

---

---

## *Contents*

---

---

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>Guide to Pronunciation</i>	xi
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>I</b>
1 A Misunderstood Society: Bosnia's Tolerant Past Betrayed	5
2 Religious Toleration and Distinctiveness of Medieval Bosnia	13
3 Religious Change and Bosnia's Distinct Situation under the Ottomans	35
4 The Pre-Modern Legacy and Contemporary Identity in Bosnia	71
5 Bosnia on the Eve of the Modern Era	75
6 Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878-1918	93
7 Royal Yugoslavia, 1918-41	120
8 World War II: The Yugoslav Apocalypse	136
9 Socialist Yugoslavia: The Tito Era, 1945-80	157
10 After Tito: The Twilight of Yugoslavia	194
11 Descent into War: Bosnia in the Wars of Yugoslav Succession	220
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	282
<i>Chronology</i>	283
<i>Glossary</i>	289
<i>Further English Readings</i>	293
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	296
<i>List of Maps</i>	298
<i>List of Tables</i>	299
<i>Index</i>	300

---

# Index

---

(Parenthetical numbers refer to illustrations, maps, or tables)

Abdić, Fikret, 196-8, 210  
Administration (of Bosnia) under the Ottomans, 48-63  
Adriatic Sea, Adriatic Coast, 117, 138, 187, 239, 262  
Agrarian Question, 96, 122, 126-7, 166;  
definition of, 79  
agrarian reforms:  
in Ottoman period, 78, 96, 112-13;  
in Austro-Hungarian period, 96, 102, 108-9, 113;  
in royal Yugoslav period, 126-8;  
in socialist period, 165-7  
agriculture, collectivization of. *See* collectivization  
Agrokomerc, 196-8  
Ahmići, 256  
airport (Sarajevo), 185, 243, 259  
Albania, Albanians, 17, 28, 42, 60, 64, 117, 133, 139, 157;  
of Kosovo, 183  
Alexander (Prince Regent, then King of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), 123-4, 127; proclamation of royal dictatorship by, 128-30;  
assassination of, in Marseilles (Oct. 9, 1934), 130, 139  
Ali Pasha of Janina, 60  
Ali Pasha Rizvanbegović, 62  
Allied Powers (World War II). *See* Western Allies  
America, Americans, 2, 3, 90, 153-4  
*See also* United States  
Amnesty International, 246  
Anatolia, 41, 62  
Andrić, Ivo, 46  
annexation, of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary (1908), 99-100, 108, 113  
Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), 151, 153, 161, 167, 175  
Arkan. *See* Raznatović, Željko.  
arms embargo. *See* United Nations, arms embargo imposed by  
Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ASR). *See* Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, army of  
Australia, 155  
Austria, Austria-Hungary, 7, 10-11, 23-4, 28, 36, 55, 57, 64-5, 70, 72-4, 88-90, 92, 121, 155, 163, 188;  
military occupation of Bosnia (1878), 93-5, 113, 241;  
administration of Bosnia (1878-1918), 96-101, 113, 161;  
agrarian reforms in Bosnia under, 96, 113;

Austria, (*continued*)  
 annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908), 99-100, 108, 113;  
 lack of military involvement in Balkan wars, 114;  
 and World War I, 116-19, 144

Autonomous Province of Kosovo.  
*See* Kosovo.

Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.  
*See* Vojvodina.

autonomy:  
 religious and cultural, Bosnian Serb demands for, 99, 101-2, 252;  
 religious and cultural, Bosnian Muslim demands for, 99, 106-8, 252;  
 demands of Croatia's Serbs for, 209, 223;  
 movements in Istria and Dalmatia for, 277

AVNOJ. *See* Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia

Axis Powers, 135, 137-8, 143, 149, 153, 157

*ayans* (local Muslim notables), 52-64, 68, 70

Badinter, Robert, and Badinter Committee, 231-3

Bakarić, Vladimir (Croatian Communist Party Chairman), 167

Baker, James (US Secretary of State), 230, 236

Balkan wars (1912 and 1913), 109, 113-14, 121

bandits. *See* brigandage

Bandung Conference (1955), 172

Banja Luka 52, 54, 118, 162, 184-5, 228, 243

*banovinas* (administrative units ruled by *bans*, or governors), 129, (130), 132

*beg*, 51, 76

*beglerbeg*, *beglerbeglik*:

as title, 48-9;  
 of Bosnia, 48-50, 52, 72;  
 of Rumeli, 48, 50

*Begova Džamija*. *See* Beg's Mosque.

Beg's Mosque (Sarajevo), (51), 52

Beirut, 3

Belgium, 117

Belgrade, 128, 134-5, 154, 156-7, 159, 172, 178-9, 198, 204-5, 223, 230

Berlin:  
 Congress of (1878), 92-3;  
 Treaty of (1878), 92-3

Bihać, 50, 151, 153, 196-7;  
 autonomous region centered in (1993), 198

Bijedić, Džemal, 172-3

Bijeljina, 242

Black Hand (Serbian secret society), 115

Boban, Mate (Bosnian Croat leader), 235, 248-55, 264, 271, 278

Bogomils, 19, 23-4, 35

*Borba*, 196

Borovo Selo, 224-5

Bosanski Brod, 238

Bosna River, 13

Bosnia *passim* (and Herzegovina):  
 economy of, 75, 173-4, 277;  
 society of, 4, 75-9, 241, 253-4, 262-8;  
 medieval state of, 4, 7, 9-11, 13-34, 36-38, 70-2, 74;  
 Ottoman Bosnia, 4, 7, 10-12, 35-70, 72-4;  
 Austro-Hungarian occupation of (1878), 70, 93-5, 113, 241;  
 Austro-Hungarian administration of (1878-1918), 7, 10-11, 23-4, 28, 36, 63-5, 70, 72-4, 92-100;  
 Austro-Hungarian annexation of (1908), 99-100, 108, 113;  
 in World War I, 118-19;  
 royal Yugoslav province of (1918-29), 7, 11-12, 72, 74, 126-7;  
 in World War II, 137, 157

