

## Unit 12b: Country Area Studies-Bosnia and Herzegovina

### Objectives

At the end of this unit you will

### Be aware of the following

- Overall implications of the Dayton Peace Accords
- Two entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Bosniak and Croat composition of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Property disputes as a focus for ethnic discrimination incidents
- Freedom of the press (print, TV or radio) is not a routine matter in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

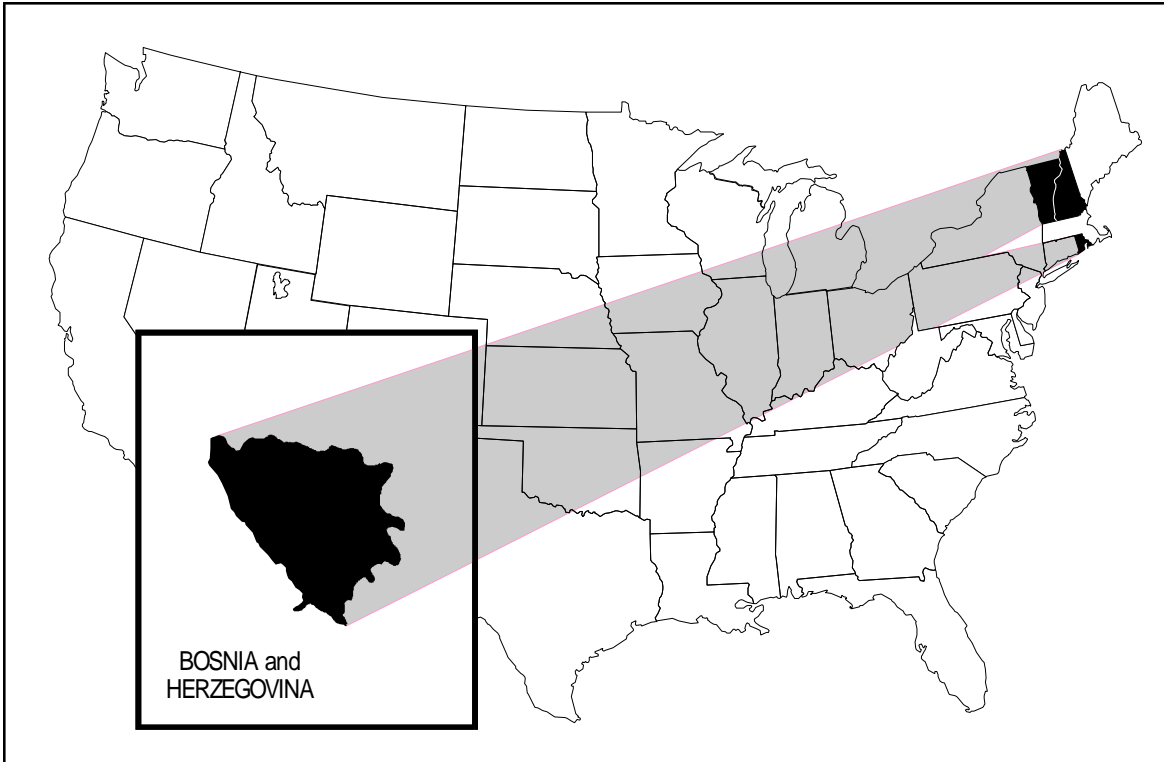
### Identify

- Presidents Izetbegovic, Tudjman, Milosevic
- Republika Srpska
- IFOR
- SFOR
- Banja Luka
- Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Radovan Karadzic
- OSCE
- OHR
- Serb Democratic Party

### Realize

- Split administrative and political system of the Republika Srpska
- Interfaith Council activities occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Close alliance of ethnic and religious ties in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Male-dominated nature of Bosnia and Herzegovina's society
- Cultural disaster caused by destruction of Bosnia's libraries

## Bosnia and Herzegovina (BOZ-nee-ah / her-tsay-goh-VEE-nah)



Local long form: Republika Bosnia i Hercegovina; short form: Bosnia i Hercegovina.

