its capital and comprising all the religious groups, was tested in a drawn-out conflict that shocked the world and cast doubt on the stability of the new Europe. This unit is designed to look at Bosnia, past and present, and to challenge your students with a series of questions at the heart of this conflict.

What is a nation?

How do characteristics such as language and religion constitute national identity?

How do members of differing ethnic groups unite across different religious and political boundaries to create a unified national identity?

What causes war? Why do some groups feel compelled to begin an armed conflict with their neighbors?

Since Bosnia is now recognized as an independent country, then who are Bosnians? Why don’t all the inhabitants of Bosnia accept this national identity?

Europe is often considered as a historical example of Christian history and identity. How does Islamic history and identity play a key role in national identity in Southeastern Europe? To what extent is this identity a source of conflict with the Catholic and Orthodox communities?

The focus of this unit is the Bosnian war as it was shaped by the history of this region and as the wounds of that conflict impact the present. To examine these questions as confronted by all the peoples of Bosnia is a way to uncover an important and often overlooked region of Europe and to confront universal issues. Although your students may have never heard of the Bosnian War, it may serve as the means by which they can investigate and answer these questions.
Day 1: Nations and Nationality

Begin lesson by reviewing two of the current theories on the origin of nationalism.

**Traditional model** – The dominant model for explaining modern nationalism uses the French Revolution and the Napoleonic state as the progenitors. From these events the regional and transnational features of feudalism were swept away, replaced throughout Europe by centralized governments ruling over peoples with a strong sense of cohesion identified with a common language and culture. In this model the old multinational empires of Russia, Austro-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire were especially problematic as the “prison houses of nations,” and therefore inherently unstable given the nationalist aspirations of the various linguistic/ethnic groups within their borders.

**Revisionist model** – Recent work in English history of the 17th century has pushed the beginning of modern nationalism back a century, and located it firmly within a religious context. Since an explicitly anti-religious secularism was a driving force in the French Revolution, the religious component of nationalism had been downplayed or even eliminated in the traditional model of historical scholarship. However, an examination of the beginnings of English nationalism show it to be firmly wedded to a militant Protestantism. This explicitly religious identification was critical to the English people defining themselves as different and distinct from their continental rivals, France and Spain.

In presenting these two different interpretations to the class it is essential to review, briefly, the European historical context and to draw a synthesis between these two models with regard to Southeastern Europe. The different peoples of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires did develop a strong sense of “national” identity that was frustrated by the empires in which they were subsumed. By the same token, religious division became a critical dividing point that separated the national groupings of Croats (Roman Catholic), Serbs (Eastern Orthodox), and Bosniacs (Muslim) within the region that became known as Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹

It would also be advisable to review the broad outlines of these religious terms and to explain the difference between theological commitments to religious belief and the family/communal identity derived from birth. For example, Americans exhibit a high degree of individualism regarding religious confession, i.e., people join a religion because they like it and it expresses their particular religious conceptions. Such religious identification can be described as driven by individual desire and religious desire. For most of the world, however, religion is linked to a family or collective identity which marks a person for life as a member of one group as distinct from other groups. Individual religious belief or desire does not play an important part in this model of religion but the family does. For an individual to exercise an individual choice to change religion would run the risk of total isolation from one’s family. This did not stop people in Bosnia from marrying across religious lines, but those lines and the ethnic identity of people in a mixed marriage were still present with the religious identity of the children deriving from the father.

¹ An alternative spelling for Bosniac is Bosniak; an alternative spelling for Bosnia-Herzegovina is Bosnia-Hercegovina.
**Classroom Exercise:** Ask students to identify their nationality and list the results on the board. If everyone you call on simply says “American” then ask whether anyone uses a hyphenated identity such as “African-American,” etc. Next ask students to identify themselves regionally or by their country of birth if outside the U.S.; list the results. Finally ask if any students would be comfortable in identifying their or their family’s religious identity (*don’t push and don’t call on people who don’t volunteer*); list those results. When all this has been tabulated, ask the class if anyone sees or feels that any category is excluded or in conflict with a simultaneous identity as an “American.” Discuss student responses and reinforce their Civics/American Government curriculum in understanding that the philosophic basis of American citizenship in the English and Scottish Enlightenment does not establish a religious/ethnic or even racial basis for citizenship (as an ideal). Record the results your class has provided for you will use it the next day.

**Homework:** Have students ask five different people the following questions:

- What is the most important thing to you about your identity?
- Does this identity conflict with being an American?

Have the students record the age and the sex of each respondent but not the race or religion.
Day 2: What is Bosnia and Who are the Bosnians?

Start the class by collecting the homework and asking selected students to share their results. These results should come very close to the class survey in that most Americans do not see their particular group identities as being contradictory or in conflict with their identity as Americans. The total results could be tabulated and shown to the class the next day in comparison to the answers from the students in the class.

When this is done, write the following statement on the board and ask students to consider it for the rest of the class and also while they are doing their homework.

“It is fairly obvious that the war started because the Bosnian Croats wanted to live in Croatia, the Bosnian Muslims in a sovereign Bosnia, and the Bosnian Serbs in Serbia. The number of people in each ethnic group that wanted and wants otherwise is negligible.”


Students may ask “what war?” If so, tell them that their homework for the evening will begin to explain that.

At this point pass out Handout 1, Country profile: Bosnia-Hercegovina (from the BBC). Use Maps 1, 2, and 3, as either overhead transparencies or projected from a computer as you summarize the basic facts from the handout. This can be presented in any order you wish stressing anything you feel is critical but Map 3, “Ethnic Majorities,” should be saved for last. Also, when showing the political map, be sure to emphasize the relative positions of Croatia and Serbia. Have students highlight or make notes on their handouts; you may wish to hand out black and white copies of the maps for student use.

When this is complete, show Resource Sheet 1 via overhead projector and have students make up a chart with two columns, one labeled Bosnia and the other labeled Bosnians. Walk students through all the categories on Resource Sheet 1. Explain to students that Bosnia is not just a flag at the UN and economic/population data. The independent country of Bosnia was established by the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which ignited a brutal civil war that was ended through a complex peace arrangement guaranteed by the United States and broader international community (especially NATO and the EU). The most destructive phase of that war was the struggle for Bosnia. The very name of the country means dramatically different things to different people, and you will illustrate just some of them.

(The following categories and edited descriptions are from The Logic of War in Bosnia by Paul Treanor and available online at: <http://www.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/bosnia.html>. This is an excellent resource but is probably not suitable for secondary school students due to its length and complexity.)

Note: Your version of Resource Sheet 1 has a great deal of explanatory information which can be summarized as briefly as you want. While it critical that you present the What is Bosnia section in its entirety, Who is a Bosnian can be changed at will to fit your own strategy. If you have time, covering many of these conflicting notions of Bosnian identity will prove useful later in the unit.
What is Bosnia?

1. **Bosnia is a single, multicultural nation.**
   “It is irrelevant for the vision of multicultural Bosnia, whether it actually existed. However, it is relevant that most of its supporters identified it with the policies, or at least the potential policies, of the Sarajevo government during the war. They feared that ethnic cleansing was directed against that ideal—the conscious replacement of a multicultural by a monocultural society….see the community of Bosnia Foundation website, apparently unchanged since 1997. The CBF works for ‘culturally pluralistic multi-religious Bosnia.’ It is a U.S.-American interpretation of what the problem is—in cultural-religious terms—and a proposed solution to that perceived problem.”

