

## Unit 2: Historical Overview

### Objectives

At the end of this unit, you will

### Be aware of the following

- Importance of history to the Balkan region
- Long-term impact of the 395 A.D. east-west division of the Roman Empire
- Common Slavic ancestry of Serb and Croat ethnic groups
- Long-standing Croatian/Hungarian linkage
- Significance placed on the Battle of Kosovo
- Serbian domination of Yugoslavia's Federal Army
- Dayton Agreement (Dayton Peace Accord) specifics and IFOR zones

### Identify

- Emperor Theodosius, Great Schism of 1054
- Tomislav, St. Sava Nemanjich
- Battle of Kosovo, 28 June 1389
- Hapsburg Empire, Bogomils
- Milos Obrenovic, Berlin Congress of 1878
- Josip Broz Tito (Marshal Tito)
- Chetniks, Krajinas, Irregular forces, Ustashe
- UNPROFOR, Dayton Agreement, IFOR

### Realize

- Importance of medieval Balkan history/myth to a people's identity and pride
- Roman Catholic affinity of many Croatian people; Orthodox tendency of many Serbians
- Impact of the Counter-Reformation on Croatian cultural development
- Inter-war period efforts to unite Yugoslavia
- Alliance of Ustashe and Nazi groups during W.W.II

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*"From our position [that of Temporary Change of Station linguists] you could not align yourself with one side or the other. It did not take long to discover that no one side appeared fully to blame or completely innocent."*

-- SFC John Andruszka, Military Language Instructor, European I School, Globe, Nov 1997, p. 11

*"The Balkan peoples have not consistently hated one another over the centuries as depicted in the media and popular literature."*

-- Dr. George Gawrych, "Roots of Bosnian Realities," Military Review, Jul-Aug 1997, p. 79

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As is true with many East European peoples and other nationalities of our globe, a long sense of history influences the Balkan region. Writes George Gawrych, historian at the Combat Studies Institute, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, *"History forms an integral part of the Balkan peoples' psyche."*

*Each nation looks to the ancient and medieval periods for identity and pride, often distorting the past in the process...In addition to a source of identity and pride, medieval empires have been used to justify territorial claims."* ("Roots of Bosnian Realities," Military Review, July-August 1997, p. 79).



This unit gives a broad historical overview of the Balkans, focusing especially on the Bosnia and Herzegovina region. Incidents and issues treated may be open to interpretation. While hostilities and fighting may attract most of the historical interest in the region, credible scholars would remind us that

*"the Croats and the Serbs have cooperated more and fought less in their history than most other contiguous nations of central and eastern Europe." (Aleksa Djilas, "A Collective Madness," New York Times Magazine, 15 Feb 1998.)*

Warren Zimmermann, the last American ambassador to Yugoslavia, states that *"history since the fifteenth-century Turkish occupation was no more bloody than the history of England or France...Sarajevo...for centuries had been a moving symbol of the civility that comes from people of different ethnicity living in harmony."* (Foreign Affairs, March/April 1995.)

With special application to the current UN Peacekeeping mission, Peter Kuzmic writes, *"This vision of peace and harmony in the Balkans should be the hope and prayer of all God's people and is the noble goal which provides justification for the American presence in Bosnia."* (*"On the way to peace in the Balkans,"* Christian Century, 21 Feb 1996, p. 202.)

## 1. Early Beginnings



**a. Roman unification** The Roman empire left a significant impact on the Balkan region. In the third century B.C., Rome conquered the west Adriatic coast. By A.D. 14, what is now Serbia came under Roman control. Agriculture, roads, mines, fortresses, and trading towns sprung up throughout the region. Romania's language, which closely resembles Latin, traces its roots to this period.

**b. East and West Division** When Roman emperor Theodosius died in 395 A.D., the empire was divided between his two sons. Predating the arrival of Slavs to the region, the "Theodosian Line" ran right through the Balkans.

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Over time, a "hardening" of the lines drawn from the east/west division resulted in differing nation-state formations within the Balkan region. This development was similar to that of many European nation-states of the time. The western empire encompassed much of present-day Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Roman Catholic practice eventually became strong.

The eastern empire (Byzantine) consisted of present-day Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania. Missionary work by traveling monks resulted in conversion to Orthodoxy by many in the region.

**c. Slavic migrations** In the sixth and seventh centuries, Slavic tribal groups moved from the general area of present-day Ukraine and settled in much of the Balkans. Serb and Croat tribes, possibly of Iranian roots, arrived in the second quarter of the seventh century. Eventually, these groups split into three main branches--Slovenes in the northwest, Croats to their south, and Serbs in the southeast.

## 2. Medieval Roots

**a. The Great Schism** Societal and political factors, as much as doctrinal belief, contributed to the division of the church into the Roman and Orthodox branches in 1054. Catholics followed leadership from Rome (the pope).

The Orthodox drew from Constantine's fourth century establishment of Constantinople as a major seat of church government, and tended to allow for national lines of church authority. Both Orthodoxy and Roman Catholic practitioners saw themselves as being in continuity with early church apostles. Orthodoxy however, sees no Middle Ages, Reformation or Counter-Reformation as part of its heritage.



Croatian and Slovene peoples accepted the Roman Catholic faith, Serbs and Montenegrins Orthodoxy.

In adopting Christianity, the Croats and Slovenes aligned themselves with other western European nations. However, their Catholic identity became only one of many national traits. Building on the ancient civilization established by Rome and being under the influence of western European nation-states, Croats and Slovenes increasingly defined themselves as a nation.



They experienced Europe's humanism, the renaissance, the age of enlightenment, romanticism, in addition to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Beautiful cities arose. Noted literary figures, philosophers and scientists contributed to a climate of learning and refined culture. Autonomy-- political, judicial, educational and cultural--developed throughout the Croatian and Slovene region.

### **b. Early Croatian history and leadership**

Croats migrated to the areas of the former Roman provinces of Panonia and Dalmatia. In 925, Pope John X crowned Tomislav (TOHM-ee-slahv) the first king of Croatia (910-928). The Croatian kingdom reached its peak in the 11th century, incorporating roughly the territory of present day Croatia and Bosnia/Herzegovina.

In 1091, King Laszlo (LAHZH-loh) of Hungary (Magyar kingdom), accepted a rulership offer from Croatian nobles contesting one of Tomislav's followers. This alliance protected Croatian lands from Venetian expansion along the Adriatic. In 1102, when Kalman was crowned king, a Croatian/Hungarian link was established which lasted until World War I. During the sixteenth century, this union served as a defense against impending Ottoman invaders.