Bosnia, (*continued*)

socialist Yugoslav republic of (1945-91), 6, 9, 12, 72, 74, 161, 181, 206;  
 Communist Party of, 169, 171;  
 League of Communists of, 181-3, 194, 201-2, 207;  
 Ministry of Internal Affairs of, 196;  
 collective state Presidency of, 198, 211, 229, 248-50, 263-4, 266;  
 as safe haven from foreign invasion, 174;  
 supports confederation compromise (1991), 213;  
 representation on Yugoslav federal Presidency, 214;  
 proposals for sovereignty and independence of, 229, 248-9;  
 independence and recognition of, 231-8, 267;  
 independent republic of (proclaimed 1992), 6, 214;  
 Parliament of (independent republic), 1, 264, 266;  
 demands for dismemberment or partition of, 183, 201, 212-14, 248-56, 280;  
 armed forces of, 239, 248, 253-4, 259, 264, 266-7;  
 Serbian war aims in, 240;  
 Croatian war aims in, 240, 248-52;  
 whether or not is a "Muslim" state, 245, 262-8;  
 Bosnia and Hercegovina (as distinct administrative unit), 126;  
 loses distinct status in era of royal dictatorship (1929-41), 129;  
 as part of "Independent State of Croatia," 138-42;  
 distinct status as a republic (socialist period), 161

Bosnian, as identity, 6-12, 25, 71-73, 97-9, III

*See also bošnjaštvo*

Bosnian army. *See* Bosnia, armed forces of  
 Bosnian Church, 18-19, 22-6, 32, 35-40, 42-4, 72-3  
 Bosnian crisis:  
 of 1875-8, 90-2;  
 of 1908, 99-100;  
 of the 1990s, 230-80  
 Bosnian Muslims. *See* Muslims, of Bosnia  
 Bosnianism. *See* *bošnjaštvo*; and Bosnian, as identity  
 Bosnians:  
 Croats, 1, 6-7, 9-10, 25, 64-5, 73, 181;  
 Jews, 9, 64, 67, 73;  
 Muslims, 1, 6, 7, 9, 35, 36, 63, 67, 69, 70, 181;  
 Serbs, 1, 6, 7, 9-10, 25, 36, 63, 64, 66-7, 70, 73, 181  
*See also* Croats, of Bosnia; Jews, of Bosnia; Muslims, of Bosnia; and Serbs, of Bosnia  
*bošnjaštvo* (Bosnianism), 97-9  
 Boutros-Ghali, Boutros (UN Secretary General), 268  
*Bratstvo i jedinstvo* (brotherhood and unity), 147, 152, 156, 175, 208, 279  
 brigandage, brigands, 27-8, 53, 68, 93-5, 113, 115, 143, 149  
 Britain, British, 153-4  
 "brotherhood and unity," *See* *Bratstvo i jedinstvo*  
 Broz, Josip (Tito). *See* Tito, Josip Broz  
 Bucharest, 168  
 Budapest, 52  
 Bulgaria, 15, 17, 23, 43, 92, 117, 133-4, 139, 276  
 Burián, István von (Austro-Hungarian Joint Minister of Finance, 1903-12), 99, 107  
 Byzantine empire, 14-15

camps:  
 for internment of Bosnian Serbs (Austro-Hungarian), 118;  
 Nazi labor and death camps, 140;  
 in Bosnian conflict of 1990s, 247

Canada, 155, 162, 249

cantons, cantonization proposals, 213, 234-8, 260-2

Carrington, Lord David (British Foreign Secretary), 260

Časlav (Serbian prince), 15

Catholics, of Austria-Hungary, 97

Catholics, of Bosnia *passim*, 10-11, 17-25, 32, 35-7, 39-41, 43, 64, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 78, 84, 87, 93, 97, 103-4, 106, 112, 141, 175, 254-6; religious organization of, 97; and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, 162, 164-5; protest agrarian reform, 166  
*See also* Roman Catholic

Catholics, of the "Independent State of Croatia," 141-2

censuses:  
 Austrian era, 76-9, (86-7); socialist period, 175-8, 245, 264

Central Powers, 116-18, 120, 122

Cetina River, 19

Chamberlain, Neville, 3

Chetniks, 137, 140, 142-4, 149-55, 162-3, 179, 201, 225

Chinese Communists, 157

Christians (all denominations), in Bosnia, 94; under Ottomans, 28, 34, 39, 41-4, 52, 55, 59, 62-70, 73; in period of Austro-Hungarian rule, 96, 102, 108; in socialist period, 83

church and school communes. *See* Orthodox, of Bosnia

churches (buildings), 88, 254-5  
*See also* Old Orthodox Church, Sarajevo

Churkin, Vitaly (Russian Deputy Foreign Minister), 269, 274

Cincar-Marković, Aleksandar, 134-5

cities, bombardment and siege of, 220, 226, 241-3, 259, 268-9, 273, 277, 279

clans, tribes, 27-8

Clinton, Bill (US President), 257, 275

Cold War, 2, 230

collectivization, of agriculture, 166, 168

Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), 158-9; Yugoslav Communists expelled from (1948), 167-70, 175-6, 179

commercial elite of Sarajevo, 52-3  
*See also* guilds

Communist Party of Serbia, 171

Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) *passim*, 161; in royal Yugoslav period, 126, 129, 132, 144, 147; in leadership of Partisan resistance (World War II), 136-7; consolidates power, 159, 162-5; agrarian reform introduced by, 166-7; renamed League of Communists of Yugoslavia (1952), 171  
*See also* League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY)

conscription, 101, 113

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (Byzantine Emperor), 14

Constantinople, 14, 16; Patriarch of, 18, 39, 47, 65-6, 68-9  
*See also* Istanbul

constituent assemblies:  
 (1920), 111, 124, 126, 144;  
 (1945-6), 160

constitutions, 189-91; of 1910 (Austro-Hungarian period), 100, 109;

constitutions, (*continued*)  
 of 1921 (Vidovdan Constitution), 126-8;  
 of 1931 (royal Yugoslav dictatorship), 129;  
 of 1946 (socialist Yugoslav period), 160-2, 189;  
 of 1952 (socialist Yugoslav period), 189;  
 of 1963 (socialist Yugoslav period), 189-90;  
 of 1974 (Bosnian), 232;  
 of 1974 (Yugoslav), 162, 189-91, 202;  
 of self-proclaimed Serbian republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992), 238

conversions, 86;  
 initial (9th century) to Christianity, 17;  
 to Catholicism (medieval), 22-3, 32, 35, 40;  
 under Ottomans, 23, 35-44, 73;  
 to Catholicism (Austro-Hungarian period), 104, 106;  
 to Catholicism (World War II), 140-1;  
 to Orthodoxy, 35, 38-9, 40;  
 to Islam, 23, 35-44, 45, 51