   Discussion points – How does this perspective clash with the statement on the board? Why would the U.S. be so strongly supportive of a multicultural society? How does that reflect our values and the American concept of citizenship and nationality?

2. **Bosnia is a Bridge.**
   “One of the most specific visions of Bosnia was the bridge metaphor. It probably originated in the threat to the old bridge at Mostar, which was already familiar as a tourist-poster image of Bosnia. The bridge was destroyed by Hercegovina Croat forces, and the video of its collapse became a recurring feature of TV coverage of the war…It symbolized Bosnia as a link between others, notably Croatia and Serbia…After the war, the UNESCO supervised the reconstruction of the bridge, but it does not serve as a unifying symbol.”

   Discussion points – The author describes another multicultural environment where the strong divisions between groups are overcome. Strong, competing nationalisms still exist but the new nation of Bosnia can unify those and thereby serve as an example for other countries such as Croatia and Serbia to end their conflict. Do we think of America as a society where all the other different identities have been subordinated to a common identity or are there strong communal identities that America enables to live together without conflict? Is America a “bridge” between black and white or between immigrant and native born?

3. **Bosnia is Islamic.**
   “Some Islamists outside Europe saw a future Bosnia as an Islamic bridgehead in Europe, cultural or military. In the opposite sense, some Muslims in Europe saw it as an example of an enlightened European Islam—a vision which also appealed to many non-Muslim European Intellectuals. Islam and its relation to European values are now even more of an issue than in the mid-1990’s, but Bosnia is no longer quoted in that debate.”

   Discussion points – The author here makes a mistake as we shall see when discussing the aftermath of the war in Bosnia as it relates to the radicalization of the Muslim community in Britain. Are “European” and “Islamic” cultural contradictions? Is Islam inherently hostile to or incompatible with the European political values that are also the basis of American politics? What is it about Islam that might appear threatening to Christians?

   Note: At this point a great many stereotypes and ill-informed judgments about what constitutes Islam may surface. You may wish to address this issue immediately by switching over to the
informational sites on Islam in Europe listed in your annotated resources guide. The BBC site has an excellent, brief overview of basic Islamic beliefs and the MSNBC website has a superb interactive map of Europe and the Muslim presence.

4. **All Bosnia is Croatia.**
“The 1940’s claim that Muslims were Croatian was primarily a territorial claim on Bosnia: the ethnic inclusion converted 60% of its inhabitants into ‘Croats.’ The historical precedent for the wider Croatian claim on all Bosnia was created in 1941. Germany partitioned Yugoslavia after its rapid invasion and occupation, creating the independent state of Croatia.”

5. **All Bosnia is Serbia.**
“One of the two main visions of Yugoslavia was that it was essentially Greater Serbia. However, although the 1941-45 ‘Independent State of Croatia’ incorporated both Croatia and Bosnia, there has never been a Serbian equivalent which included both Serbia and Bosnia.”

*Note: The notion of “Greater” here implies that a particular ethnic group should dominate an enlarged territory incorporating areas in which they are not the majority.*

6. **Bosnia is a state with a separate culture formed by the war in 1991-1995, a process amounting to the creation of a new nation.**
“Some nations have foundation myths of common suffering in civil wars—Ireland and the U.S.A., for instance. The partisan myth in Tito’s Yugoslavia ignored the civil war fought during the German occupation. It presented instead a picture of a common anti-fascist struggle—with only a minority of collaborators on the side of the Germans. Could Bosnians come to believe that in 1990-95 they all fought together against a common enemy?”

**Who are the Bosnians?**

1. **Bosnian Muslims are Croats (Bosnian Serbs are not).**
“Nationalism means inclusion, at least as much as exclusion. Although it may seem comical in the present anti-Islamic climate, Catholic Croatian nationalists once tried to claim Bosnian Muslims as their fellow Croatians. That was during the Second World War, at the time of the German puppet state of Croatia.”

“In order to substantiate their claim to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ustashas proclaimed the Moslems of that province to be the purest of all Croats...This was a gross exaggeration. The overwhelming majority of Moslems considered themselves neither Croat nor Serb, but simply Moslem.” (Tomasevich, p. 105 and note 40).

2. **The Serbs in Bosnia are a separate nationality.**
“This is the option represented by the Republika Srpska. Its existence is based on the claimed oppression of a national group, and its claimed right to self-determination. However, it was also an irredentist claim—there was already a core Serbian state. The Serb areas in Bosnia do not all adjoin Serbia, nor are they as ethnically homogeneous as the Hercegovina Croat areas.”
3. **Bosnian Muslims are Serbs (Bosnian Croats are not).**  
“This option is largely hypothetical: there is apparently no historical equivalent of the Croatian claim (in number 1). The intensity of Serb nationalist myths about ‘the struggle against the Turk’ would make that difficult. Logically it implies a program of forced conversion to orthodox Christianity, but while conversion of Serbs was an open demand of the Croatian fascist (government), no similar tradition apparently exists among the Serbian right. In any case, this option is more a denunciation of Islam as a ‘foreign element’ in the region, than an attempt to reclaim lost brothers and sisters for the nation. Any forced conversion would be directed against the Muslims, not at their religious salvation. The pattern of intervention and support is essentially a territorial claim on all Bosnia.”

4. **All Bosnians are Bosnians: some are Muslims and may call themselves Bosniac.**  
“The claim of this option is that there is a separate Bosnian nation, and that there should be a sovereign nation state of Bosnia…. Tension between the three visions of identity—Islamic, ethnic-Muslim (Bosniac), and national-Bosnian—dominated the internal politics of the Sarajevo government from 1990 on.”

5. **All Bosnian inhabitants are Bosniacs, a separate people.**  
“This ethnic nationalism for all Bosnian inhabitants is the ‘missing nationalism’ in the Bosnia conflict. This option implies that Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Muslims would all describe themselves as Bosniac. In reality, there is no widespread pan-Bosnianism equivalent to the pan-south-Slavism which inspired the Yugoslav state. A Bosnian identity comparable to the Yugoslav identity never developed….Usually, however, the text makes clear that the emphasis is on the use of Bosniac as a synonym for ‘ethnic Muslim’.”

6. **All ethnic Muslims in Bosnia are Bosniacs: Serbs and Croats are not.**  
“This is the far more significant use of ‘Bosniac’, and it existed before the war. It finalised the process of recognition of Muslims inside Yugoslavia as narod—a full nation. It gained support because of the racist exclusion of the same Muslims (documented by Norman Cigar). The insistent claims that Muslims were neither Croat nor Serb almost forced this third national identity into existence.”

7. **A Bosniac is Islamic: those who are not religious are not Muslim—and therefore not Bosniac, even if they are not Serb or Croat either.**  
“Muslim-majority nation states can have a non-Islamic identity, an Islamic identity, or can in theory dissolve themselves completely into the Islamic world state, khilafa, favoured by radical Islamists. This option implies an Islamic nation state in Bosnia—an Islamic nation in the sense that Poland is a ‘Catholic nation’. Catholicism is the ‘default religion’ in Poland…any non-Catholic Pole is usually an atheist. Many Polish nationalists believe that a non-Catholic cannot be a true Pole. An Islamic Bosniac state would imply a similar pattern in Bosnia, or at least on the present ethnic-Muslim territory. A religious revival might be followed by a coup or revolution, and the expulsion or emigration of the non-religious ethnic-Muslims. This Bosniac state with a religious identity would then correspond more closely to the Islamic world’s false image of Bosnia—an ‘Islamic state in the heart of Europe’.”
8. Islam is the religion of Bosnia, and that applies to all its inhabitants—Serb, Croatian, Hungarian, whatever.