**c. Initial Serbian history and leadership** Serbs originally settled in the area of today's southern Serbia, Montenegro and the Kosovo province. By the 14th century, Serbia established a large empire, including present day Albania, parts of Bosnia and Macedonia.

Stefan I Nemanja (neh-mahn-YAH) laid the foundations for medieval Serbia. His son, Stefan II (1196-1228) transformed Serbia into a stable state. The writings of Stefan II and his brother Sava (St. Sava "sav-ah") became some of the first works of Serbian literature.



St. Sava Nemanjich founded the Serbian Orthodox Church in the 1200s. This body, a repository of Serbian culture throughout history, maintained loyalties to Serbian kings and emperors from this date forward. St. Sava's tomb was in Milesevo (mee-LEHSH-eh-voh). (See p. 50 for more information).

From 1331-55, *"Serbia dominated the Balkans under Tzar Stefan Dusan (DOO-sahn), who conquered lands extending from Belgrade to present-day southern Greece. He proclaimed himself emperor, elevated the archbishop of Pec (pehtch) to the level of patriarch, and wrote a new legal code combining Byzantine law with Serbian customs."* (Library of Congress Country Studies--Yugoslavia, p. 17).

Under Bosnian king Ban Stefan Tvrtko I (teh-VEHRT-koh, 1353-91), who ruled briefly as King of Bosnia and Serbia, Bosnia became a formidable state.

### 3. Ottoman Domination

**a. Battle of Kosovo** The Ottomans, a group of nomadic Turkish peoples from Central Europe, made inroads into Europe during the 1300s.

On 28 June 1389, Serbian Prince Lazar led a multinational force into battle against the Turks at Kosovo Polje (KOH-soh-voh POHL-yeh), the "Field of the Black Birds." Turkish forces "captured and executed Lazar, and left the bodies of the Serbs to be eaten by carnivorous birds." (Chaplain [MAJ] Robert Harms, "A Commander's Guide to the Impact of Indigenous Religions on Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina," p. 5).



Though the Serbs were defeated, this battle--in a manner similar to Texan accounts of the Alamo--became a mystical uniting force in Serbian history. In the hearts of many Serbian peoples, the Kosovo region is like a "Serbian Jerusalem."

Recounting Kosovo, legend, tradition, fact and myth became one. "The Serbs endowed the battle with myths of honor and heroism that helped them preserve their dignity and sense of nationhood. Serbs still recite epic poems and sing songs about the nobles who fell at Kosovo Polje; the anniversary of the battle is the Serbian national holiday, Vidovdan (vee-dohv-dahn, St. Vitus Day)" (L. of C. Country Studies, Yugoslavia, p. 17).

One of these legends involves Saint Elijah who "appeared to Lazar at Kosovo and asked if he wanted a heavenly or earthly kingdom. Lazar chose the heavenly one, built a church at Kosovo, gave his soldiers the Eucharist, and then led seventy-seven thousand of them to their deaths. 'All was holy, all was honorable...'" (Harms, p. 6).

**b. Ottoman unification efforts** In time, Turkish domination extended to Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and Macedonia. Strong nationalist forces within these states often view the time of Ottoman rule as a period of "no history" due to repressive Ottoman policies.

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Croatia and Slovenia, in becoming part of the Hapsburg (Austria and Hungary) Empire, served to stop Ottoman advance into Europe.



One incident which fanned flames of revenge was the exhumation of St. Sava's body by Sinan Pasha on 27 April 1595. Pasha took the remains of the founder of Serbian Orthodoxy to Belgrade and burned them in an act of desecration.

Military historian George Gawrych argues that the impact of the Ottoman Turkish conquest on the Balkans was "not all bad. Ottoman rule initially brought law and order to the peninsula, creating a *Pax Ottomanicum* much like the peace Romans brought to their captured territories. Ottoman sultans established their empire on the basis of indirect rule and religious tolerance. The Orthodox Church enjoyed a measure of autonomy.

Christians and Jewish peoples were allowed to practice their faith, albeit as second-class citizens according to 20th century standards. But they did live under their own religious laws and traditions when it came to matters such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and death. In addition to institutionalizing religious tolerance, the first sultans reduced taxes and fostered economic development. Christian merchants thrived in international trade with Europe." ("Roots of Bosnian Realities," p. 81.)

Within Croatia, the western way of life and culture was developing and being refined. Beautiful cities and cathedrals arose. Literature was written and art thrived. Among the most beautiful examples...is the Croatian city of Dubrovnik. Always free and always spared destruction (until 1991), Dubrovnik provided one of the richest periods of Croatian national heritage in architecture, literature, the arts and sciences. (For a fuller account of Croatian cultural advance during this time, see Unit 9: Ethnic Groups).



**c. Bogomils** (boh-goh-meels) One of the by-products of Ottoman rule was the conversion of Bosnian peoples to Muslim belief. One of the groups who readily converted was the Bogomils. This religious faction was at the frontiers of Roman Catholic and Orthodox practice, being centered on the Theodosian Line, which intersected present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bogomils incorporated aspects of both Catholic and Orthodox faith. Persecutions followed, as Catholics and Orthodox branded the Bogomils as heretics. With the arrival of the Ottomans, many Bogomils, seeking freedom from persecution, embraced Islam.

**d. Counter-Reformation impact** In Croatia, as elsewhere in Europe, the Protestant Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century attracted interest. Counterreform efforts soon saw the reconversion of many of these same noble families to the Roman Catholic faith.



In 1609 the Sabor (an assembly of Croatian nobles) "voted to allow only the Catholic faith in Croatia. The Counterreformation enhanced the cultural development of Croatia."

Building upon a cultural heritage (literature, philosophy, language, architecture) already present...*"Jesuits founded schools and published grammars, a dictionary, and religious books that helped shape the Croatian literary language."* (L. of C. Country Study, Yugoslavia, p. 13.)

**e. Origins of the Serbian (south Slav) state** An 1804 Serbian revolt demanded reform of oppressive Muslim leaders. Russia, though distracted by the Napoleonic wars, gave sporadic support to the Serbian cause. A compromise resulted, eventually leading to Serbian "semiautonomous status" under the leader Milos Obrenovic (mee-losh oh-BREHN-oh-veech) in 1830. Full independence came in 1878.

## 4. First Bosnian Crisis

In 1875, peasants (primarily of Orthodox/Catholic persuasion) revolted against wealthy landowners (primarily Muslim). Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire, resulting in a piecemeal victory by the Ottomans. Russia stepped in to aid the Serbs, defeated the Ottomans and dictated terms of peace.