Corfu, 117

Corfu Declaration (July 1917), 120, 124

Croatia *passim*:  
 state and region of, 6-8, 10-17, 19, 25-6, 29-30, 37-8, 52, 55, 64, 65, 72, 89, 122, 183, 209, 212, 214; economy of (1870s), 75; agrarian relations in, 79; nationalism in, 111; nationality and minority problems of, 181, 219, 233; as theater of conflict in World War II, 137; fascism in, 139-42; republic of (socialist period), 180-3, 206, 217; representation on Yugoslav federal Presidency, 214; war in (1991), 223-7, 276; independence and recognition of, 231-6; as independent state, 214; armed forces of, 222, 224-7, 239, 258, 266-7, 271, 276; Presidential Palace of, 226; accepts Bosnian refugees, 245, 276; policies toward Bosnia, 248-56, 270-5  
*See also* émigrés, Croatian; and Serbs, of Croatia

Croatian Catholic Association (CCA), 104

Croatian Community of Herzegovina, 250

Croatian Democratic Community (CDC), in Bosnia, 210, 229, 248-51

Croatian Democratic Community (CDC), in Croatia, 223

Croatian Military Frontier. *See* Military Frontier and Krajina

Croatian National Union (CNU), 103-4

Croatian Peasant Party, 126-8, 131-2, 134

Croats *passim*, 132;  
 initial migration into the Balkans, 14, 71; and creation of royal Yugoslavia, 120-2; as a nationality, 148, 161, 175-6

Croats, of Bosnia, 1, 6-7, 9-10, 25, 54-5, 73, 181, 264, 270, 279; ethnic consciousness of, 83; men's costumes of, 83; national identity and nationalism of, 97, 99, 103, 112;

Croats, of Bosnia, (*continued*)  
 modern political movements of, 103-4;  
 participate in anti-Serbian demonstrations (1914), 116;  
 claim that Bosnia and Hercegovina are Croatian lands, 103;  
 efforts for national recruitment of Bosnian Muslims, 109-12;  
 support unified Bosnian state, 234, 256, 270-5;  
 transformation to oppose unified Bosnia, 248-55, 263;  
 militias of, 249-50, 268;  
 obstruct delivery of UN humanitarian aid convoys, 273  
*See also* Croatian Catholic Association (CCA), Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, Croatian Democratic Community (CDC), Croatian National Union (CNU), and Croatian Peasant Party

Cvetković, Dragiša (Yugoslav Prime Minister), 132-4

Cvetković-Maček agreement (1939), 132

Czechoslovakia, 131, 174

Dalmatia, Dalmatian Coast, 13, 17, 23, 30, 37, 72, 79, 89, 106, 135, 139, 181-2, 228, 276-7  
*See also* Adriatic Sea, Adriatic Coast

decentralization, 199-200

Dedijer, Vladimir, 190

defters, 41-3

democratic centralism, 206

Depression, 133

Desert Storm, 216, 221

Dinaric Alps, Dinaric Range, 13, 90

divan (council), Bosnian, 50, 55

Djakovo, 19

djed (of the Bosnian Church), 22

Djilas, Milovan, 179, 190

Doboj, 143

Doder, Dusko, 178

Dolan (given name), 185

Dole, Robert (US Senator), 257

Donji Kraj, 17, 25

Drina:  
 River, region, 10, 13, 17, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 45, (46), 66, 72, 117; *banovina*, 129, (130)

Drvar, 151

Dual Monarchy. *See* Austria, Austria-Hungary

Dubrovnik, 21, 23, 27, 187;  
 Archbishop of, 17, 19;  
 attacks against (1991), 226, 228, 249, 253

Duklja, 15

Duvno, 19

Džabić, Ali (Mufti of Mostar), 106-7

Eastern Europe, 158, 185, 188, 207

economic sanctions. *See* United Nations, sanctions imposed by economy, economies:  
 in late Ottoman years, 75;  
 agrarian, of European countries, 128, 133;  
 in socialist period, 165-7, 173-4, 194-9;  
 of rump Yugoslavia and Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 275-6;  
 of Croatia (1993), 276-7;  
 of Bosnia (1993), 277-9

Edirne, 51

education (in Bosnia) 52, 65-7, 82, 97, 106

Egypt, 172

elections:  
 Bosnian Parliament (1910), 102-4, 108;  
 royal Yugoslavia, 124-6, 131;  
 Constituent Assembly of socialist Yugoslavia (Nov. 1945), 160;  
 republics of Yugoslavia, multi-party (1990), 207, 210-12;  
 Slovenia (1990), 210;  
 Serbia (1990), 210;