“This option does not necessarily imply forced conversions: it is a geopolitical claim to ‘territory for a religion.’ It resembles the geopolitical status of the original Islamic territories: in practice, it would probably be an Islamic theocracy… The idea of a specifically Islamic geopolitical unit was influential in the west, but in another form: the Clash of Civilizations. After the end of the bipolar Cold War, multi-polar conflict theories became popular: Samuel Huntington’s version is the best known. It explains the war by claiming Bosnia lies at the crossing of two ‘fault lines’ between civilisations: the Slavic-Western line, and the Western-Islamic line… The map of European battles in *Fragments d’Europe* (pp. 34-35) does not support the popular fault line thesis. European battles are concentrated in Belgium, not along the claimed fault lines of civilisations. But such theories are not interested in evidence anyway; they present a long-term historical pattern with a quasi-esthetic value. World history as a history of civilisations is primarily a historical style: Arnold Toynbee is the classic English-language historian of this worldview. It is often paralleled by a form of civilisational pan-nationalism. (That is how it was interpreted by neo-conservatives in the United States after the September 11 attacks: they want a Western neo-Crusade against the Islamic world.)” *Note: This view of the conflict was very influential within Bosnian Serb areas with widespread popular fears of an Islamic horde that would destroy their religion and culture.*

After you have presented this material pass out Handout 2 as homework.

Day three is a quiz on the basic terms and information that you have covered so far and can be done with or without forewarning. Regardless, you should strongly encourage students to read the homework and be able to explain the following terms:

- Different models of nationalism
- Religion as ethnic identity as opposed to religion as theology and personal choice
- Multicultural and monocultural
- Examples of multicultural and monocultural nations
- Yugoslavia
- Tito and the Partisans
- Chetnik
- Ustasha
- Serbia and Serbians
- Eastern Orthodox
- Croatia and Croatians
- Roman Catholic
- Bosnia-Hercegovina
- Bosniacs
- Islam and Muslim
- Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina
- Republika Srpska
- Sarajevo
- Dayton Peace Accord
- Any relevant material that you stressed in the current information on Bosnia and the information contained on the maps


The Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is climbing back from three years of bloody inter-ethnic war during 1992-95 between Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and Serbs - part of the break-up of Yugoslavia.

The war left Bosnia’s infrastructure and economy in tatters. Around two million people - about half the population - were displaced and unable to return to their homes in safety. Just under a decade after the conflict ended, the United Nations announced that over a million of them had done so. Further progress has since been reported.

The NATO forces brought in to keep the peace were replaced in 2004 by a much smaller European-Union-led peacekeeping force.

International administration has helped the country consolidate stability. Much of the war damage has been repaired and GDP has shown a steady rise. On the other hand, crime and corruption have continued to flourish. Unemployment remains very high and investment is slow.

The 1995 Dayton peace accord, which ended the Bosnian war, established the Office of the High Representative. The representative currently has wide-ranging powers to impose decisions in cases where the authorities are unable to agree, or where political and economic interests are considered to be at stake. Former German minister Christian Schwarz-Schilling took over the role from UK politician Paddy Ashdown in early 2006.

Dayton set up two separate entities, a Muslim/Croat Federation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the Bosnian Serb Republic, Republika Srpska, each with its own president, government, parliament, police and other bodies. Overarching these entities is a central Bosnian government and rotating presidency.

Critics of Dayton voiced fears that the two entities came too close to being states in their own right and that the arrangement reinforced separatism and nationalism at the expense of integration.

But the stability it brought enabled the country gradually to strengthen the role of central government and increase integration. There is now a single defence structure and intelligence service as well as a central judicial system and a single customs service.

A key breakthrough was achieved in late 2005 when agreement was reached on creating a unified multi-ethnic national police force which will replace the separate forces operated by the entities.
Underlining how far the country has come since Dayton, EU foreign ministers gave the go-ahead in late 2005 for talks on a Stabilisation and Association Agreement, the start of Bosnia’s long journey towards possible membership.

The prospect of talks with the EU is likely to increase still further pressure for the capture of two key Bosnian Serb war crimes suspects, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. Although some of those wanted by The Hague tribunal have been captured, the fact that these two key figures remain at large has given rise to widespread international condemnation.

* **Population:** 4.2 million (UN, 2005)
* **Capital:** Sarajevo
* **Area:** 51,129 sq km (19,741 sq miles)
* **Major languages:** Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian
* **Major religions:** Christianity, Islam
* **Life expectancy:** 71 years (men), 77 years (women) (UN)
* **Monetary unit:** 1 convertible marka = 100 convertible pfenniga
* **Main exports:** Wood and paper, metal products
* **GNI per capita:** US $2,040 (World Bank, 2005)
* **Internet domain:** .ba
* **International dialing code:** +387

**President:** The presidency of the republic currently rotates between a Serb, a Bosnian Muslim and a Croat: Borislav Paravac (Serb Democratic Party), Sulejman Tihic (Muslim Party of Democratic Action) and Ivo Miro Jovic (Croatian Democratic Union)

The responsibilities of the presidency lie largely in international affairs.

Ten years on from Dayton, the Muslim, Serb and Croatian leaders voiced commitment to constitutional reform aimed at streamlining the three-member presidency and parliament ahead of elections which are due in autumn 2006. Bosnia’s main parties went on to agree to the constitutional reform plan but hopes of progress were frustrated when it failed to gain the two-thirds majority it needed in parliament.

**Prime minister:** Adnan Terzic

Parliamentary elections in October 2002 saw nationalist parties put up a strong showing. Many voters expressed disillusionment with what they saw as the failure of politicians to improve their economic lot and turnout was low.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament approved a government dominated by nationalists with backing from moderate parties.

Prime Minister Terzic of the Muslim Party of Democratic Action pledged to introduce economic and social reforms intended to steer Bosnia towards integration with Europe. He listed growth and investment and fighting crime and corruption as his government’s priorities and promised to work with the international community to achieve these goals.
Mr. Terzic will be the first prime minister since the end of the war in 1995 to serve a full four-year term.

Previously the post was rotated between representatives of the three main ethnic communities.

* Finance minister: Ljerka Maric
* Foreign minister: Mladen Ivanic
* Defence minister: Nikola Radovanovic

The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina turned most media into propaganda tools in the hands of authorities, armies and factions. Since the 1995 Dayton Peace Accord efforts have been made—with limited success—to develop media which bridge inter-entity boundaries.

The most influential broadcasters in Bosnia are the public radio and TV stations operated by the Bosnian, Muslim-Croat, and Serb entities. The Office of the High Representative (OHR), the leading international civilian agency in Bosnia, is overseeing the development of a national public broadcasting service.

The OHR and other international organisations have encouraged the development of media which support a civic rather than a nationalist approach.

The media are partially free, but outlets and journalists come under pressure from state bodies and political party structures in both the Bosnian Muslim-Croat and Serb entities.

More than 200 commercial radio and TV stations are on the air, but their development has been hampered by the weak state of the advertising market.