<u>Population</u>	2,656,240
% under 15 years	20%
<u>Commo</u>	
TV	1:2.5
Radio	1:4
Phone	1:5
Newspaper	unknown
<u>Health</u>	
Life Expectancy	51 male 61 female
Hospitals	1:217
Doctors	1:711
IMR	43:1000
<u>Income</u>	\$300 per capita
<u>Literacy Rate</u>	86%

## Overview

*"On 21 Nov 1995, in Dayton, Ohio, the former Yugoslavia's three warring parties signed a peace agreement that brought to a halt over three years of interethnic civil strife..."*

*The Dayton Agreement, signed by Bosnian President Izetbegovic, Croatian President Tudjman, and Serbian President Milosevic, divided Bosnia and Herzegovina roughly equally between the Muslim/Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serbs while maintaining Bosnia's currently recognized borders.*

*An international peacekeeping force (IFOR) of 60,000 troops began to enter Bosnia in late 1995 to implement and monitor the military aspects of the agreement...[changed to stabilization force (SFOR) one year later]...*

*The Bosnian conflict began in the spring of 1992 when the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina held a referendum on independence and the Bosnian Serbs--supported by neighboring Serbia--responded with armed resistance aimed at partitioning the republic along ethnic lines and joining Serb-held area to form a 'greater Serbia.'*



*In March 1994, Bosnia's Muslims and Croats reduced the number of warring factions from three to two by signing an agreement in Washington creating their joint Muslim/Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina" (CIA Factbook--1997).*

*"The Agreement [Dayton Accords] also provided for two constituent entities within the state: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Federation) and the Republika Srpska (RS).*

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*The Federation, which incorporates the areas with a Bosniak (MUSLIM) and Croat majority, occupies 51 per cent of the territory; the RS, populated mostly by Bosnian Serbs, occupies 49 per cent...Defense remains under the control of the respective entities.*

*In 1997 the three members of the joint presidency agreed on legislation establishing a number of key common institutions, including laws on the central bank, the budget, and customs...*



*One of the two entities that make up Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was established in March 1994 and transformed the internal structure of the Bosnian territories under Bosniak and Croat control. It is a mixed system with a president and a parliament that must approve the president's choice of prime minister. Federation structures have been implemented only gradually.*

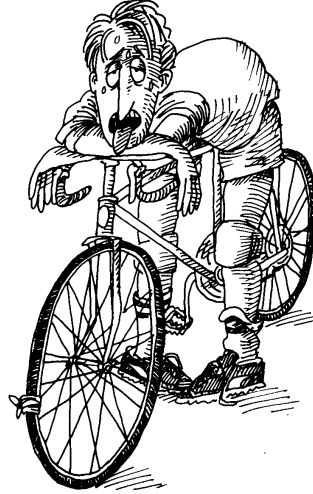
*Major steps were the creation of provincial structures in the form of cantons, the unification of Sarajevo under Federation control, and Sep 1996 elections to a Federation parliament. The obstacles to establishing a new, unified city administration in the ethnically bifurcated city of Mostar illustrate the difficulty of melding Bosniak and Croat institutions.*

*The Republika Srpska of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the other entity. Its administrative and political system is split, with Banja Luka as the seat of the RS president, and a powerful group around former Serb leader Radovan Karadzic located in Pale near Sarajevo.*

*A president and two vice presidents are directly elected for 4-year terms. The legislative branch, the National Assembly, is elected on the basis of proportional representation. The dominant political party, the SDS [Serb Democratic Party], headquartered in Pale, however, exercised real control. Until the summer, the party ensured conformity among local authorities in many areas of the RS and used its authority to ensure adherence to nationalistic positions" (1997 Human Rights Report, U.S. Department of State).*

## 1. Religious Groups

- a. Muslim (40%)
- b. Orthodox (31%)
- c. Catholic (15%)
- d. Protestant (4%)
- e. Other (10%)



**f. Freedom of Religion (1997)** *"The Constitution provides for freedom of religion, including private and public worship, and in the Federation the authorities rarely interfered.*

*In general, individuals in their ethnic majority areas, who constitute the great majority of the population, enjoyed unfettered freedom of religion. However, there were some incidents that resulted in damage to religious edifices and cemeteries.*

**Religious Sites** *In the RS, authorities repeatedly rejected efforts by minorities to visit religious sites and graveyards in their previous areas of residence, and international representatives had to negotiate on a case-by-case basis with authorities for the few such visits that did take place. In February Bosnian-Croat police fired at retreating Muslims visiting a graveyard in West Mostar.*