elections, (*continued*)  
 Bosnia (1990), 198, 210-11, 248, 263  
 emigration, from Bosnia after Austrian occupation, 85  
 émigrés:  
   anti-communist, fled Partisan-dominated Yugoslavia, 155, 162;  
   Bosnian Muslim, 105, 162;  
   Croatian, 162, 249  
 England, 116  
 Entente Powers, 116, 122  
 ethnic cleansing, 2, 100, 201, 220-1, 226, 245-7, 250-2, 254-6, 264, 273, 275-6, 279  
 ethnic consciousness, awareness (and/or lack thereof) in Bosnia, 6-12, 25, 26, 27, 31, 37, 70-4, 80-5  
 ethnicity. *See* ethnic consciousness, awareness  
 ethnoreligious communities, 79-85, 88, 95, 106;  
 European Community (EC; renamed European Union, Jan. 1994), 214, 226, 259, 262;  
 recognition of Yugoslav successor republics, 230-7;  
*See also* Owen-Vance, Owen-Stoltenberg, and Geneva talks  
 European feudalism, 77  
 European Powers, 99  
 federal Presidency. *See* Yugoslavia, federal Presidency of  
 federation, Muslim-Croat negotiations and agreement (1994), 256, 262, 270-2, 274-5  
 federalism, 149, 175  
 Ferdinand, Franz. *See* Franz Ferdinand  
 feudalism. *See* European feudalism  
 Five-Year Plan (1947), 165  
 Foča, 48, 68, 242  
 Fojnica, 254-6  
 France, 90, 116, 231, 254, 268;  
   Consuls of, 60;  
 Franciscans, Franciscan Order in Bosnia, 20-1, 25, 32, 36, 39, 64, 65, 67, 103, 248, 250-1, 254-5  
 Franz Ferdinand (Austrian Archduke), 115-16, 168  
 Franz Josef (Austrian Emperor, 1848-1916), 96, 115, 117-18  
 gangs, Muslim, 267  
 Gavrilo (Serbian Orthodox Patriarch), 163  
 Geneva talks (begun 1992), 201, 260, 268, 274  
 Genscher, Hans-Dietrich (German Foreign Minister), 232-3  
 Germany, Germans, 12, 95, 116-17, 276, 279;  
   Nazi Germany, 131-2;  
   investment in Bosnia and Yugoslavia by, 132-3;  
   conquest of Yugoslavia (April 1941), 134-5, 279;  
   battles against resistance (World War II), 136-7, 150-1;  
   occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II, 138-9, 143, 156, 241, 247;  
   atrocities against Serbian civilians, 149;  
   defeat of (World War II), 154-6, 162;  
   support for Yugoslav successor republics (1991), 226-7, 232-3, 239  
 Ghegs (of northern Albania), 28  
 Glamoč, 19  
 Goran (given name), 185  
 Goražde, 243, 274-5, 277  
 Granić, Mate (Croatian Foreign Minister), 271  
 Great Powers, 59, 63, 70, 91-2, 99  
 Greater Serbia (nationalist ideology), 90, 121, 137, 143, 147-8, 176, 201, 213, 219;  
   advanced by Slobodan Milošević, 204-6  
 Greece, Greeks, 17, 23, 43, 66, 69, 133, 276

guerrilla warfare:  
against Austria-Hungary (1878), 93-5

guilds (in Sarajevo):  
Muslim, 52;  
Orthodox, 66

Gypsies, 139-41, 157, 247

Habsburg double eagle, 174

Habsburg empire. *See* Austria, Austria-Hungary

Habsburg monarchy. *See* Austria, Austria-Hungary

Helsinki Watch, 246

*Herceg* (as title), 32-3

Herceg Stefan. *See* Kosača, Stefan Vukčić

Herceg-Bosna. *See* Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna

Hercegovina, Hercegovinians *passim* (often included with Bosnia), 7, 13, 18, 23-4, 27-8, 33-4, 38-9, 42-3, 47-50, 53, 54, 62, 65, 72, 73, 154; eastern, 91, 93, 113, 118, 122, 149, 151-2, 216; brigands and brigandage in, 27-8, 93, 115; western, 171, 234, 239-40, 248, 250, 252, 273; Serbian Autonomous Region of (proclaimed 1991), 228; Croatian military activities in, 227, 234, 239, 248, 250-4, 271, 273, 276

Hercegovinian lobby (in Croatia), 249

heresy (alleged, in medieval Bosnia), 18, 20

Hitler, Adolf, 131, 133-4, 137, 139, 144, 146, 169

Holiday Inn (Sarajevo), 188, 238

holidays, 84

HOS (ultranationalist Croatian militia in Hercegovina), 250

Hum, 17-20, 25-6, 28, 32, 33, 36, 38, 72;

Bishop of, 18

human rights, 231-2; violations in Kosovo, 217

humanitarian aid. *See* United Nations, humanitarian aid convoys

Hungary, Hungarians, 15, 18-19, 23, 26, 29, 30, 34, 52, 89, 133, 174, 276; sale of arms to Croatia, 209, 215, 239

Husein Kapetan, 62

Husref-beg, Ghazi, 52

Igman, Mount, 269

Imota, 19

"Independent State of Croatia" (World War II), 131, 138-42, 152, 154

India, 172

industrialization, 75, 97, 133, 165-6, 173-4

inflation, 199, 202-3, 275

international community, 220-2, 234, 243, 251, 259, 266, 275

International Court of Justice, 246

International Olympic Committee, 188  
*See also* Olympic Games

Interim Decree (February 25, 1919, proclaiming agrarian reform), 127

Iraq, 216, 222

Iran, 200

Islam, 11-12, 23, 25, 35, 37, 38, 40-5, 59, 60, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 102, 106, 111, 141-2

Islamic fundamentalism, 108, 172, 200-1

Islamic law, 107

Islamic state, polity, 265, 268

*Islamistan*, 200

Israelis, 245

Istanbul, 45, 49, 51, 60, 92, 105, 107  
*See also* Constantinople

Istria, 277

Italy, Italians, 124, 239; fascist Italy, 131-2, 134-5;

Italy, Italians, (*continued*)  
 occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II, 138-9, 143, 150, 154, 156, 241;  
 surrender of (World War II), 154

Izetbegović, Alija (President of Bosnia, elected 1990), 200-1, 210-11, 213, 228, 243, 262-4, 266;  
 in talks for Bosnia's cantonization or partition, 235-8, 265-7

Jajce, (33), 34, 151

Janina, 60

Janissaries, 55-7, 59, 60-1;  
 Aga of, 55, (56)

Jasenovac (World War II concentration camp), 140-1

Jews:  
 of Bosnia, 9, 64, 66, 73, 80, 84;  
 American, 85;  
 in German-occupied Serbia, 139;  
 nearly exterminated in the "Independent State of Croatia," 139-41, 157, 247

Joint Ministry of Finance (Austria-Hungary), 96-101

Jovanka (wife of Josip Broz Tito), 190

*kadi* (Muslim judge), 39, 52, 67-9

Kadijević, Veljko (General), 215, 218

Kállay, Benjámin von (Austro-Hungarian Joint Minister of Finance, 1882-1903), 97, 99-100, 106-7, 177

*kapetanije, kapetans*, 53-4, 59, 62

Karadjordjević:  
 dynasty, 120, 137;  
 crown, 131

Karadžić, Radovan (Bosnian Serb leader), 200, 210, 234-5, 238, 262, 270, 276, 278;  
 as target of war crimes investigation, 278