The press
* Oslobodjenje <http://www.oslobodjenje.com.ba> - Sarajevo
* Dnevni avaz <http://www.avaz.ba/> - main Muslim daily
* Dani <http://www.bhdani.com> - Sarajevo weekly
* Slobodna Bosna <http://www.slobodna-bosna.ba> - Sarajevo, magazine
* Nezavisne novine <http://www.nezavisne.com> - Banja Luka, daily

Television
* Public Broadcasting Service of Bosnia-Hercegovina <http://www3.bhrt.ba> - state-wide public broadcaster, operates BHTV1 channel
* Federation TV (FTV) <http://www.rtvbih.ba/Program/index.html> - public TV service of Bosnian Muslim-Croat entity, operates two networks
* Serb Republic Radio-TV (RTRS) <http://www.rtrs.tv> - operates public TV service of Bosnian Serb entity
* Mreza Plus <http://www.mrezaplus.ba> - commercial, near-national coverage
* Open Broadcast Network (OBN) <http://www.obn.ba> - commercial, near-national coverage
Radio
* **Public Broadcasting Service of Bosnia-Hercegovina** [http://www3.bhrt.ba/]
  - state-wide public broadcaster, operates BH Radio 1
* **Radio FBiH** [http://www.rtvbih.ba/Program/radio%20FBiH/B-RTVBiH.html]
  - public radio service of Bosnian Muslim-Croat entity
* **Serb Republic Radio-TV (RTRS)** [http://www.rtrs.tv/]
  - operates public radio service of Bosnian Serb entity
* **Bosnian Croat Mostar Radio** [http://www.rtvmo.ba/]
* **Bosanska Radio Mreza (BORAM)** [http://www.boram.ba]
  - private network
* **BM Radio** [http://www.bmradio.com/]
  - private, Zenica-based
* **Radio Stari Grad** [http://www.rsg.ba/]
  - private, Sarajevo-based

News agencies
* **Federation News Agency (Fena)** [http://www.fena.ba/]
  - state-run, Sarajevo-based, English-language pages
* **SRNA** [http://www.hri.org/news/agencies/srna/]
  - state-run Bosnian Serb agency
* **Onasa** [http://www.onasa.com.ba/]
  - private
Map 1

Source: Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina created by the CIA, 2002, Call Number G6860 2002 .U5 <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g6860.ct001726>
Map 2

Source: Bosnia Economy Map found in the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, originally from “The Former Yugoslavia: A Map Folio” from the CIA 1992 <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/bosnia/bosnia_economy.jpg>
Source: Bosnia Ethnic Majorities Map found in the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, originally from “Bosnia and Herzegovina Summary Map” from the CIA 1993
<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/bosnia/ethnic_majorities_bosnia.jpg>
Resource Sheet 1

What is Bosnia?

1. *Bosnia is a single, multicultural nation.*
   and nationality?

2. *Bosnia is a Bridge.*

3. *Bosnia is Islamic.*

4. *All Bosnia is Croatia.*

5. *All Bosnia is Serbia.*

6. *Bosnia is a state with a separate culture formed by the war in 1991-1995, a process amounting to the creation of a new nation.*

Who Are Bosnians?

1. *Bosnian Muslims are Croats (Bosnian Serbs are not).*

2. *The Serbs in Bosnia are a separate nationality.*

3. *Bosnian Muslims are Serbs (Bosnian Croats are not).*

4. *All Bosnians are Bosnians: some are Muslims and call themselves Bosniac.*

5. *All Bosnian inhabitants are Bosniacs, a separate people.*

6. *All ethnic Muslims in Bosnia are Bosniacs: Serbs and Croats are not.*

7. *A Bosniac is Islamic: those who are not religious are not Muslim – and therefore not Bosniac, even if they are not Serb or Croat either.*

8. *Islam is the religion of Bosnia, and that applies to all its inhabitants – Serb, Croatian, Hungarian, whatever.*
Day 3: Quiz

Construct a quiz to reflect those areas covered by the readings and classroom discussions. Allow no more than half the class period so that the test can be reviewed in class. If there is time and you have had time to compile them, you may wish to display the collected results of their first homework assignment and to further pursue the provocative statement put on the board on day two.
Handout 2

History of the War in Bosnia (as of May 1996)
Source: <http://www.friendsofbosnia.org/edu_bos.html> with updating notes appended.

Historical Background
The former Yugoslavia consisted of six republics and two autonomous regions. Today Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia are independent nations. Serbia and Montenegro comprise the [rest of] Yugoslavia. [Note: On June 3, 2006, Montenegro’s Parliament declared the republic’s independence.]
**Bosnia-Herzegovina** (prewar population 4.4 million): Bosnia has the most complex mix of religious traditions among the former Yugoslav republics: 44% Bosniaks (Muslims), 31% Bosnian Serb (Eastern Orthodox), and 17% Bosnian Croat (Roman Catholics). Bosnia’s Muslims are Slavs who converted to Islam in the 14th and 15th centuries after the Ottoman Empire conquered the region. From World War I until the end of the Cold War, Bosnia was part of the newly created country of Yugoslavia. Bosnia declared independence in March 1992.

**Serbia** (including Kosovo and Vojvodina) (prewar population 9,800,000): This republic is the largest and most populous. 66% are ethnic Serb of traditionally Eastern Orthodox religion. Until 1989, Serbia also had two “autonomous regions,” Kosovo and Vojvodina. Kosovo, bordering Albania, was the historic seat of a traditional Serbian kingdom and the site of the famous Battle of Kosovo in 1389, when the Serbs were conquered by Ottoman forces. Today Kosovo’s population is 90% ethnic Albanian, most of them Muslims. The Albanians are a pre-Slavic ethnic group speaking a distinct language unrelated to the various forms of Serbo-Croatian spoken throughout the former Yugoslavia.

**Croatia** (prewar population 4.8 million): In the second largest republic of former Yugoslavia, 79% of its residents were ethnic Croatian and 12% ethnic Serb, who were concentrated in the Krajina region, which closely follows Croatia’s border with Bosnia. Most Croatians are Roman Catholic. Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia in June 1991. During the summer of 1995, Croatian forces reclaimed the Krajina and drove more than 200,000 Serbs to exile in Serbia.

**Montenegro** (prewar population 584,000): This was the only republic not conquered by the Ottoman Empire or other outside powers. Mostly Serb Orthodox, Montenegro and Serbia [comprised what was left of Yugoslavia until June, 2006.]

**Macedonia** (population 2,000,000): Macedonia is home to Macedonian Slavs (66%) who are mostly Orthodox Christians with some Muslims, Albanians (25%-35%) who are mostly Muslim, and a host of smaller minorities (Turks, Gypsies, Vlachs). Macedonia became the only former Yugoslav republic to make a nonviolent transition to independence in 1992. The Albanian population has long demanded some degree of cultural autonomy and, until the current crisis, most Macedonian Albanians have attempted to go about this by working within the existing power structures.

**Slovenia** (prewar population 1,892,000): The smallest in land mass but the wealthiest of the former republics, Slovenia is also the closest to western Europe, sharing a border with Austria. Its population is almost entirely composed of ethnic Slovenes, who have their own distinctive Slavic language and traditions. Slovenia declared its independence at the same time as Croatia, in June 1991.

**World War II to 1991**
During World War II, armed groups claiming allegiance to various ethnic factions fought both against each other and against the Nazi occupiers. By 1945, almost 1 million Yugoslavs had lost their lives, most of them at the hands of other Yugoslavs. Croatian fascists (Ustashe) were the most notorious for killing Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, Communists, and political opponents, but Serb
Chetniks were also responsible for many mass killings. The Communist-led Partisans fought against both groups and were victorious (with Allied support) at the war’s end. The Partisan leader, Josip Broz (Tito), ruled the country as a one-party socialist state.

Despite using repressive tactics and centralized control, Tito understood the importance of apportioning power evenly among the Yugoslav ethnicities. Under Communist rule, it was a serious crime to openly express ethnic aspirations of any kind.