German statesman Otto von Bismarck convened the Berlin Congress of 1878 to deal with terms of peace. According to Dr. Gawrych ("Roots of Bosnian Realities," p. 82), long term results of this peace included

- Loss of Muslim population majority due to violence, migration, or battle casualties
- Rise of Orthodox Serbs to a majority position in Bosnia
- Rise of political consciousness of Muslim minority due to the necessity to compete within the Austro-Hungarian political process
- Austrian and Hungarian oversight of the region

## 5. Interwar period--The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

**a. Serbian centralism** *"The crucible of World War I resulted in the union of South Slavs in a single state...Serbia became the centerplace of this idea...Unification came after the Great War, with the Karadjordjevic (kah-rahd-yohrd-yeh-veetch) family providing a member for the throne...Croats, Slovenes, Muslims and others entered the union expecting equal partnership with the Serbs in a federal state."*

In 1929, Serbian King Aleksandar centralized administration, established a royal dictatorship, and changed the country's name to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

*"A burning issue since the creation of Yugoslavia [was] how much power sharing would take place between the Serbs and other nationalities. Had the war created a Greater Serbia with centralism in Serbs' hands or a true Yugoslavia with equal power sharing by all nationalities?..."*

*Serbian chauvinism won out during the Interwar period...The other nationalities grew frustrated with Serbian dominance, leading to the radicalization of politics...On the eve of World War II, tensions were high between Serbian and Croatian political activists."* (Gawrych, pp. 83, 84.)

**b. Croatian independence overtures** The vision of a free and independent Croatia grew from expressions early in her history. As the term *troplet* (culture, language and history) defined Croatian ethnic identity, so the establishment of an independent country would mark her national character. Writer Ante Starcevic (1823-1896), a Croatian leader of the Party of Rights, believed that Croatia had a future only as a fully independent country. Starcevic based his ideas on Croatia's historical right to be a free and sovereign state and on the ideals of the French Revolution. Many Croats see him as the "Father of the Homeland."

## 6. Second Crisis--World War II

Several different simultaneous conflicts took place in Yugoslavia during World War II, heightening tensions between ethnic groups and nationalities.



**a. Axis powers** In less than three weeks, the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan, often with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania) defeated the Yugoslavian army. Throughout the war period, irregular Axis forces continued warfare within Yugoslavia.

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*"To rule defeated Yugoslavia, the Axis Powers implemented a brutal 'divide and rule' policy. Axis troops razed villages and conducted summary executions in reprisal for attacks on their soldiers. Croatia became the most favored nation during the war...(Gawrych, p. 84).*

*[The Ustashe "OO-stash-ee"] was transformed into an...organization much like the Nazi party. Croatian fascists played on the theme of the Iranian, hence Aryan, origins of the Croat nation. Thus, World War II violence took on the character of religious and ethnic warfare, unprecedented in Balkan history. Croats and Serbs each talked of cleansing their lands of other nationalities, mainly through mass deportations. All sides performed summary executions, though in varying degrees." (Gawrych, pp. 84, 85).*

The 1941 - 1945 period of the Nazi puppet state (Independent State of Croatia) is a stain on the Croatian collective consciousness, recognized by most Croats. The Nazi policies of the Croatian puppet government and extremist Ustashe were rejected by a majority of Croats. Many Croats joined antifascist underground resistance groups.

In Zagreb alone, some 50,000 residents joined the Partisans. Aged writer and poet Vladimir Nazor, who had to be carried, being too weak to walk, united with this opposition in the woods and forests south of Zagreb.



Future Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, then an 18-year-old youth who rose to become general, enlisted as well. As President, Tudjman has "apologized formally and officially for Croatia's Ustashe regime" (see "Anti-Croatianism in America" by Texas A&M University Professor Stjepan Mestorvic, Zajednicar, 1 Feb 1995, p. 21).

Extreme Serbian nationalists organized the Chetnik resistance movement, focusing on establishment of a

Greater Serbia. Colonel Draza Mihailovich, a royalist officer who went underground after the German's overran Yugoslavia, led the Chetniks. His plan, formalized in a June 1941 document addressing a "Homogenous Serbia," called for a "'Greater Serbia' extending over present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo, Vojvodina, much of Croatia, and northern Albania." Seeing that the Serbs were in a minority state within most all these areas, "the strategy envisaged 'the cleansing of the lands of all non-Serb elements.'" (Norman Cigar, "The Serbo-Croatian War, 1991: Political and Military Dimensions," p. 299).

### b. Civil war--Ustashe versus Serb

**Ultrationalists** Fostered by the Axis creation of an independent Croatian state, which included current Bosnia and Herzegovina territory, Croat fascists fought ultranationalist Serbs. Though exact numbers vary, Serbian nationalists (as well as Croat/Bosniak peoples) lost a significant portion of their population due to forced conversions, ethnic cleansing or battle casualties.

### c. Civil War--Resistance Movements

Communist Josip Broz (YOH-sef BROHZ), later known as Marshal Tito, led Communist-dominated Partisans against Colonel Draza Mihailovic's (mee-hah-eel-oh-veetch) collaborating Chetniks (CHET-niks) who were loyal to the Karadjordjevic dynasty, exiled in London.



*"Best estimates place the number of Yugoslav deaths in World War II at one million; the majority of these were Yugoslavs killed by fellow Yugoslavs."*  
(Gawrych, p. 84.)

**7. Federal Yugoslavia** During World War II, leadership of Tito's Communist-dominated Partisans consisted of a cross section of ethnic and religious groups. Tito was Croatian. Party ideologue, Edvard Kardelj, was Slovene. The secret police chief was

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Serbian Aleksandar Rankovic. Montenegrin Milovan Djilas served as liaison to Stalin. Even Serb Orthodox priest Father Vlada Zechevich, left the Chetniks and "joined the Partisans, who were the only group fighting the Axis Powers." (Gawrych, p. 85.)

The Republics and Autonomous Regions of Communist Yugoslavia (1945-1991) "was organized into six federal republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, along with the autonomous region of Vojvodina (voi-voh-dee-nah) with less than a quarter Magyar population and the autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohiya with its Albanian majority (90 percent). Five nationalities were officially recognized: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians...

By the census of 1971, Tito's state permitted Bosnian Muslims to identify themselves as a separate nationality, Bosnian Muslim, as distinct from Bosnian Croats and Serbs...

When the state of Yugoslavia collapsed in 1991, each federal republic, with the exception of Bosnia, possessed a sizable ethnic majority to hold firmly onto the reigns of power." (Gawrych, p. 85.)