Kardelj, Edvard, 167, 176-7, 201

Karl I (Austrian Emperor, 1916-18), 118-19

Karlowitz, Treaty of, 54

Khomeini, Ayatollah, 201

Kidrić, Boris, 165

kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. *See* Yugoslavia

kingdom of Yugoslavia. *See* Yugoslavia

Kinnamos (Byzantine historian), 16

Klis, sandžak of, 50

Ključ, Stjepan, 210, 248-51

*kmets*, 77-9

Koliševski, Lazar, 202

*Komunist*, 201

*korso* (traditional evening stroll), 185

Kosača family, 22, 32;  
 Kosača, Herceg Stefan Vukčić, 23, 32-3, (33), 41

Kosovo, 47, 139, 161, 168, 223;  
 Albanians of, 172, 212, 219;  
 Muslims of, 172;  
 autonomous region of, 180-1, 190;  
 Albanian nationalism in, 183-4;  
 resignation of leadership in, 205, 217;  
 incorporated by Serbia, 205;  
 representation on Yugoslav federal Presidency, 206, 214;  
 as part of rump Yugoslavia, 214-15

Kosovo-Metohija. *See* Kosovo

Kotor, Bay of, 135

Kotromanić, Ban Stjepan, 19-20, 21, 25, 28;  
 map of Bosnia in his reign, (20)

Kragujevac, 149

Krajina (Bosnian), 216;  
 Serbian Autonomous Region of (proclaimed 1991), 228, 243;

Krajina (Croatian), 38, 209;  
 Serbian Autonomous Region of (proclaimed 1991), 152, 224

Kraljevo, 149

Krasić, 164

Kresimir II (Croatian ruler), 15

Kriz, 256

Krupp (German steel firm), 131

Kukanjac, General, 244  
Kulin, Ban, 15;  
    map of Bosnia in his reign, (16)  
Kumrovec, 144, (145)  
Kuwait, 216  
land reform. *See* agrarian reform  
landlords:  
    in Ottoman Bosnia 27, 53, 55, 59,  
    63-4, 68, 70, 77-9  
    *See also* Muslim (Bosnian) land-  
    owners  
languages, 9, 13, 17, 69  
    *See also* Serbo-Croatian, Latin  
Latin, 17  
League of Communists of Bosnia  
    and Hercegovina. *See* Bosnia  
League of Communists of Serbia.  
    *See* Serbia  
League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), 171, 194;  
    nationality policies of, 175-8;  
    prosecutions by, 179, 200-202;  
    in succession to Tito, 190;  
    Central Committee of, 197;  
    dissolution of, 206-8;  
    Fourth Party Plenum (July 1966),  
    180;  
    Sixth Party Congress (1952), 171,  
    189;  
    Fourteenth Extraordinary Party  
    Congress (January 1990), 171, 189,  
    207-8  
Lenin, Vladimir, 158, 199  
Lepenica, 41, 42  
Lika, sandžak of, 50  
Lim River, 29  
Lisbon talks and agreement (Febru-  
    ary 1992), 234-6, 260  
Livno, 19  
Ljubljana (Slovenia), 217-18  
Lockwood, William G., 82-3  
London, 128, 135, 143;  
    Conference of (August 1992), 260,  
    269, 274  
Macedonia, 17, 47, 139, 143;  
    republic of (socialist period), 180,  
    206, 219;  
    League of Communists of, 207;  
    supports confederation compro-  
    mise, 213;  
    representation on Yugoslav fed-  
    eral Presidency, 214;  
    independence and recognition of,  
    231  
Macedonians, as a nationality, 148,  
    161, 175-6  
Maček, Vladko, 131-2, 134  
*mahala* (neighborhood, Turkish), 88  
Marković, Ante (Yugoslav Prime  
    Minister, 1989-91), 203-4  
Marseilles, 130, 139  
Martić, Milan, 228  
Marx, Karl, and Marxism, 170, 200  
*Matica Hrvatska* (Croatian literary  
    society), 182-3  
mediators, mediation. *See* interna-  
    tional community  
medieval tombstones. *See* tomb-  
    stones (*stećci*)  
*medressah* (Turkish school), 88  
merchants, from Adriatic Coast, in  
    Bosnia, 21, 25, 26, 27, 32  
Mesić, Stipe (last president of federal  
    Presidency), 214  
Meštrović, Ivan (Croatian sculptor),  
    164  
migrations:  
    initial Slavic, 4, 13-14, 71;  
    Serbian and Croatian (7th cen-  
    tury), 14, 71;  
    under Ottomans (general), 37, 73;  
    under Ottomans, Muslims into  
    Bosnia, 37;  
    under Ottomans, Serbs into Bos-  
    nia, 37-8;  
    under Ottomans, Catholics out  
    of Bosnia, 37  
Mihailović, Draža (leader of Chetnik  
    resistance), 137, 143-4, 153-5, 163-  
    4, 179