After Tito’s death in 1980, the nation slid into economic and political decline as a collective leadership began to squabble over power and the allocation of shrinking resources among the republics. With the final collapse of Communism in the 1980s, the restive population began seeking solutions to provide economic and political stability in a post-Cold-War world. Unfortunately, the solution promoted by Serb and Croat extremists in this time of crisis was ethnic nationalism. Serbia’s Communist Party leader, Slobodan Milosevic, began pandering to Serb nationalism, and quickly became the unchallenged ruler of Serbia. Through his control of the party apparatus and control of the media, he was able to become the most powerful figure in Yugoslavia, but despite his appeals to Serb national sentiment, his principal concern was with preserving his own control.

One of Milosevic’s first acts was to change Serbia’s constitution and void the autonomy of Kosovo. He began a campaign of repression against the ethnic Albanian Kosovars, making him a hero in the eyes of Serb nationalists throughout the former Yugoslavia.

Milosevic’s attempts to seize control of the federal government and his repressive tactics in Kosovo drove the newly elected non-Communist governments of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia to seek independence. The Yugoslav National Army (JNA)—with a predominantly Serb officers’ corps—responded with brutal attacks supported by Serb nationalist militias in Croatia and Bosnia.

Ironically, when the war began in Croatia in 1991 and Bosnia in 1992, many Croats and Bosnians thought the Yugoslav National Army would protect them. They soon learned that the national army—the fourth largest in Europe—was clearly in the hands of Milosevic and being used to create Greater Serbia.

With Serb nationalists in control in Belgrade and Croat nationalists in power in Zagreb, Croatia voted to secede from Yugoslavia in 1991 to counter the plan for a Greater Serbia. Although Croat nationalists share responsibility for fanning ethnic tensions, it was Serbian forces who launched a savage military response to Croat independence, capturing and “cleansing” a third of Croatia, including eastern and western Slavonia, and the Krajina region adjacent to Bosnia.

In March 1992, Bosnia’s Muslims and Croats, fearing the drive for a Greater Serbia, called for a referendum for Bosnian independence. Fierce propaganda from Serbia, depicting Muslims as extremist fundamentalists, caused many Bosnian Serbs to support Milosevic’s plan for ethnic cleansing as a means of creating Greater Serbia. Since the Bosnian Serbs did not inhabit a single specific territory in Bosnia and lived alongside Muslim and Croat neighbors, the stage was set for war throughout the country.
On April 6, 1992, the Bosnian Serbs began their siege of Sarajevo. Muslim, Croat, and Serb residents opposed to a Greater Serbia were cut off from food, utilities, and communication. Through three long and cold winters, Sarajevans dodged sniper fire as they collected firewood and tried to get to their jobs. Food was scarce and the average weight loss per person was more than 30 pounds. More than 12,000 residents were killed, 1,500 of them children.

Throughout Bosnia, Bosnian Serb nationalists and the JNA began a systematic policy of “ethnic cleansing” (a polite term for genocide) to establish a “pure” Serb republic. They drove out all other ethnic groups by terrorizing and forcibly displacing non-Serbs through direct shelling and sniper attacks. Entire villages were destroyed. Thousands were expelled from their homes, held in detention camps, raped, tortured, deported, or summarily executed. Rape was a military tactic to destroy the bonds of families and communities.

Throughout the war, many Bosnians wanted to preserve a multiethnic state. But Serb and Croat nationalists sought to carve out Bosnian land to be annexed to the future Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia. Few people could have predicted that the war would last for almost four years, and with such barbarism. More than 200,000 Bosnians out of a population of 4.4 million were killed. Some 200,000 were injured, 50,000 of them children. Millions of people were deported or forced to flee their homes. Sixty percent of all houses in Bosnia, half of the schools, and a third of the hospitals were damaged or destroyed. Power plants, roads, water systems, bridges, and railways were ruined. Throughout these horrors, the international community failed to respond.

**Key Players in the Conflict**

**Serbia:** President Slobodan Milosevic’s nationalist aims for a Greater Serbia started the machinery of war in 1986. Now based in Belgrade, he still controls the fourth largest army in Europe, the Yugoslav National Army (JNA). He has thus far evaded charges of war crimes and continues to exert considerable influence in the region. He was the Serb representative at Dayton and has since distanced himself from the Bosnian Serb leadership. [Note: Following a disputed election in 2000, Milosevic was arrested and extradited to stand trial in The Hague. He died in 2006 before the trial was completed.]

**Bosnian Serbs:** In 1991, prior to the war, Radovan Karadzic (a former psychiatrist) created a renegade army within Bosnia with the support of Milosevic in Belgrade. In 1992, under his leadership, Bosnian Serb nationalists began a systematic policy of “cleansing” large areas of Bosnia of non-Serbs. Both Karadzic and his military commander, Ratko Mladic, have been indicted for war crimes, including genocide, by a UN war crimes tribunal. Both remain at large and continue to wield power in Republika Srpska.

**Croatia:** President Franjo Tudjman, headquartered in Zagreb, leads the Croatian army and has close ties to the Bosnian Croat army, the HVO. The HVO lost significant territory to the Serb-controlled Yugoslav National Army, but supported Bosnian Croats as they captured swaths of territory in Herzegovina, the southwestern region of Bosnia around the city of Mostar where many Bosnian Croats reside. Tudjman continues to exert influence in the area controlled by the HVO, most of which remains “cleansed” of all Muslim and Serb inhabitants. Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims formally allied in 1994 in an uneasy federation that was brokered by the
Bosnia: President Alija Izetbegovic, head of the Muslim-dominated Party of Democratic Action (SDA), is based in Sarajevo. Bosnia was attacked by the Yugoslav National Army, Bosnian Serb nationalists, and Bosnian Croat nationalists. The siege of Sarajevo lasted 43 months. An international arms embargo was in effect throughout the war, preventing the Bosnian government from obtaining the heavy artillery and arms that it needed to fight the more sophisticated arsenals of the Serbian and Croatian armies. Izetbegovic is now chairman of the three-member Bosnian presidency, sharing power with Bosnian Croat Kresimir Zubak and Momcilo Krajsnik, a Bosnian Serb. Both Zubak and Krajsnik are opposed to a unified Bosnia with Sarajevo as the capital. [Note: Izetbegovic stepped down in 2000 and died in 2003.]

The Role of the UN
The failure of the UN to stop the killing in Bosnia seriously compromised its credibility as it neared its 50th anniversary in 1995. The UN already had UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force) troops in Sarajevo at the outset of war because it was their base of operation for the UN mission in Croatia. The UN hoped that their presence would discourage the spread of the conflict from Croatia to Bosnia. But when Sarajevo came under attack by Serb artillery in April 1992, the UN forces pulled out to avoid casualties, leaving behind only a small and lightly armed contingent of “peacekeepers” to discourage attacks by Serbian nationalists. There was clearly no peace to keep. As the situation deteriorated, creating a humanitarian nightmare, the UN struck a deal with the Serbs to control the Sarajevo airport. In reality, the Serbs only allowed the UN to use the airport under de facto Serb control. During the next three years the airport was the scene of hundreds of casualties. UN humanitarian flights were repeatedly fired upon and Bosnian civilians were killed by sniper fire as they attempted to escape across the tarmac. All aid flights and personnel transports had to be approved by Serb liaison officers stationed at the airport. In one of the most flagrant failures of the UN to provide protection, the Bosnian Deputy Prime Minister was shot point-blank by Serb nationalists in 1992 while riding in a UN armored personnel carrier at the airport.