Under Marshal Tito's rule, all was not warm-hearted. Alex Dragnich, in his book entitled Serbs and Croats: The Struggle in Yugoslavia, gives a graphic account of repressive practices during the Federal era. Marxist-Leninist indoctrination systems intimidated villages and infiltrated schools. Power quest by Partisans legitimized employment of any tactic. No mercy was shown to individuals or organizations (churches).

*"In its initial years [Tito's rule] was fully as brutal as the Soviet or any other Communist revolution." Neighbors were pitted against neighbors if it served party interests. "Indeed, Tito's demolition of south Slav people's moral fiber may turn out to be his most enduring legacy." (pp. 129, 155).*

## 8. Third Crisis



**a. Communist collapse** When Communist ideology crumbled throughout much of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, visions of freedom, peace and prosperity captured the imaginations of people. In the resulting period of prolonged painful transition, many disappointments occurred. In the former Yugoslavia, often uncontrollable and conflicting nationalist ideologies replaced Communist thought and practice. *"Forces that communism had suppressed began to explode. Nationalism and religions [were] two key actors in the painful drama." (Peter Kuzmic, "On the way to peace in the Balkans," Christian Century, 21 Feb 1996, p. 200.)*

**b. Serbian Memorandum** Norman Cigar, Professor of National Security Studies at the U.S. Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting, Quantico, Virginia, points to the Serbian Memorandum as a "definable and traceable catalyst" to the recent Serbian and Croatian war. This document, drafted by leading Serbian intellectuals, was released by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1986. It outlined the traditional goal of a Greater Serbia. The *"establishment of the full national integrity of the Serbian people, regardless of which republic or province it inhabits is its historic and democratic right."*

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Slobodan Milosevic, a leader in the Serbian League of Communists, saw the Serbian nationalist aspirations outlined in the Manifesto as a means to replace the decaying Communist Yugoslavian regime. Using the nationalist theme as a means, Milosevic consolidated power within the Serbian League of Communists by December of 1987. By 1990, pro-Milosevic nationalists were in power in Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro.

His highly charged speech on 28 June 1989, marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, proclaiming *"The Serbs have always liberated themselves and, when they had the chance, also helped others to liberate themselves"* established an atmosphere for forcible expansionism which included all Serbian peoples (See *"The Serbo-Croatian War, 1991: Political and Military Dimensions*, pp. 301-303).

**c. Demise of tolerance** *"Bosnia was a logical choice for becoming the major battleground after the collapse of Yugoslavia, but not because of perpetual animosities among the various nationalities. To a greater degree than the rest of Yugoslavia, Bosnia had made progress as a pluralistic society...according to pre-civil war calculations, 30 to 40 percent of the marriages in urban areas had been mixed among the three major communities. As Yugoslavia began unraveling, Bosnians fell prey to the cycle of ethnic violence..."*



*Once the violence became widespread, individuals became infected by the ideology of chauvinistic nationalism. To survive, people had to find shelter within their own ethnic and religious communities... pluralism and tolerance surrendered to the passions inflamed by policies of ethnic cleansing." (Gawrych, pp. 85, 86.)*

**d. Slovenia and Croatia independence** In the summer of 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence from the Republic of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's Serbian dominated Federal Army (Yugoslav People's Army [Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija--JNA]) quickly moved into Slovenia. Mountainous terrain, strong Slovenian will to resist and sparse Serbian



populations as sources for local support resulted in a rout to Federal Army (JNA) forces.

In September, Federal forces moved against Croatian Territorial Defense Forces. Mobilizing reserves, and enlisting substantial amounts of the Serbian population in Croatia (in Serbian held enclaves called "Krajinas," [krah-yee-nahs]), the Federal Army (JNA) besieged eastern Croatian towns and began ethnic cleansing.

In September 1991, intense Serbian bombing hit Vukovar, a Croatian city some 50 km north north east of Brcko. In Vukovar, roughly a thousand Croat fighters, led by Mile Dedakovic, were blocking JNA advance into Slavonia. Shelling and bombing continued until the end of October, with hardly a building left standing. For the Croats, the "unexpectedly fierce defense of the town against overwhelming odds inspired hopeful...talk of a 'Croatian Stalingrad'" (Marcus Tanner, Croatia--A Nation Forged in War, p. 256).

Serbian nationalist militia forces, supported by the Milosevic government, were active within Croatia. Fueling long squelched passions, historically fanatical groups (Serbian Chetniks and Croatian Ustashe) surfaced.

The international community recognized an independent Slovenia and Croatia in early 1992. Clashes in areas of the Krajinas led to a cease-fire in the spring of 1992.

United Nations Protective Forces (UNPROFOR) deployed with 12 battalions and support elements to ensure the cease-fire was honored. Serbian irregular forces however--sometimes supported by conventional units--created havoc for UNPROFOR peacekeepers.



**e. Bosnia and Herzegovina unrest** "Bosnia and Herzegovina voted to secede from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in April, 1992, in a referendum boycotted by the Bosnian Serbs. Comprising approximately 33 percent of the pre-conflict population of Bosnia, the Serbs proclaimed their own 'Republika Srpska' (Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina), enlisted the vast majority of the ex-JNA in Bosnia into the Bosnian Serb Army, and seized control of more than 70 percent of the land.

Bosnian Croats, comprising 17 percent of the population, subsequently organized themselves as the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna and contested control of territory among the Serbs and Bosnian Muslims.

With 44 percent of the people, the Bosnian Muslims [were] represented by (and are dominant in) the recognized government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Vicious fighting, shifting alliance, widespread atrocities, and the techniques of 'ethnic cleansing'...combined to make hundreds of thousands of casualties, and millions of refugees and displaced persons" (Bosnia Country Handbook, Peace Implementation Force [IFOR], p. 4-4).

UNPROFOR peacekeepers entered Sarajevo, seeking to establish open channels for humanitarian aid. Insurgencies, shellings and humanitarian aid flights were disrupted by irregulars, plaguing the peacekeeper mission.

In May-June of 1995, Bosnian Serbs took UNPROFOR personnel hostage to prevent NATO airstrikes. By 30 August, NATO began massive bombings of Bosnian Serb military targets. After a successful Croatian-Bosnian Army offensive (Operation Storm) to liberate occupied territories, another cease-fire took effect (12 Oct 1995).



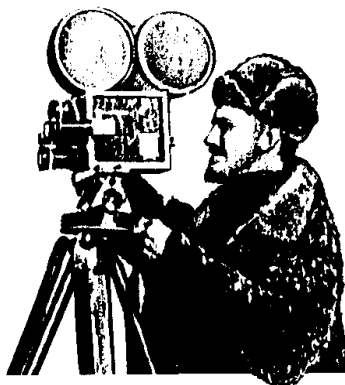
## 9. Dayton Agreement (Dayton Peace Accord)

On 21 Nov 1995, gathered Serb, Croat and Bosniak leaders at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio initialed the Dayton Peace Accord. Formally signed on 14 December in Paris, the General Framework agreement consists of

- all three signatories recognizing the other two
- each signatory respecting the sovereignty and equality of the others and settling disputes peacefully
- every party cooperating with all entities authorized to implement the peace settlement, and in investigating and prosecuting war crimes

Eleven annexes define specifics of the agreement.