Mikulić, Branko, 202-3  
 Mileševac, 29, (30), 33  
*millets* (religious communities under Ottoman rule), 64-9, 82  
 Military Frontier (Serbian-inhabited region in Croatia), 38;  
 in World War II, 152;  
 in Croatian war (1991), 152, 181, 209  
*See also Krajina*  
 Miloradović family, 25  
 Milošević, Slobodan (President of Serbia, elected 1989), 184, 209-10, 212, 223, 260, 262, 278;  
 rise to power, 203-6;  
 supporters organize demonstrations, 205, 217;  
 seeks annexation of Croatia's Serbian areas, 212-13;  
 seeks annexation of Bosnia's Serbian areas, 212-14, 249;  
 supports YPA in becoming agent of Serbian nationalism, 222;  
 as target of war crimes investigation, 278  
 Milutin (Serbian King), 19  
 mining, in Bosnia, 21, 26, 30, 173  
 Mitsotakis, Constantine (Greek Prime Minister), 262  
 mixed marriages, 9, 186  
*Mlada Bosna* (Young Bosnia), 115  
 Mladić, Ratko (General):  
     as YPA Corps Commander in the Krajina, Croatia, 209, 224;  
     as Commander of Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia (ASR), 244  
 Molotov, Vyacheslav, 167  
 Montenegro, Montenegrins, 13-15, 28, 47, 90-2, 114, 117, 135, 169, 184, 201, 216;  
 in World War II, 137, 139, 154;  
 as a nationality, 148, 161, 175;  
 Communist Party of, 171;  
 republic of (socialist period), 180-2;  
 resignation of leadership in (January 1989), 205, 217;  
 representation on Yugoslav federal Presidency, 206, 214  
 Morillon, Philippe (General), 254  
 Moscow, 128, 144  
 mosques, 88, 142, 163, 240, 253  
 Mostar, 101, 106, 116, 172, 184, 187, 215, 240, 252-3, 256, 258, 273;  
 bridge of (1556), 187, 253, 267  
 Muslim (Bosnian) landowners and landowning class, 75-9, 90, 96, 102, 109, 112, 127-8, 166-7;  
 take over Muslim autonomy movement, 106-9  
 Muslim National Organization (MNO), 103, 108-9, 111, 113  
 Muslims, of Bosnia *passim*, 1, 6, 7, 9, 18, 35, 36, 181, 264-70;  
 as religious group, ethnoreligious community, 25, 35-8, 41-5, 52-64, 67-70, 73, 80-1, 84, 88, 97, 112, 148, 161, 175-6;  
 as ethnic group, 73-4, 85, 178;  
 as nationality (Bosnian Muslims), 112, 173, 178;  
 movement for autonomy, 106-8;  
 men's costume of, 83;  
 resistance to Austro-Hungarian occupation, 93-5;  
 of Sarajevo, 93, 163;  
 and national recruitment as Serbs and Croats, 109-12, 142;  
 claims by Serbs and Croats regarding the nationality of, 102-5, 141-2;  
 and support for multinational entities, 105, 126, 131-2, 134, 234, 237, 265-6;  
 role in coalitions, 105, 109, 125, 128, 132, 134, 211, 237;  
 in creation of royal Yugoslavia, 122-3;

Muslims, of Bosnia, (*continued*)  
in “Independent State of Croatia,” 139-42, 152-3;  
and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, 162-4, 166;  
and Islamic fundamentalism, 172-3, 200-1;  
Muslim brigades in Bosnian army, 254-6, 267, 271;  
nationalism of, 265-7;  
and non-alignment, 172, 181;  
convene all-Muslim *sabor*, 266  
*See also* Muslim National Organization (MNO), Yugoslav Muslim Organization (YMO), and Party for Democratic Action (PDA)

Muslims of Kosovo. *See* Kosovo, Muslims of

Mussolini, Benito, 131

*Narodna Odbrana* (national defense), 115

Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 172

national “coloration.” *See* Muslims, of Bosnia

national minorities, 161

national recruitment. *See* Muslims, of Bosnia

National Theater (Sarajevo), 174

nationalism, 82, 101, 104, 178;  
in Croatia, 101, 182-3, 216;  
in Serbia, 101;  
in Bosnia, 265-7

Nedić, Milan (General), 139, 150

Nehru, Jawaharlal, 172

Nemanjić dynasty, 18, 28-9

Neo-Manichean, 19, 23

Neretva River, 19, 36, 240, 252

Neum, 187

*NIN* (periodical), 197, 205

nobility:  
of medieval Bosnia, 17-18, 22, 24, 26, 30, 33-4, 41-2, 44;  
elsewhere in Balkans, 43

non-alignment, 172-3

North African campaign (World War II), 154

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 2, 261, 268-9, 274

Northern Ireland, 3

Novi Pazar, 90  
*See also* Sandžak of Novi Pazar

Novi Sad, 205

Novi Travnik, 185, 270

Ohrid, 47;  
Archbishop of, 47

Old Orthodox Church (Sarajevo), 39-40, (40), 52

Olympic Games (Sarajevo, Winter 1984), 1, 188, 195, 201

Omanović, Fata, 106

Order of the Red Flag, 197

Orthodox Church, 17, 45, 47, 67

Orthodox, of Bosnia *passim*, 10-11, 18-20, 23-5, 32, 36-41, 43, 47, 47, 52, 64-70, 73, 75, 78, 81, 84, 87, 112, 175;  
church and school communes of, 101, 103  
*See also* Serbian Orthodox, conversions, and autonomy

Ostoja, King, 21, (21), 22

Ottoman empire and Ottomans, 7, 9-12, 21, 23, 25-8, 30, 32-9, 41, 45, 47-64, 67-70, 72-4, 76, 88-9, 90, 93-4, 99, 101, 105, 112-14, 122, 143, 163, 168, 267;  
law and courts of, 77-9;  
reforms of, 58-63, 78, 96, 112

Owen, Lord David (British Foreign Secretary), 260, 262, 267, 274, 278  
*See also* Owen-Stoltenberg and Owen-Vance