UN personnel were well aware of massive violations of human rights and humanitarian law committed by the Bosnian Serb nationalists, yet did nothing. The world learned of the atrocities through the courageous efforts of print and TV journalists who visited Serb-run camps and reported on appalling conditions and treatment of Croat and Muslim detainees. Wrenching scenes were broadcast around the world showing hundreds of emaciated men and women behind barbed wire, their eyes hollow from hunger and despair. Although they never succeeded in protecting civilians from attack, the UN eventually took seriously its obligation to investigate war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia and established the International Criminal Tribunal.

The International Criminal Tribunal
The International Criminal Tribunal, the first international war crimes court since the Nuremberg trials following World War II, was established by the UN Security Council in February 1993. Based in The Hague, it has announced indictments against 75 individuals—including Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic. There has been an enormous lack of will by the international community to seek out and arrest them. The 75 indictments name 54 Serbs, 18
Croats, and 3 Bosnian Muslims. In order for peace and reconstruction to continue in the region, it is crucial that the tribunal demonstrate that genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity cannot be committed with impunity. Establishing individual responsibility for crimes is essential to avoid the attribution of collective guilt.

The Dayton Peace Accords
The Dayton Peace Accords, signed on December 14, 1995, by Presidents Milosevic, Izetbegovic, and Tudjman, affirmed Sarajevo as the capital of Bosnia but carved Bosnia into two autonomous and ethnically based entities, separated by a demilitarized zone. The Serbs, in control of the Republika Srpska, were rewarded for their unbridled aggression and genocide with 49% of the territory of Bosnia. The Bosnians were granted the remaining 51% of the country, called the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an uneasy alliance of Bosnian Muslims and Croats. Each entity has its own government, military, and police. A central government handles banking and foreign policy. Many Bosnians feel betrayed by their president and the world for the partition of their country.

IFOR
Shortly after the accords were signed, the international Implementation Force (IFOR), a NATO-led peacekeeping force of 60,000 soldiers, arrived in Bosnia. Though heavy weapons were pulled back from front lines and the indiscriminate killing of civilians stopped, the external borders of Bosnia remain unprotected. Most non-Serbs have been cleansed from Serb-held areas and are not allowed to return to their homes. Many Serbs have left Federation-controlled territories.

IFOR was scheduled to leave Bosnia at the end of 1996. As a compromise, a new force with half the number of troops, SFOR (Stabilization Force) has been introduced instead.

Bosnian Elections
Although elections were held in September to select a three-member presidency and a national parliament, most international observers claim that they were anything but free and fair. There was widespread voter fraud and intimidation, especially by Serb nationalists who bribed refugees to vote in areas where they never intended to live. The voter turnout as reported by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which monitored the elections, was close to 110%.

Reconstruction
Bosnia’s immediate needs are a repaired infrastructure, jobs, and the safe return of people to their homes. The World Bank estimates a need for $5 billion for the first three years of reconstruction. It has thus far only raised a small portion of that. But Bosnians are determined to rebuild their country and to build a future for their children.
Day 4: War and Politics

Day four is built around a video presentation after a discussion on the reasons for war and why this war in Bosnia would become a three-way civil war. For the video, any of the ones listed in the annotated resource list are good and would serve well. My personal favorite is the Canadian documentary, *Romeo and Juliet of Sarajevo*. I find that it is more effective to use an edited portion of a video rather than using up the whole class period, and this particular video especially lends itself to that. The story is of a young couple, a Serbian boy and a Muslim girl, who try to escape Sarajevo during the siege. Their story is poignant and symbolic of the tragedy of the war in Bosnia and students find it extremely compelling.

Begin the class by projecting the detailed ethnic boundaries map (Map 4). The map reflects the demographics of 1991 with the final cease-fire line imposed. With the statement from day two still on the board, ask the students to consider the map and explain to you why war broke out once Yugoslavia broke up and a new government in Sarajevo primarily made up of Bosnian Muslims had been set up.

Discussion questions – Why do people go to war? Does war have rules? Why would people in a multi-ethnic country fear people outside their own ethnic group even though they have been living in mixed communities for centuries? Given the attitudes and different political ideals that have been presented so far and going back to the statement on the board, what led to war in Bosnia?

Before showing the video segment that you have selected, it might be useful to present the two famous dictums of Karl von Clausewitz:

*War is the continuation of politics by other means.*

&

*War is the application of force, and to the application of force there is no limit.*

After the video is completed, pass out the timeline (Handout 3), and use it as an aid for the questions and discussion after the video.

Focus questions for after the video: *What were the goals of the Bosniac, Croatian, and Serbian forces? What political goals did they hope to achieve? What was the nature of the war? Has there ever been a war like this in the United States? Have there ever been other wars like this in Europe?*

[Note: It is possible to use this approach to review the students’ prior knowledge of certain aspects of the American Revolution, anti-Catholic violence of the 19th century, the Civil War and rise of the KKK, and the various wars with Native Americans. There are some similarities and enormous differences that can be productively used to highlight this portion of the unit. Probably the closest parallel in Europe was the situation in Northern Ireland in the 1970’s between the armed militias based in the Catholic and Protestant communities.]

For homework ask the students to begin constructing a timeline based on the one you passed out and focusing on what type of information you feel is the most important for them to know.
1991 ethnic composition, with current boundary line separating the zones of control. To the north and east is a Bosnian Serb Republic (*Republika Srpska*), and in the center and the west is a Muslim/Croat federation (the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

- Red = Serbian Majority
- Blue = Croatian Majority
- Green = Bosniac (Muslim) Majority

[Note: The war and the flow of refugees disrupted these patterns, and a new census has been conducted since then.]
Handout 3

Key Dates in Yugoslavia’s War

- **June 25, 1991**: Slovenia and Croatia declare independence from Yugoslavia. Two days later, Yugoslav army attacks Slovenia, withdraws after a 10-day war.
- **July 1991**: Serb-Croat skirmishes escalate into war between Croats and rebel Serbs, backed by the Yugoslav army, in Croatia.
- **April 1992**: Serbs begin siege of Sarajevo.
- **May 30, 1992**: United Nations imposes sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, the only republics remaining in Yugoslavia, for fomenting war in Bosnia, Croatia.
- **Jan. 2, 1993**: International mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen unveil plan to divide Bosnia into 10 provinces, mostly along ethnic lines. The plan is accepted by Bosnian government but rejected by Bosnian Serbs.
- **March 1993**: Bosnian Croats and Muslims begin fighting over the 30% of Bosnian not already in Serb hands.
- **April-May 1993**: U.N. Security Council declares six “safe areas” for Bosnian Muslims: Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihać, Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde.
- **July 30, 1993**: Preliminary agreement reached in Geneva for creating three states in Bosnia for Muslims, Croats, Serbs. Talks collapse after Serbs violate cease-fire.
- **Feb. 5, 1994**: More than 60 people killed and some 200 wounded as a mortar shell slams into downtown marketplace in Sarajevo. Days later, NATO demands Bosnian Serbs withdraw heavy guns from around Sarajevo or face air strikes.
- **Aug. 30, 1995**: NATO warplanes launch air campaign against Serbs.
- **Sept. 8, 1995**: Negotiators agree to divide Bosnia into Serb and Muslim-Croat entities within one state. Meanwhile, Bosnian government, Croats retake most of remaining Serb-held land in Croatia, sending up to 180,000 Serbs fleeing.
- **Sept. 20, 1995**: NATO halts air strikes after Serbs withdraw heaviest weapons around Sarajevo.
- **Oct. 11, 1995**: Sixty-day cease-fire takes effect ahead of peace talks due to start in Dayton, Ohio, on Nov. 1.
- **Nov. 1, 1995**: U.S.-sponsored peace talks open in Dayton, Ohio, with the presidents of Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia. Agreement is reached for the peaceful integration of remaining Serb-held land in Croatia and to strengthen the Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia.
- **Nov. 16, 1995**: International tribunal indicts Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic for a second time, this time charging them with genocide over alleged massacres at Srebrenica.
- **Nov. 21, 1995**: In Dayton, Ohio, Balkan leaders agree on a comprehensive settlement to the 43-month war in Bosnia.