**Worship Centers** *Several Roman Catholic churches were vandalized or damaged by explosives in February, apparently in retaliation for the attack against Muslims in a West Mostar graveyard in which Bosnian-Croat police participated. Another was bombed in Sarajevo in October. None of the mosques in the RS destroyed during the war have been rebuilt or repaired.*

**Papal Visit** *During his April visit to Sarajevo, the Pope stressed the importance of reconciliation among religious and ethnic groups. About 45,000 Croat Catholics traveled to*

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*Sarajevo for the visit, despite some Bosnian Serbs' threats to block passage across RS territory or to charge transit fees. In advance of the Pope's arrival, Federation police found explosive devices placed along the route from the airport.*

**Muslim discrimination** *In Herzegovina, Muslims felt pressure not to practice their religion in public. Several incidents of vandalism occurred against Muslim religious objects in general, as well as two attacks on the Tomislavgrad mosque.*

**Pressured minorities** *Throughout the country, religious minorities felt pressure by the ethnic/religious majority.*

*On the positive side, after 2 days of talks in Vienna in early June, the country's main religious leaders created an Interfaith Council composed of the four religious communities: Muslim, Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Jewish.*



*The agreement contained specific short-term and long-term objectives, including encouraging freedom of movement, facilitating the return of refugees, and investigating human rights violations. The OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] and the OHR [Office of High Representative--to oversee civilian implementation of Dayton Accords] facilitated many interfaith meetings at the local level as well" (Human Rights Report--1997, U.S. Department of State).*

**U.S. Government actions:** *"U.S. Government officials have met with leading figures and have encouraged and sought to facilitate inter-faith initiatives to promote reconciliation. The United States is working constantly for reconciliation among all parties to the conflict and a lasting settlement that ensures that human rights are respected, including religious freedom" (Report of Religious Freedom: Focus on Christians, U.S. Department of State, 970722).*

## 2. Ethnic/Racial Groups

- a. Serb (40%)
- b. Bosniak (Muslim--38%)
- c. Croat (22%)
- d. Overview

"Ethnic differences -- based on religious differences -- were at the heart of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After family ties, ethnic identity remains the most powerful social force in the country.

*Some leaders of both the SDS and HDZ parties have expressed support for the concepts of a "Greater Serbia" and a "Greater Croatia", even after having agreed in the Dayton Accords framework to abandon them. These parties, and to a lesser extent the primarily Bosniak SDA as well, have sought to manipulate the movement of people and the access to housing and social services they control to ensure that the ethnic groups with which they are associated consolidate their position in their respective geographic regions.*



*In certain areas, such as Sarajevo and Tuzla, mixed communities exist peacefully, but frequent instances of harassment and discrimination against minorities continue throughout the country. These include desecration of graves, damage to houses of worship, tossing of grenades into residential areas, harassment, threats, and assaults.*

*Incidents of ethnic discrimination often center on property disputes.*

*An RS law on abandoned property permits the return of such property to the original owner only if any subsequent*

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occupant willingly departs. This is unlikely given the lack of adequate alternative dwellings.

In a number of areas, local authorities refused to accept returning ethnic minorities until members of their own group had been permitted to return to their homes outside the region, in effect blocking the return of refugees to all of the areas involved. Bosnian Serb and Croat political leaders discouraged displaced persons within their groups from returning to areas where they would be in the minority, and encouraged people to migrate to areas where they would be in the majority.



In contrast, Bosniak authorities appear tacitly to support some resettlement efforts in "strategic" areas of the Federation, including by persons new to those areas.

In some cases, opponents of refugee returns employed violence, including sporadic house burnings and orchestrated demonstrations. In July a group of women displaced from Srebrenica attacked a Serb visiting a grave in the Visoko area and beat him to death; on August 1, a crowd of about 50 to 100 women mobbed the municipal building in the Sarajevo suburb of Vogosca, terrorizing a small group of Serbs visiting to discuss their return. Both the Serbs and Bosniak officials had to be evacuated under heavy police protection. The latter incident, like the house burnings, appeared to be orchestrated by extremist political elements.

In Bosnian Croat areas, the homes of intending returnees were burned in Drvar and Jajce; one Bosniak man was found dead after the violence in Jajce.