**IFOR implementation** In late December, the United Nations Implementation Force (IFOR) deployed to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Headquartered in Sarajevo (sahr-ah-YAY-voh), IFOR is divided into three zones. French forces command the eastern sector from headquarters in Mostar. In Gornji Vakuf (gohrn-ye vahn-oof), some 14,000 United Kingdom forces cover western Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United States patrols north-northeast Bosnia and Herzegovina, being headquartered in Tuzla. Total U.S. troop strength approaches 20,000 personnel.



"Always find the good."

## Appendix: "Hotbuttons"

In their helpful book, The Complete Idiots Guide to The World's Religions, Brandon Toropov and Father Luke Buckles describe ways to easily alienate others. Their sixth point describes stomping "on toes that are already bruised." This identifies areas that are most sensitive, which arouse the greatest emotion-laden feelings and prohibit rational dialogue. This text advises, "...your best approach is probably to avoid sensitive--and overplayed--issues...make it clear that you're interested in human-to-human contact, not sparring and preconceptions" (p. 25).

In a similar fashion, awareness of the following issues, "hotbuttons" which carry much emotional attachment, will assist linguists in promoting dialogue rather than defensive posturing.

**1. Ultrationalist groups** Mere mention of Ustashe or Chetnik in discussions can stifle rational dialogue. Unintentional identification of "all or most" of Croats as Ustashe and Serbs as Chetniks during World War II is inaccurate, prejudicial and flames controversy. Many predictions and postulates of the resurgence of these groups carry similar emotion-laden feelings.

**2. Concentration camps** Because of the suffering incurred, and controversies surrounding who inflicted that suffering, mention of World War II concentration camps in the Bosnia and Herzegovina area can arouse controversy. Two such camps are:

**a. Jasenovac** (yah-sehn-oh-vac) Site of a World War II death camp. Both Serbs and Croats claim atrocities were done to their peoples here. The many memorials serve to fuel passionate nationalist consciousness for both sides.

According to Christopher Bennett's Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse--Causes, Course and Consequences, killing took place, though not along regulated Nazi lines. Beating, starvation and knives were the means. "The manner of death was grotesque, though the number

*of dead was far less than propagandists claim...85,000 people of all nationalities lost their lives at Jasenovac" (p. 46).*

Jasenovac is 60 km north-northwest of Banja Luka, on the Bosnian/Croatian border, near where the Una and Sava River's split.

**b. Banjica** (bah-yee-tsah) This concentration camp, located inside Belgrade, was divided into German and Serbian sections. According to Philip J. Cohen ("Holocaust History Misappropriated"), "at least 23,697 victims passed through the Serbian section of this camp" many being Jews, including at least 798 children. (Midstream, Nov 1992, p. 19).

**c. Bleiburg** (BLI-burg) On 15 May 1945 Croat NDH troops and refugees, attacked by Partisans as they attempted to cross into Austria at Bleiburg, surrendered to Allied forces. Packed into overcrowded trains, they rolled right back into Yugoslavia. Partisans hastily executed Croat and Slovene soldiers as they exited boxcar doors. Bodies ended in a quarry at Kochevje, a village on the Slovenian side of the frontier.

**3. Battle grounds** The following places--due to the military operations which took place--acquire a heightened sensitivity.

**a. Kosovo** In honor of the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo, a huge crowd, estimated at up to a million strong, gathered on the Gazimestan plain outside of Pristina. Prior to the anniversary, the Serbian Orthodox Church sponsored public interest by exhibiting the relics of Prince Lazar, who died in the Battle of Kosovo, at various monasteries throughout the region. Milosevic orchestrated an event designed to enable Serbian peoples to see themselves as once again a heavenly nation (nebeski narod "neh-behs-kee nah-rod"). In his anniversary speech, Milosevic declared, "Six centuries on [from 1389] again we are in battle and confronting battles. They are not armed, though that cannot yet be excluded..." (See Marcus Tanner, Croatia, a Nation Forged in War, p. 219).

**b. Vukovar** (Voo-ko-vahr) This town, some 50 kilometers north-northeast of Brcko, was critical to Slavonia's (eastern Croatia) defense. One thousand Croat fighters, in late summer 1991, led an obstinate defense of the city. It was bombed and shelled in a siege lasting some three months. The fierce Croatian defense, against numerically superior Serbian forces, inspired talk of its being a "Croatian Stalingrad." The cultural damage inflicted, where the heart of the town was destroyed beyond recognition, brought great sadness to many Croatian peoples. Included amongst the casualties were scores of patients and medical personnel from the Vukovar city hospital.

**c. Srebrenica** (sreh-breh-nee-tsah) In July 1995, this United Nations declared "safe area" in eastern Bosnia (some 70 kilometers east-northeast of Sarajevo) was overrun by Bosnian Serbs. As outnumbered Dutch peacekeepers stood by, thousands of women and children were expelled from the area. More than 7,000 Muslim men were trucked away to be brutally slaughtered. The Srebrenica issue surfaces again and again. A question raised is "did Dutch peacekeepers do enough to prevent its happening?" (See review of Endgame--The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica: Europe's Worst Massacre Since World War II, New York Times, 18 Aug 1997, p. B6).

**4. Estimates of World War II dead** Projections vary widely of the numbers killed during World War II, either by Chetniks, the Ustashe, in concentration camps, or by conventional forces. Accurate figures are hard to come by.

**5. Terminology** Descriptions of East Europeans as "postcommunist," "former members of the Warsaw pact," "former Soviet bloc countries," or even "former Yugoslavian country of..." can cause difficulty. Using the following correct identification of states within the Bosnia and Herzegovina region is helpful.

**a. Serbia and Montenegro** According to the 1998 CIA World Factbook, "Serbia and Montenegro has self-proclaimed itself the 'Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,' but the US view is that the Socialist

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) has dissolved and that none of the successor republics represents its continuation." Some confusion arises in naming this country the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) "The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) consists of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, who remained together after the secessions of the other Yugoslav republics in 1991-1992" (Bosnia Country Study, p. 4-7).