Day 5: Begin Independent Research Projects

If you want this to be a library or computer lab day, then have students turn in their completed timelines and proceed to the appropriate location. Today students in partner groups will begin researching a topic in Bosnian history that they will present to the class. The project can be structured according to whatever rubric that you normally use for activities such as these. The goal is for the students to pursue self-selected topics and build a presentation that will be graphically presented and used to help increase the knowledge of the entire class. The appropriate topics would be anything related to the history of Bosnia, particularly as it relates to the cultures of the three ethnic groups that have been presented.

Example: A student group might explore the destruction of Ottoman architecture in Bosnia because of the war. They could find information about this topic (e.g., “Islamic Sites in Bosnia: 10 Years After the War” by Asim Zubcevic, *Islamica Magazin*, Issue 15) and then try to find photos to illustrate this to present to the class via a poster board, power point presentation, or another form of a digital slide show.

Other relevant topics might include:

The medieval history of Bosnia, particularly the Croatian noble family whose coat of arms became the symbol of Bosnian nationalism

The Ottoman conquest of the Turks and the destruction of the Serbian kingdoms

The history of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches in Bosnia

Sarajevo

The languages of Bosnia-Herzegovina

The partisan war in Yugoslavia in WWII

Serbian nationalism and the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand

The Sarajevo Hagaddah and the Jewish community of Bosnia

European Muslims in the former Yugoslavia

The siege of Sarajevo

Illustrated presentations on any of the books listed in the annotated resource list (*Zlata’s Diary* is a particularly good candidate for this project because of its popularity and readily available material illustrating it.)

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Annotated Resource List

Bosnian History
The best single volume is *Bosnia: A Short History* by Noel Malcolm (NY: New York University Press, 1996). This is a comprehensive survey from prehistory to 1995 by a British journalist.

From *Publishers Weekly*: To explain the origins of the current conflict in Bosnia, Malcolm reaches back to Turkish occupation, Austro-Hungarian rule, both world wars and the era of Stalinist oppression under Tito. He contends that “ethnic cleansing” is not a by-product of the current war but a central element in the Serbian goal of creating homogeneous Serb enclaves that eventually will join together in a Greater Serbia. Malcolm condemns Western interference, singling out politicians and diplomats who attempt to suppress the war’s symptoms instead of treating its causes. He argues persuasively that the United Nations-imposed arms embargo against Bosnia opened the way to that nation’s destruction, and that the vaunted Vance-Owen peace plan was only slightly less disastrous. It led to a genuine Bosnian civil war, ruining the only effective barrier against the Serbs, the Croat-Muslim alliance. Political columnist for London’s *Daily Spectator*, Malcolm has covered the Balkans for 15 years.

From *Library Journal*: The collapse of former Yugoslavia and the ensuing war have shifted scholarly attention to its successor states. Malcolm’s success consists in demonstrating why Bosnia-Hercegovina’s distinctive history demands such an approach. The mix of elements include the region’s geographic “remoteness” from other centers of power, its unusual Slav and non-Slav blend of population, and its status as an object of neighboring rivalry. The author cogently dispels the myths of forcible conversion to Islam by the Ottomans as well as the notion of a “fundamentalist threat” from an Islamic Bosnia. Although Malcolm is least comfortable in dealing with the segment of Bosnia’s history as a part of Yugoslavia, he makes the case that its subsequent destruction was an object of “rational strategy” rather than religious hatred. Recommended for public and academic libraries. (Zachary T. Irwin, Pennsylvania State University-Erie)

Another way to encounter the conflicted history of Bosnia is through literature. The best known example in English is the widely available translation by Lovett Edwards of *The Bridge on the Drina* by Ivo Andric (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977). Andric was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1961 and this work is a beautiful and powerful story. The stone bridge constructed by a Turkish vizier in the 16th century becomes a metaphor for the history of all the people of Bosnia through the subsequent centuries.

Information from the publisher: *The Bridge on the Drina* is a vivid depiction of the suffering history has imposed upon the people of Bosnia from the late 16th century to the beginning of World War I. As we seek to make sense of the current nightmare in this region, this remarkable, timely book serves as a reliable guide to its people and history.

“No better introduction to the study of Balkan and Ottoman history exists, nor do I know of any work of fiction that more persuasively introduces the reader to a civilization other than our own. It is an intellectual and emotional adventure to encounter the Ottoman
world through Andric’s pages in its grandiose beginning and at its tottering finale. It is, in short, a marvelous work, a masterpiece, and very much *sui generis*. . . . Andric’s sensitive portrait of social change in distant Bosnia has revelatory force.” (William H. McNeill, from the introduction)

“The dreadful events occurring in Sarajevo over the past several months turn my mind to a remarkable historical novel from the land we used to call Yugoslavia, Ivo Andric’s *The Bridge on the Drina*.” (John M. Mohan, *Des Moines Sunday Register*)

Born in Bosnia, Ivo Andric (1892-1975) was a distinguished diplomat and novelist. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1961. His books include *The Damned Yard: And Other Stories*, and *The Days of the Consuls*.

One of the best accounts of the war is *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War* by Misha Glenny (New York: Penguin Books, 1996). This is a superb, short volume which won the Overseas Press Club Award for Best Book on Foreign Affairs the year it was originally published.

From the publisher: *The Fall of Yugoslavia* tells the whole, true story of the Balkan Crisis—and the ensuing war—for those around the world who have watched the battle unfold with a mixture of horror, dread, and confusion. When Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence in June, 1991, peaceful neighbors of four decades took up arms against each other once again and a savage war flared in the Balkans. The underlying causes go back to business left unfinished by both the Second and First World Wars. In this acclaimed book, now revised and updated with a new chapter on the Dayton Accords and the subsequent U.S. involvement, Misha Glenny offers a sobering eyewitness chronicle of the events that rekindled the violent conflict, a lucid and impartial analysis of the politics behind them, and incisive portraits of the main personalities involved. Above all he shows us the human realities behind the headlines and puts in its true, historical context one of the most ferocious civil wars of our time.

**Global Perspectives: Who are the Bosnians and History of Bosnia**

<http://www.cet.edu/earthinfo/balkans/bosnia/BNtopic1.html>

An online source for Bosnian history geared toward students. This is a very comprehensive web site, easily navigated with a many illustrations including an excellent set of maps showing topography, population density, transportation network, etc.

**The World Wide Web Virtual Library: Bosnia**

<http://vlib.iue.it/history/europe/Bosnia/index.html>

A page of links, compiled by the European University in Florence, to other sites showing different aspects of Bosnian history. This site is recommended by the area experts at the Library of Congress.