Owen-Stoltenberg, negotiations and plan, 257, 260, (261), 262, 264, 266-7

Owen-Vance, negotiations and plan, 250-1, 257, 260, (261), 262

Pale, 135, 260, 269  
 Pan-Slav activists, 91, 269  
 Panić, Života (General), 222  
 papacy, Pope, 11, 17-18, 22, 26, 34, 39  
 parliaments:  
     of Bosnia in Austro-Hungarian period (1910-14), 100, 102, 104, 108-9, 116, 166, 237;  
     of royal Yugoslavia, 124-9;  
     of independent Bosnia (est. 1992), 229-30, 262, 266-7  
 Partisans, 11, 136, 142-56, 162, 172, 174, 191;  
     nationality policies of, 146-9, 152-3, 279  
 Party for Democratic Action (PDA), 210-11, 229-30, 237  
*pasha, pashalik*, as both rank and term, 49-50  
 Pašić, Nikola, 120-1, 125  
 pastoralism, 27  
 Pasvan-oglu, 60  
 Paul (Prince of Yugoslavia), 131-2, 134  
 Pavelić, Ante (Ustasha leader), 139  
 peasant uprising, rebellion. *See* peasants, revolts of  
 peasants, 37, 44, 63-4, 68, 70, 96, 103, 122;  
     revolts of, 91-2, 109, 112-15, 122-3;  
     social position of, 77-9;  
     in "price scissors" of royal Yugoslav period, 133;  
     Serbs, join the Partisans, 151;  
     in socialist period, 165-6, 186-7  
     *See also* kmets, agrarian reforms  
 Peć, 46-7;  
     Patriarchate of, 46-8, 65  
 persecutions, religious, 22-3, 35  
 Peter I (King of Serbia and of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), 123  
 Peter (Prince of Yugoslavia, then King in exile), 131, 134-5  
 Pius II (Pope), 39  
 Plevlja, 48  
 Ploče, 173  
 Počitelj, 187  
 Poland, 164-5, 174  
 political parties, 100, 129;  
     formation of, 99, 101, 112  
*Politika* (newspaper), 205  
 Pozderac, Hamdija, 196-7  
 Presidency. *See* Bosnia, collective state Presidency of; and Yugoslavia, federal Presidency of  
 Primorska (*banovina*), 129, (130)  
 Princip, Gavrilo, 115  
 Provincial Museum (*Zemaljski Muzej*), Sarajevo, (8), 97  
 Puljić, Vinko (Archbishop of Sarajevo), 250  
 Radenović-Pavlović family, 22  
 Radić, Stjepan, 126, 128;  
 Radimlja, 24-5  
 railroads, 97, 165, 173  
 RAM (acronym for YPA plan to arm Serbian irregulars), 216  
 Ranković, Aleksandar, 180, 182, 190  
 rape, 247  
 Ravna Gora, 143  
 Raznjatović, Željko ("Arkan"), 239, 241-2, 246  
 Red Army. *See* Soviet Union, army of  
 Redman, Charles (US Special Envoy to the former Yugoslavia), 270  
 referendums:  
     Slovenia (Dec. 1990), 217-18;  
     Serbs of Croatia (Aug.-Sept. 1990), 223-4;  
     Serbs of Bosnia (Nov. 1991-Jan. 1992), 232;  
     Croatian independence (May 1991), 225;  
     Serbs of Croatia (May 1991), 225;  
     Bosnian independence (Feb.-Mar. 1992), 232, 234, 238, 248;  
     Serbs of Bosnia, on Owen-Vance plan (May 1993), 260-1

reforms, in socialist Yugoslavia, 199-200, 206-7  
*See also* agrarian reforms

refugees, 105, 244-8, 276

*Reis-ul-ulema*, 107, 163

republics (socialist Yugoslavia). *See* Yugoslavia

resistance movements. *See* Yugoslavia, resistance movements; and Austria-Hungary, occupation of Bosnia (1878)

Rizvanbegović, Ali Pasha. *See* Ali Pasha Rizvanbegović

Roman Catholic Church, 17-19, 34, 64  
*See also* Catholics, of Bosnia

Romania (country of), 133-4

Romanija (region near Sarajevo), 216, 228

Rome, 14, 16, 17, 19, 39

Rumeli, Ottoman province of, 48, 50

rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), 195, 199, 243, 246, 275-6, 278;  
 constitutional changes acknowledge reality of, 214-15

Russia, Russians, 90-2, 116-17, 146, 154, 262, 269-70, 274;  
 revolution (1917), 144  
*See also* Soviet Union

Russo-Turkish war (1877-8), 113

*Šahovnica*, 223

St. Petersburg, 144

Samuel (Tsar of Bulgaria), 15

San Stefano, peace of (1878), 92

sanctions. *See* United Nations, sanctions

*sandžak*:  
 as province, 48-50, 72;  
*begs* of Bosnia, 48-50, 52, 72;  
 of Novi Pazar, 28, 90, 154

Sarajevo *passim*, 1, 4, 6, 13, 18-19, 32, 39, (40), 42, 48, 50-60, (51), 62, 66-7, 93-4, 115-16, 123, 135, 138, 140-1, 155, 166, 168, 174, 187, 195, 200-1, 227, 243-4, 250, 254, 258-60, 266-9, 273, 275, 277; growth of, 50-2, 97, 184-5, 192; agreement (March 1992), 236-7, 260; siege of (est. 1992), 239, 243, 248, 258-9, 268-70, 273-4, 277

Šarić, Archbishop of Sarajevo, 141, 162

Sava River, 10, 13, 55, 72, 237

Sava, Saint, 32

Security Council. *See* United Nations, Security Council of

Selim, Sultan, 41

Serbia, Serbs *passim*:  
 state, region, and Serbs (of Serbia) 6-8, 10-11, 13-19, 24, 26, 28-32, 38, 43, 46-7, 66-7, 70, 72, 89-92, 101, 111, 113, 168, 227; initial migration of (7th century), 14, 71; Serb Kingship (medieval), 28-9; Serbian Church, 18, 25, 46-7; economy of (1870s), 75; and Balkan wars (1912-13), 113-15; and World War I, 115-18, 122; claims that Bosnia and Herzegovina are Serbian lands, 102, 121; in royal Yugoslavia, 120-2, 125-6; Serbian centralism in royal Yugoslavia, 121, 123-5, 127, 129; in World War II, 137, 139-44; deaths of, in Jasenovac concentration camp, 141; as a nationality, 148, 161, 175-7; disproportionately represented in resistance movements, 151; preponderance in officer corps of Yugoslav army, 155, 208; socialist Yugoslav republic of Serbia, 161, 180-1, 206, 217; Communist Party of, 171; League of Communists of, 204;