**Police** According to Federation ombudsmen, human rights violations based on ethnic origin, which occurred early in the year, were facilitated by the continued existence of two ethnically pure police forces. By year's end, 6 of the 10 Federation cantons had integrated their police force with officers from the various ethnic groups and were conducting multiethnic patrols (there are currently insufficient numbers of police of some ethnic groups in some cantons, but their slots in the forces are being left open until police of the appropriate ethnic group can be recruited to fill them)."



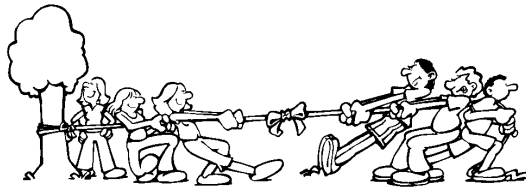
**e. Media** *"Party-controlled media--particularly Croatian State Radio and Television--are the only electronic media available to the vast majority of citizens in Croat-majority areas of the Federation.*



**Croat** *Croat-controlled areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina are covered by Croatian state television. Its news programs and editorials frequently criticize the Dayton Accords. HTV weather maps show the Federation as part of Croatia, and coverage of Bosnian events often leaves the impression that the scene pictured was actually in Croatia. The HTV station in Mostar refused to issue an OSCE-mandated apology for inaccurate and inflammatory broadcasting, resulting in the resignation of the editor (in an attempt to avoid more radical measures by the Office of the High Representative)...*

**Muslim** *Radio broadcasting in the Muslim-majority areas of the Federation--particularly in Sarajevo, Zenica, and Tuzla--is diverse, and opposition viewpoints are reflected in the news programs of independent broadcasters" (Human Rights Report--1997).*

### 3. Languages Serbian and Croatian--99%



**4. Gender Issues** *"In the Dayton Accords the parties agreed to reject discrimination on such grounds as sex, race, color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, or association with a national minority. There were nevertheless many cases of discrimination."*

**a. Equality** *"There is little legal or social discrimination against women, and women hold a few of the most responsible positions in society, including judges, doctors, and professors. A woman heads Bosnia radio and television."*



*In general, however, male-dominated societies remain in all of the entities, with few women in positions of real economic power. Women are entitled to 12 months' maternity leave and are required to work no more than 4 hours per day until a child is 3 years old. A woman with underage children may not be forced to do shift work."*

**b. Domestic Violence** *"Accurate statistics on violence against women, spouse abuse, rape etc., are not available. Anecdotal evidence is of limited use, since reporting patterns vary widely."*

*Compared to the war years, when violence against women was frequent and occasionally used as a weapon of war, the situation has improved dramatically. Throughout the country, rape or violent abuse are again considered criminal offenses. However, domestic violence is not usually reported to the authorities.*

## 5. Conflicts

**a. International disputes:** None

**b. Police** *"Human rights abuses by the police declined in 1997, but serious problems persist. Police continued to commit abuses throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Police and mobs that appeared organized by local authorities committed a few extrajudicial killings...Member of the security forces abused and physically mistreated citizens. They also continued to use arbitrary arrest and detention, although to a lesser extent than during the previous year..."*

*Stabilization Force (SFOR) supervision of police produced a number of improvements, such as the dismantlement of virtually all fixed police checkpoints, which greatly enhanced freedom of movement."*

**6. Holidays/Observances** National holidays are not yet available. See Unit 6 on Holidays and Observances for religious celebrations.

**7. Customs** See Unit 5, Gestures and Taboos

## 8. Cultural Literacy Concepts/Terms

**Libraries** One of the tragedies of the recent war is libraries. Ethnic nationalists burned and bombed these institutions, hoping to erase records of the common heritage shared by Muslim, Croat and Serb cultures since the 16th century. Some of the casualties: 5,263 bound manuscripts and 200,000 documents from five centuries of Bosnian scholarship; 50,000 rare volumes from Mostar's Roman Catholic bishop; half of Sarajevo's municipal library.



Under the leadership of Mr. Andras Riedlmayer of Harvard University, microfiche, photocopies and reduplication efforts now exist to help reconstitute these destroyed collections. The Ingathering Project ([www.applicom.com/manu/ingather.htm](http://www.applicom.com/manu/ingather.htm)) continues to look for donations and additions. (See Len S. Costa, "The Libraries: Another Kind of War Victim," New York Times, 13 June 1998, p. A-15).