**b. Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

**(Bosnia and Herzegovina)** Included in this Republic are two entities, the Federation of Bosnia (a Muslim--Croat Federation) and Republika Srpska, the Bosnian Serb Republic (a self-proclaimed state of Bosnian Serbs).

**c. Republic of Croatia (Croatia)**

**d. Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

**(FYROM)** Formally recognized by the United States on 9 Feb 1994, this country has no conventional shortened form.

**e. Republic of Slovenia (Slovenia)**

## Vocabulary List: Historical Overview

**Axis Powers** German, Italian, Japanese and often Bulgarian, Hungarian and Rumanian forces which fought the Allies in World War II.

**Bogomils** (boh-goh-meels) Religious faction which incorporated aspects of Roman Catholic, Orthodox and heretical faith. These landowners, with the arrival of the Ottomans, readily converted to Islam. They form the heritage of the Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) today.

**Byzantine** The Eastern Roman Empire, centered in Constantinople, which flourished from 476 A.D. to 1453.

**Chetnik** (CHET-nik) Ultranationalist Serbian forces during World War II, often guilty of atrocities.

**Counter-Reformation** Reform which took place in the Catholic Church after the Protestant Reformation. The Counter Reformation did much to enhance cultural development in Croatia.

**Dayton Agreement (Dayton Peace Accord)** Serb, Croat and Bosniak leaders met at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio to iron out a peace accord for the Bosnian region. Formally signed on 14 Dec 1995 in Paris, the agreement formed the basis for an end to bloodshed in Bosnia.

**Great Schism** 1054 division of Roman Catholic and Orthodox Eastern Christian bodies. Catholics followed leadership from the Pope in Rome, Orthodox tended to allow for national lines or Constantinople to be the authoritative power base.

**Hapsburg Empire** Austrian empire

**IFOR** United Nations Implementation Force, deployed currently to keep the peace and ensure the Dayton Agreement is upheld.



**Kosovo Polje** (KOH-soh-voh POHL-yeh) The field, some 5 km west/southwest of current Pristina, where Serbian Prince Lazar lost a battle against the Ottoman Turks on 28 June 1389. The battle takes on a mythical legend similar to the Alamo for Texans.

**Krajinas** (krah-yee-nahs) Serbian held enclaves within Croatia. Originally Krajina was an administrative region during the Austria/Hungarian Empire. After 1831, jurisdiction once again returned to the Croatian Parliament. Serbian forces referred to Croatian areas they occupied as Krajinas (up to one third of Croatia). In 1995, Operation Storm liberated the region. Currently, the term Krajina may approach "hot button" status.

**Laszlo** (LAHZH-loh) King of Hungary (Magyars) who in 1091 accepted a rulership offer from Croatian nobles. This event linked a Croatian/Hungarian tie which lasted until World War I.

**Obrenovic, Milos** (oh-BREHN-oh-veech, mee-losh) Serbian leader who established Serbia in a semiautonomous state in 1830.

**Otto von Bismarck** German statesman who convened the Berlin Congress of 1878, establishing Austrian and Hungarian oversight in the Balkan region.

**St. Sava Nemanjich** Son of Stefan I. Founded the Serbian Orthodox Church in the 1200s. His tomb was in Milesevo (mee-LEHSH-eh-voh).

**Stefan I Nemanja** (neh-mahn-YAH) Noble who laid the foundations for the medieval Serbian state in the 12th century.

**Theodosius** Roman emperor who died in 395 A.D. Prior to his death, he divided the empire in half between his two sons. The dividing line ran through the Balkan region. Its influence continues to this day.

**Tito, Josip Broz** (YOH-sef BROHZ) Marshal who led Federal Yugoslavia after World War II until his death in 1980.

**Tomislav** (TOHM-ee-slahv) First king of Croatia (910-928).

**UNPROFOR** United Nations Protective Forces called to implement a cease-fire in the former Yugoslavia during the spring of 1992.

**Ustashe** (OO-stash-ee) Croatian fascists who patterned themselves after the Nazis during World War II. Many Croats fought against the Ustashi.

## Review Quiz: Historical Overview



**Part 1--Multiple Choice** Place the letter of the most correct answer in the blank provided.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ The impact of the Roman empire on the Balkan region was  
a. marginal.  
b. significant.  
c. unknown.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ The Theodosian Line of A.D. 395  
a. segmented the Balkans into east/west divisions.  
b. ran roughly between present day Italy and Slovenia.  
c. was an early invented string used for trout fishing in the Dinaric Alps.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Early Serb and Croat tribes who migrated to the Balkan region in the sixth and seventh centuries  
a. came from widely differing ethnic stock.  
b. came from the same Slavic ethnic background.  
c. possess an unknown ethnic history.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ As a result of the Great Schism of 1054, Serbian and Montenegrin peoples inclined to \_\_\_\_\_ Christianity.  
a. Roman Catholic  
b. Orthodox  
c. Pentecostal
5. \_\_\_\_\_ The first medieval Croatian king was  
a. Laszlo.  
b. Tomislav.  
c. Wenceslaus.

## Unit 2: Historical Overview

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6. \_\_\_\_\_ Some of the first works of Serbian literature came from
- military accounts of pre-Balkan struggles with the Magyars.
  - writings of Stefan II and his brother St. Sava Nemanjich.
  - Stefan Dusaus' Language Institute in Sarajevo.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ The institution which has remained a "repository of Serbian culture throughout history" is the
- Yugoslavian Federal Army.
  - Serbian Orthodox Church.
  - Roman Catholic Church.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ The impact on Serbian culture of the battle of Kosovo is
- minimal.
  - great--arguably the most significant historical event in Serbian history.
  - forgotten in the present crisis.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ One result of the Ottoman domination in the Balkans was that Croatia and Slovenia
- became united as an independent federal state.
  - became parts of the Hapsburg (Austria and Hungaria) Empire.
  - united together, aided by Russian diplomacy.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Centuries of Ottoman rule in the Balkans was
- oppressive and stifling for all non-Muslim peoples.
  - not all bad- much tolerance and self-determination was allowed.
  - not influential in fostering Muslim conversions.
11. \_\_\_\_\_ The Croatian extremist \_\_\_\_\_ movement began during the interwar period prior to WW II.
- Chetnik
  - Nazi
  - Ustashe

12. \_\_\_\_\_ How long did it take the Axis powers to defeat the Yugoslav army in WW II?

- a. 3 years
- b. 3 months
- c. 3 weeks

13. \_\_\_\_\_ Which state received most favored nation status by the Axis forces in WWII?

- a. Serbia
- b. Albania
- c. Croatia

14. \_\_\_\_\_ The one million Yugoslav deaths during WWII were inflicted by \_\_\_\_\_.