**Muslims in Europe**
There is a great deal online now concerning Muslims in Europe, but most of it is primarily focused on Western Europe. Several of these sites contain a good overview on the history of Islam and many contain demographic information showing the total population and percentage for each European country. Given the importance of religious identity in the Bosnian conflict, you and your students should be aware of this important component.

**University of Michigan European Union Center “Muslims in Europe” Curriculum**

This curriculum compiled by Ann Arbor high school teachers in coordination with the University of Michigan is particularly useful because of the entire section on The Ottoman Heritage, dealing with the Islamic communities of Southeastern Europe. Available in CD format on request. Contact: University of Michigan European Union Center, 1080 South University Ave., Ste. 4663, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1106; <ces-euc@umich.edu>. Also available to download at [http://www.ii.umich.edu/ces-euc/PDFs/Muslims%20in%20Europe%20Folder/Muslims%20in%20Europe%20FINAL.pdf](http://www.ii.umich.edu/ces-euc/PDFs/Muslims%20in%20Europe%20Folder/Muslims%20in%20Europe%20FINAL.pdf)

**BBC In Depth-Muslims in Europe**
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/europe/2005/muslims_in_europe/default.stm>

Along with a compilation of recent stories concerning France and Britain etc., this site has a map (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4385768.stm>) showing the approximate percentage of the Muslim population throughout Europe and a paragraph on each European country. Particularly nice are the “Quick Guides” that open an online window within the main page. The quick guide on “Islam” is a simple but comprehensive overview. The other quick guide on “headscarf” contains nice illustrations and the proper names for the various styles but contains one glaring error. The Arabic word “Hijab” derives from “barrier” not “veil.” Hijab is thus a concept of using clothes to conceal the outlines of the body in order to preserve modesty and not a particular item of clothing. Hijab has become synonymous with “scarf,” in popular usage, even in some Muslim countries but the original meaning should be explained to students.

**MSNBC Islam in Europe**
<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/11369578/>

Besides the usual stories covering Western Europe, this site has a superb, interactive map at <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/12757599/>. This map allows you to click on any country in Europe and pull down a menu that leads to:
- Muslim population (total and as a percentage)
- Origin/ethnic makeup
- History
- Major issues

Using this site in class, a teacher can readily show the large percentage of Muslims within Southeastern Europe in contrast to those neighboring countries that were never part of the Ottoman Empire. From there the situation in any specific country can readily be illustrated.
**Bosnian Serbs**  
Projekat Rastko – Banja Luka  

An electronic library of culture and tradition of Republika Srpska. In Serbian, Bosnian, and English. This is a site picked by the area experts at the Library of Congress and while a great many of the articles are in Serbian, there is enough in English to provide a good background.

**Bosnian Croats**  
Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina  
<http://www.hercegbosna.org/eng_index.html>  

This is a very sophisticated, all inclusive site covering everything from medieval history to tourist destinations.

**Bosnian Muslims**  
Friends of Bosnia/Center for Balkan Development  
<http://www.friendsofbosnia.org/>  

The Friends of Bosnia is a support group formed during the war to assist people in Sarajevo then under siege. It has broadened its focus and efforts since then and is now known as the Center for Balkan Development. While not an explicitly Bosniac group, it does represent the view of a united Bosnia and a united Bosnian identity representative of the Bosnian nationalism based on the Muslim majority.

**Bosnian Institute**  
<http://www.bosnia.org.uk/default.cfm>  

This UK-based organization publishes the “Bosnia Report” Magazine. Like the Friends of Bosnia it has compiled an impressive array of resources on every aspect of Bosnian history and life and also expresses the same sense of united Bosnian identity.

**The Bosnian War**  
Dark Shadows, The Legacy of War in Serbia and Bosnia (Frontline Documentary)  

The World’s Most Wanted Man (Frontline Documentary)  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/karadzic/>  

The hunt for Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to be tried for war crimes.

**Romeo and Juliet of Sarajevo** (National Film Board of Canada Documentary)  
<http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol1no1/RJSarajevo.html>  

The transcript of this haunting story of a young couple killed by snipers while trying to flee Sarajevo is available at:  

31
Srebrenica: A Cry from the Grave (WNET Documentary)
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/cryfromthegrave/>


From Publishers Weekly: Ten-year-old Croatian Filipovic’s graphic, firsthand account of life in embattled Sarajevo was a nine-week PW bestseller. Photos.

From School Library Journal: From September 1991 through October 1993, young Zlata Filipovic kept a diary. When she began it, she was 11 years old, concerned mostly with friends, school, piano lessons, MTV, and Madonna. As the diary ends, she has become used to constant bombing and snipers; severe shortages of food, water, and gas; and the end of a privileged adolescence in her native Sarajevo. Zlata has been described as the new Anne Frank. While the circumstances are somewhat similar, and Zlata is intelligent and observant, this diary lacks the compelling style and mature perceptions that gave Anne Frank’s account such universality. The entire situation in the former Yugoslavia, however, is of such currency and concern that any first-person account, especially one such as this that speaks so directly to adolescents, is important and necessary. While not great literature, the narrative provides a vivid description of the ravages of war and its effect upon one young woman, and, as such, is valuable today.

Internet Connections for Zlata’s Diary (Lesson Plan)
<http://www.ginnyhoover.com/zlata.htm>

Teens Living in Conflict Webquest – Zlata’s Diary
<http://www.davis.k12.ut.us/curric/languagearts/grade8.html>


My Childhood Under Fire by Nadja Halilbegovich (Toronto: Kids Can Press, 2006)

From School Library Journal: Halilbegovich was just 12 years old on April 6, 1992, when she was told there would be no school that day, not because of a holiday, but because of a war. In her diary, she reveals the hurt, pain, and despair brought on by the fighting within her country and describes the bombings, deaths, and destruction. Through journal entries from her childhood, and looking-back sections written as an adult, readers are exposed to the realities of war. During her teen years, she experienced a life she never imagined—loss of friends, neighbors, and security. In 1995, Halilbegovich was granted passage to the United States. She left Sarajevo through a tunnel, with her mother encouraging her as she went, Remember your dream and keep walking! These words have stayed with her as she works for peace. This book is similar to Zlata Filipovic’s Zlata’s Diary, but that book begins and ends with the author’s words as a young girl. This is an important book as it reveals the effects of a little-known war on innocent people from a personal perspective. (Denise Moore, O’Gorman Junior High School, Sioux Falls, SD)
From *Booklist*: In 1992, when the bombing started in Sarajevo, Halilbegovich, 12, kept a diary of her terrifying daily life under siege. Her terse vignettes replay the horror of her comfortable home torn apart. Thousands of children are killed, and Halilbegovich herself is hit by a shell. Many black-and-white photos show the girl and her family, before and during the war, including a dramatic view of the tunnel through which she finally escaped, eventually ending up with an American family in 1995. Unfortunately, there’s no map, and other than occasional brief notes, there’s little background about the Balkans war: Who is involved? Why are they bombing her home? Her message for tolerance and against ethnic divisions is powerful, but it raises questions about generic identity that need to be discussed. Even so, the intimate view of ethnic warfare, the appeal for peace, and the haunting question, “Why did the world allow it to happen?” make the book excellent for the Holocaust curriculum. Connect it to Hanna Jansen’s recent novel *Over a Thousand Hills I Walk with You* (2006), about the massacre in Rwanda. (Hazel Rochman)

**Teenage Refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina Speak Out** by Valerie Paradiz (New York: Rosen Pub., 1995)


UNICEF collected drawings, letters, and poems from schools and refugee camps in the former Yugoslavia as part of its psychological assessment program for war traumatized children.