"Appreciate your accomplishments."

## Vocabulary List: Country Area Studies-- Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina** One of two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Federation incorporates areas with a Bosniak and Croat majority, comprising some 51 percent of the territory.

**International Peacekeeping Force (IFOR)** 60,000 military personnel who initially entered Bosnia in 1995 to implement the Dayton Accords. After one year, IFOR changed to SFOR (Stabilization Force).

**Karadzic, Radovan** (KAHR-ah-jeech, rah-DOH-vahn) Former Serb leader, indicted for war crimes, who continues to exert a political influence in the RS.

**OHR** Office of High Representative who oversees civilian implementation of the Dayton Accords

**OSCE** Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Currently, from headquarters in Sarajevo, this organization monitors voting procedures, supervises elections, fosters a free press in the region, encourages stabilization and watches human rights issues.

**Republika Srpska (RS)** One of two major entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. RS incorporates some 49 per cent of the territory and is made up primarily of Serbs.

**Stabilization Force (SFOR)** Term given to the 60,000 military personnel who stayed in Bosnia after the initial year (Dec 1996 onward) to implement the Dayton Accords. Replaces IFOR.

## Review Quiz: Country Studies--Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Part 1: True/False** Place a T or an F in the blank provided.



1. \_\_\_\_\_ Currently, interfaith meetings for dialogue and fulfilling short and long-term objectives occur within Bosnia and Herzegovina.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ According to the US State Department's Human Rights Report (1997), ethnic differences were at the heart of the recent war.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Currently, in Sarajevo and Tuzla, mixed ethnic communities exist relatively peacefully together.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Recent integration of police forces, to reduce ethnic violence, is currently taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ Women are entitled to 3 weeks maternity leave and are required to work no more than 7 hour days until their child is 3 years old.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ In general, freedom of religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina today is found only in isolated, limited regions.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ In Bosnia and Herzegovina today, incidents of discrimination often center on property rights.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, television and radio media in the Muslim-majority areas are most diverse and inclusive of opposition viewpoints.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ The general trend is for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be male dominated.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ About 45,000 Croat Catholics traveled to Sarajevo for the Pope's April 1997 visit.

**Part 2: Fill in the Blanks** Fill in the blanks with the most correct word listed that follows. Not all words listed will be used.



The signatories of the Dayton Agreement were Presidents (1) \_\_\_\_\_ of Croatia, (2) \_\_\_\_\_ of Serbia and (3) \_\_\_\_\_ of Bosnia. The international peacekeeping force (4) \_\_\_\_\_ of 60,000 implemented terms of the agreement. After one year the IFOR changed to (5) \_\_\_\_\_.

As a result of the Dayton Accords, the two entities within Bosnia and Herzegovina are the (6) \_\_\_\_\_ of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the (7) \_\_\_\_\_ (RS).

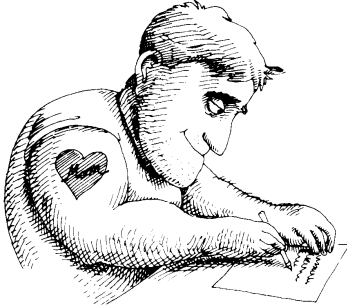
The Republika Srpska entity is administratively and politically split. (8) \_\_\_\_\_ is the seat of the RS president. In Pale near Sarajevo is a power group around former Serb leader (9) \_\_\_\_\_. The dominant Serb Democratic Party, headquartered in Pale, (10) \_\_\_\_\_ real control.

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Republika Srpska  
exercises  
Milosevic  
Tudjman

Radovan Karadzic  
Izetbegovic  
Federation  
HOO-AH!

Banja Luka  
IFOR  
SFOR--Stabilization Force  
dissidents



## Resources for Further Study

### a. Books and articles

Costa, Len S. "The Libraries: Another Kind of War Victim." New York Times, 13 June 1998, p. A-15).

Curtis, Glenn. Yugoslavia, A Country Study. Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, DA Pam 550-99, 1992.

Friedman, Francine. The Bosnian Muslims: A Denial of a Nation. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996. Aiso: Scr 305.697-- 1049742 F862

"...traces the history of the Bosnian Muslims and shows how their mixed secular and religious identity has shaped the conflict in which they are now so tragically embroiled."