- a. Nazis
- b. Fascists
- c. fellow Yugoslavs

15. \_\_\_\_\_ Under Tito's rule

- a. all was calm, all was quiet.
- b. repressive practices occurred, especially in the early years.
- c. all churches received state support and blessing.

16. \_\_\_\_\_ After the Communist collapse, nationalism and \_\_\_\_\_ became key actors in the resulting ethnic strife.

- a. pluralism
- b. religion
- c. unionism

17. \_\_\_\_\_ Ultranationalist Serbian forces during World War II, called \_\_\_\_\_, were often guilty of atrocities.

- a. Nazis
- b. Chetniks
- c. the KGB

## Unit 2: Historical Overview

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18. \_\_\_\_\_ In 1992, \_\_\_\_\_ forces, sometimes supported by federal units, created havoc for UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Forces) in Bosnia.

- a. irregular
- b. mujahideen
- c. diplomatic

19. \_\_\_\_\_ The general framework agreements of the \_\_\_\_\_ included an agreement wherein every party cooperates in the investigation and prosecution of war crimes.

- a. Dayton Peace Accord
- b. UN General Charter
- c. Yugoslav Inferno settlement

20. \_\_\_\_\_ The United States' section of the IFOR (UN Implementation Force) deployment is in \_\_\_\_\_ Bosnia-Herzegovina.

- a. eastern
- b. western
- c. north-northeast

**Part 2--True/False** Place a T or an F in the blank provided.

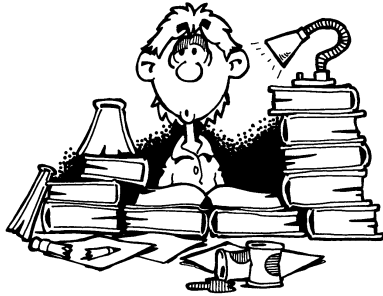


1. \_\_\_\_\_ The statement "in the current Bosnian conflict, no one side is completely innocent" best describes current realities.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Over the centuries, Balkan peoples have consistently hated each other.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ According to credible scholars, "the Croats and the Serbs have cooperated more and fought less in their history than most other contiguous nations of central and eastern Europe."
4. \_\_\_\_\_ The Great Schism of 1054 arose because of Bosnian Muslim and Serbian ethnic differences.

## Unit 2: Historical Overview

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5. \_\_\_\_\_ Serbian forces soundly defeated the invading Ottomans at Kosovo Polje 28 June 1389.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ In a manner similar to the Alamo, the Battle of Kosovo became a mystical uniting force for Serbian peoples.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ One result of the Counter-Reformation was Croatian cultural development expansion.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ German statesman Otto von Bismark's Berlin Congress of 1878 helped settle the first Bosnia Crisis and fostered Austrian and Hungarian oversight in the region.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ During WWII, several different conflicts took place simultaneously in Yugoslavia.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Marshal Tito's Communist party leadership drew primarily from Croatian ethnic sources.



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## Resources for Further Study-- Historical Overview



### 1. Articles

Associated Press. "Argentina Expels Croat in World War II Crimes." New York Times, 18 Jun 98, p. A-14.

"The former commander of Croatia's largest concentration camp, Dinko Sakic, was extradited from Argentina today, bound for his homeland to face accusations of committing atrocities during World War II."

Bernstein, Richard. "Take Force, Add Envoys and 'Fudge,' Then Stir." New York Times, 20 May 98.

Review of book by Richard Holbrooke To End a War.  
"Yugoslavia's tragedy was not foreordained. It was the product of bad, even criminal, political leaders who encouraged ethnic confrontation for personal, political, and financial gain" says Holbrooke.

Binder, David. "Gojko Susak, Defense Minister of Croatia, Is Dead at 53." New York Times, 5 May 1998, p. A25.

Obituary of "Defense Minister Gojko Susak of Croatia, who went from running a pizzeria in Ottawa to playing a vital role in the Croatian war of independence from Yugoslavia in the 1990's..."

Brkovic, Jevrem and others. "The Case Against Serbia--Again." Wall Street Journal.

Account by ten scholars to "remind the West, again, that it values pluralism and therefore must not give in to Serbian demands for ethnic partition."

Christian, Nichole E. "Finding a Place for War in the Classroom." New York Times, 12 Jun 98, p. A-21.

"Children of Balkan immigrants are some of the fastest-growing groups to come into the schools of New York. From classrooms to the lunchroom, in drawings and in essays, these children recount stories of death and destruction in the former Yugoslavia."

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Cigar, Norman. "The Serbo-Croatian War, 1991: Political and Military Dimensions." The Journal of Strategic Studies, Sep 1993, pp. 297-338.

Coffin, Charles E. "U.S. Must Lead Way in Balkans, Croat envoy says." Monterey County Herald, 21 Jan 98, p. A-10.

"The United States must continue in a lead role. No organization in the world, except one led by the United States, has the credibility or the military might to make the peace succeed."

Cohen, Philip. "Holocaust History Misappropriated." Midstream, Nov 1992, pp. 18-20.

Cohen, Roger. "Yes, Blood Stains the Balkans. No, It's Not Just Fate." New York Times, 4 October 1998, p. 4-1.

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Colic, Drazhen Vukov. "Hatred Aimed at Stepinac." Croatia Weekly, 29 May 1998.

Cviic, Christopher. "Croatia's Violent Birth." Current History, Nov 1993, pp. 370-375.

Djilas, Aleksa. "Phantoms of Hatred." New York Times Book Review, 27 September 1998, p. 8.

Roger Cohen, a reporter who covered the Bosnian war from 1992-95 for the New York Times, has written a book, Sagas of Sarajevo, detailing the causes of the current state of affairs in the Balkans, and showing that the current situation could have been prevented.

Erlanger, Steven. "Albright in Bosnia Urging More Reconciliation Efforts." New York Times, 31 August 1998, p. A3.

Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright visited Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina to try to make the still artificial and bitterly divided Bosnia closer to the multi-ethnic democracy envisioned in the Dayton Accords.

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Gordon, Michael K. "Russia Scolds U.S. General Over NATO Air Exercises." New York Times, 16 Jun 98, p. A-6.

"There is tension between Russia and the West on Balkan policy. In a blunt dressing down, Russia's Defense Minister told the top United States military commander that Moscow had been misled over the timing of NATO's air exercises in the Balkans."

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Explanation how suspected war criminal Radovan Karadzic readies a defense for the war crimes tribunal in The Hague while continually hiding from NATO peacekeepers in the region.

Hedges, Chris. "In Bosnia's Schools, 3 Ways Never to Learn From History." New York Times, 25 Nov. 1997, p. A1.