Gutman, Roy. A Witness to Genocide: The 1993 Pulitzer Prize-winning dispatches on the "ethnic cleansing" of Bosnia. New York: Macmillan, 1993. Aiso: Scr 320.94-- 9742 G9845

Compilation of Newsday Foreign Correspondent Roy Gutman's reports including survivors' accounts of deathcamps, murder of prisoners, government-ordered rape of Muslim girls and women, and destruction of over half of all mosques.

Helsinki Watch. War Crimes in Bosnia- Herzegovina. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992. Aiso: Scr 320.94-- 9742 H4848

Report discusses violations of Rules of War including ethnic cleansing, disappearances, hostage taking, POW violations, attacks on journalists and medical personnel, pillaging; and the role of the international community.

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Malcolm, Noel. Bosnia: A short history. New York: New York University Press, 1994. Aiso: Scr 949.742 M243

An overview of Bosnian history ranging from myths and origins through various stages, and finally the destruction of Bosnia.

Mertus, Julie, ed., et al. The Suitcase: Refugee voices from Bosnia and Croatia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. Aiso: Scr 949.7024 S948

A collection of stories, poems, and essays told by over seventy-five refugees and displaced people.

Richmond, Yale. From Da to Yes: Understanding the East Europeans. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1995.

Seles, Michael A. The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996. Aiso: Scr 949.7024 S468

Part of the esteemed Comparative Studies in Religion and Society, Mark Juergensmeyer, ed. Sobering account of genocide and destruction--often in the name of religion--within the Bosnia/Herzegovina conflict.

Sivric, Ivo. The Peasant Culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982. Aiso: Scr 306.09--49742 S624

An overview of the world-view and mindset of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Excellent for discovering more of "what makes the peasant tick."

U.S. Department of Defense. Bosnia Country Handbook--Peace Implementation Force (IFOR), DOD-1540-17-96, May 1996.

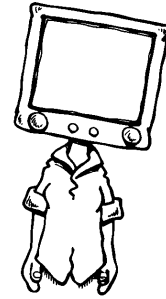
Vesilind, Priit. "In Focus, Bosnia." National Geographic, June 1996, pp. 48-61.

Perhaps the best, compact visual overview available on Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Dayton Accords.

Vulliamy, Ed. Seasons in Hell: Understanding Bosnia's War. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Chamberlain: 949.702 VULL



## b. WWW sites



### Ingathering Project

[www.aplicom.com/manu/ingather.htm](http://www.aplicom.com/manu/ingather.htm)

Grassroots effort to replace Bosnia's destroyed libraries with microfiche, hard copy, photocopies and online resources.

### International Hot Topics--Bosnia

<http://www-lib.ipfw.indiana.edu/pirs/international/bosnia.html>

Indiana University and Purdue University's home page for interest in Bosnia. Links to BosniaLINK, CalTech's home page, CNN, NATO, IFOR-NATO and Department of State resources.

### Welcome to Bosnia Home page

<http://www.cco.caltech.edu/~bosnia/bosnia.html>

Good site for a variety of topics (history, culture, academia and daily life, artwork in addition to more traditional subjects).

### Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina

<http://www.ohr.int/>

Speeches, press releases, SFOR briefings, contact group activities and a variety of topics. Carlos Westendorp, the High Representative, is charged by the London Peace Implementation Conference of 8-9 Dec 1995 and the Security Council Resolution 1031 of 15 Dec 1995 to "oversee the civilian implementation of the Bosnian Peace Agreement initialed in Dayton..."

### Bosnia and Herzegovina Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1997, U.S. Department of State.

[http://www.state.gov/www/global/hu...ghts/1997\\_hrp\\_report/bosniahe.html](http://www.state.gov/www/global/hu...ghts/1997_hrp_report/bosniahe.html)

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United States Policies in Support of Religious Freedom: Focus on Christians, U.S. Department of State.

[http://www.state.gov/www/global/human\\_rights/970722\\_relig\\_rpt\\_christian.html](http://www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/970722_relig_rpt_christian.html)



"What you do out here in a typical week is stuff that most people back home wouldn't do in a year. It's really important work. It's very unique work, and you ought to be willing to pat yourself on the back for it."

Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Jay Johnson, All Hands Call on USS Germantown (LSD 42), 16 March 1997