Description of current education system in Bosnia. Segregated classrooms by ethnic group and revisionist history tends to aggravate racism within Serbian, Croatian and Muslim factions.

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Narrative of arrest of suspected World War II Jasenovac concentration camp commander Dinko Sakic by Argentine police, 30 April 1998. "The Croatian Government, bowing to heavy pressure from Western governments and Jewish organizations, asked Argentina to extradite Mr. Sakic for a trial here [Zagreb] and Argentina has said it will do so quickly."

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NATO forces in Bosnia and Croatia are needlessly paying millions of dollars in rent that is winding up in the coffers of the governing political parties, say financial experts who have studied the two governments.

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The lawyer of Milan Kovacevic, who died in a cell while being tried by the United Nations war crimes tribunal in the Hague, said that Milan Kovacevic bled to death because he did not get proper medical care.

Simons, Marlise. "First Genocide Trial of a Bosnian Serb Opens in The Hague." New York Times, 7 July 1998, p. A3.

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Report of 76 year old Dinko Sakic, a Croatian who "lived undetected in Argentina for 51 years until he admitted in a television interview on Monday (5 April 1998) that he ran the Jasenovac camp."

Stanley, Alessandra. "Pope Asks World Effort for Balkan Victims." New York Times, 5 October 1998, p. A8.

At a seaside mass in Split, Croatia, Pope John Paul II called for reconciliation and urged the world to do more for the victims of the Balkan war.

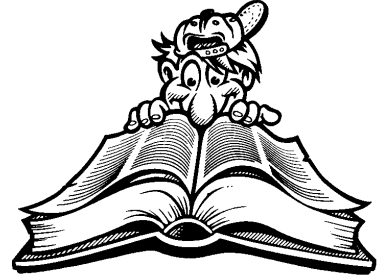
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Pope John Paul II beatified the World War II archbishop of Zagreb, Cardinal Stepinac. Cardinal Stepinac is a national hero to millions of Roman Catholic Croats, but is viewed by Orthodox Serbs as a wartime sympathizer with the pro-Nazi puppet regime that killed tens of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

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## 2. Books



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The author is a British war correspondent who was stationed in the former Yugoslavia from June 1991 - Sept 1992. His interest in Yugoslavia stems from his mother who was born and brought up in Slovenia. This text is a history of Yugoslavia based on English, Slovene and Serbian and Croatian sources, originally read as part of an undergraduate history course at London University. The author's thesis works from the premise that "the key events in Yugoslavia's disintegration took place not in the distant past, or in the Second World War, or even during Tito's rule, but in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war.

*It is a tale not of 'ancient hatreds', centuries of ethnic strife and inevitable conflict, but of very modern nationalist hysteria which was deliberately generated in the media. Indeed, Yugoslavia's disintegration is largely a testimony to the power of the media in the modern world" (p. viii).*

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Cigar, Norman: Genocide in Bosnia--The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1995.

Cohen, Philip J. Serbia's Secret War. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1996.

A treatment of Serbian fascism during the interwar period, World War II and afterward. The author, a medical doctor by training, argues that Serbian politicians, propagandists and revisionist historians have rewritten the World War II Holocaust record. Such propaganda, contends Cohen, portrays Serbs not as Nazi collaborators in genocide, but as victims of the same atrocities as Jewish peoples. The author, in a well documented text, attempts to set the record straight.

Cohen, Philip. Serbia's Secret War. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Press.

Emmert, Thomas A. Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo, 1389. New York: Columbia University Press, Eastern European Monographs: 1990.

Chaplain Harms writes, "...absolutely fascinating...an excellent case study in how religion, history, and legend can come together with synergistic effect to fuel the present-day tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina." ('A Commander's Guide,' p. 11.)

Gutman, Roy. A Witness to Genocide. NY: MacMillan, 1993.

Kaplan, Robert. Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Recommended by the State Department's Overseas Briefing Center. The prologue and first two chapters focus on Bosnia and Herzegovina. The author tends to present an unchangeable picture of the continuous, long-term struggle between various ethnic and religious factions.

Kennen, George. The Other Balkan Wars. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Klemenic, Mladen. A Concise Atlas of the Republic of Croatia and of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Zagreb: Miroslav Krleza Lexicographical Institute, 1993.

An outstanding atlas with maps, charts, history and index.

## Unit 2: Historical Overview

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Macan, Trpimir and Josip Sentija. A Short History of Croatia. Zagreb: Croatian Writer's Association, 1992.

This compact history, comprising 150 pages, includes many pictures but no footnotes. It call for support for Croatia in the current Yugoslav conflict. The text is "financially supported by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Croatia and the City of Zagreb."

Malcolm, Noel. Bosnia--A Short History. NY: New York University Press, 1994.

McAdams, C. Michael. Croatia: Myth and Reality--The Final Chapter. Arcadia, Calif: Croatian Information Service Monographs, 1997.

The author, director of the University of San Francisco's Sacramento campus, addresses 15 different controversial myths concerning Croatian, Serbian and Bosniak realities.

Mestrovic, Stjepan G. Habits of the Balkan Heart--Social Character and the Fall of Communism. College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press.

Mestrovic, Stjepan G. and Thomas Cushman. This Time We Knew--Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia. NY: New York University Press, 1996.

Pavlowitch, Stevan K. The Improbable Survivor: Yugoslavia and Its Problems 1918-1988. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988.

According to Chaplain Harms, Pavlowitch "dedicates an entire chapter on religion...He offers an especially good discussion of the role of religion during and in the aftermath of the Tito regime." ("A Commander's Guide," p. 11.)

Penguin Atlas of World History. Historical Maps of Croatia. Zagreb: Croatian Information Center, ISBN 0-919817-21-1.

Stillman, Edmund. Life World Library--The Balkans. New York: Time Incorporated, 1964.

Though dated, this book is valuable for its historical pictures--Archbishop Stepinac, Marshal Tito, Draza Mihailovic, and others.

Tanner, Marcus. Croatia, a Nation Forged in War. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1997.

Thompson, Mark. A Paper House: The Ending of Yugoslavia. New York: Pantheon, 1992.

An "up-close and personal view of history which cuts through the sterility of the political science approach" (Chaplain Harms, "A Commander's Guide," p. 11.)



"Success in combat--and in life--has always demanded a depth of character. Those who can reach deep inside themselves--and draw upon an inner strength, fortified by strong values, always carry the day against those of lesser character.

Moral cowards never win in war--or in life. They might believe that they are winning a few battles here and there, but their victories are never sweet--they never stand the test of time--and they never inspire others."

Draft Remarks, General Charles C. Krulak, 2 March 1998