Serbia, Serbs, (*continued*)  
 and Kosovo, 183-4, 205;  
 paramilitary forces and irregulars, 184, 215-16;  
 Assembly of, 201, 203;  
 Constitution of, 209;  
 demands to partition Bosnia, 214;  
 representation on Yugoslav federal Presidency, 214  
*See also* Balkan wars, Greater Serbia, Serbian Radicals, Serbian Agrarians, and rump Yugoslavia  
 Serbian Agrarians (political party, royal Yugoslavia), 126  
 Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. *See Krajina*  
 Serbian Democratic Party (SDP; est. 1990), 210, 229  
 Serbian Democrats (political party, royal Yugoslavia), 125  
 Serbian National Organization (SNO; political party, Austro-Hungarian period), 102-3, 108-9  
 Serbian Orthodox (people practicing the religious faith), of Bosnia, 80-1, 84, 90, 97, 102, 112;  
 Serbian Orthodox Church, 163;  
 relations with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, 162-3  
 Serbian Radicals (political party, royal Yugoslavia), 125-6  
 "Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina" (self-declared in 1992), 230, 243;  
 army of, 244, 258, 273-6  
 Serbian Volunteer Guard, 239, 241-2  
 Serbo-Croatian (language), 9, 13, 37, 105, 182  
 Serbs, of Bosnia *passim*, 1, 6, 7, 9-10, 25, 36, 63, 70, 73, 113, 125, 181, 220, 258, 262-4, 269-70, 273, 279; men's costume of, 83;  
 ethnic consciousness of, 81;  
 national identity and nationalism of, 97, 99, 102, 112, 115; seek national recruitment of Bosnian Muslims as Serbs, 109-12; modern political movements of, 101-3; targets of anti-Serbian demonstrations (1914), 116; Austro-Hungarian repression of, 100, 118-19; ties with Serbia, 115-16, 122; losses in World War II, 157; arms provided to, 216; establish Serbian autonomous regions (1991), 227-9; and self-declared "Serbian republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina," 230, 238, 275; withdraw from Bosnian state Presidency, 264; pursue separatist claims, 232-8; reject Owen-Vance plan, 251, 260-2; armed forces of, 238-44, 246-8, 258, 269-70; obstruct UN humanitarian aid convoys, 258-9, 273-4  
*See also* Orthodox, of Bosnia  
 Serbs, of Croatia, 181, 209-10, 212, 221, 233, 240, 243; irregular armed forces of, 209, 213, 222; arms provided to, 216, 244; declare autonomy, 223-4; in war with republic of Croatia (1991), 224-7  
 serfs, serfdom, 63-4, 70, 77, 102, 127  
*See also* kmets  
 Šešelj, Vojislav, 201, 225, 246  
 Shultz, George (US Secretary of State), 257  
 Silajdžić, Haris (Bosnian Foreign Minister in 1992; Prime Minister in October 1993), 266, 272  
 Simović, Dušan (General), 134  
 Sixth Party Congress. *See* League of Communists of Yugoslavia

Slaveni, 14, 71  
 Slavonia, 18, 37, 79, 89  
 Slavs, 13-14, 71-2  
 Slovene Populists, 126  
 Slovenia, Slovenes, 120-1, 134, 139, 197;  
     as a nationality, 148, 161, 175-6;  
     republic of (socialist period), 180-2, 206-7, 212;  
     calls for redefinition of YPA's mission, 209;  
     representation on Yugoslav federal Presidency, 214;  
     Constitution of, 217;  
     independence of, 217-19, 230-1;  
     Territorial Forces of, 218  
 snipers, 238, (278)  
 Social Democrats, 126, 144  
 society (Bosnian), 88;  
     multiethnic, multinational character of, 83-8, 252-4, 262-6, 279-80  
 Sofia (Bulgaria), 48  
 Sokolović:  
     Antonije, 47;  
     Gerasim, 47;  
     Makarije, 47, (48);  
     Mehmet Sokollu, 45-8, (48)  
 South Slavs, 103, 105, 157, 162;  
     and creation of South Slav state (kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), 120-4  
 Soviet bloc, 172, 179  
 Soviet Union, 153, 230, 276;  
     foreign policy of, 144, 167, 174;  
     army of, 146, 154-7, 279;  
     nationality model of, 147-8;  
     in World War II, 153-56;  
     1936 Constitution of, 160;  
     leads expulsion of Yugoslavs from Cominform (1948), 167-70  
 Spaho, Mehmed, 125, 127, 129, 131-2, 237  
 Spanish Civil War, 144, 146

Špegelj, Martin (Croatian Defense Minister), 209, 215  
 Srebrenica, 30, 243, 277  
*Srpska Rijec* ("Serbian Word," Bosnian Serb newspaper), 102  
 Stadler, Josef (Archbishop), 104, 106  
 Stalin, Joseph, 144-5, 153-4, 158, 167-70, 172  
 Stambolić, Ivan (President of Serbia, 1986-7), 204  
 Stefan, Herceg. *See* Kosača, Herceg Stefan Vukčić  
 Stefan Dragutin (Serbian King), 28-9  
 Stefan Tomaš (Bosnian King), 22-3  
 Stefan Tomašević (Bosnian King), 34  
 Stepinac, Alojzije (Archbishop and Cardinal of Zagreb), 141, 164, 179-80  
 Stojadinović, Milan (Prime Minister of Yugoslavia), 131-2  
 Stolac, 24, (61), 62  
 Stoltenberg, Thorvald (Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs), 260, 262, 274, 278  
*See also* Owen-Stoltenberg, negotiations and plan  
 Ston, 18  
 strikes, 202-3  
 Stupni Do, 256  
 Subašić, Ivan, 159  
 Šušak, Gojko (Croatian Defense Minister), 249  
 Switzerland, 188  
 synagogue, 88  
 Tatars, 18-19  
 Tehnogas (Serbian energy enterprise), 204  
 Thatcher, Margaret (former British Prime Minister), 257  
 Theresienstadt, 115  
 Thessaloniki, 51, 117  
*timars* (Ottoman fiefs), 53

Tito, Josip Broz, 11, 100, 126, 136-7, 151, 153, 161, 163, 178, 183, 189-91, 208, 279; background of, 144-5; and Yugoslav Communist Party's expulsion from Cominform, 158, 167-70; and non-alignment, 172; succession after death of, 189-93, 202-3; legacy of, 191-3

Tito-Subašić government (1945), 159

Titoism, 170, 175, 179, 199-200

tombstones (*stećci*), 7, (8), 23-5, (24), 98

Tomić, Stanko, 197

Travnik, 56-7, (58), 60, 103, 184-5, 252

Trialism, 103, 115

Tripartite Pact, 133-4

Tudjman, Franjo (President of Croatia, elected 1990), 141, 210-13, 249-50, 256, 260, 271, 278; alienates Serbs of Croatia, 223; supports annexationist faction of Bosnian Croats, 248-55; agrees to partition Bosnia, 213-14, 249; supports formation of federation with Muslims, 270-3

Turks. *See* Ottomans

Tuzla, 184-5, 270, 277

Tvrtko (Bosnian King), 15, 28-30

UDBA (Yugoslav State Security Services under socialism), 180

United Nations (UN), 2, 165, 215-16, 227, 247-8, 257-9, 262, 269, 271, 274, 280; Security Council of, 172, 243, 258, 271, 274-5; arms embargo imposed by (Sept. 1991), 239, 254, 266; sanctions imposed by, 275; High Commissioner for Refugees, 244; humanitarian aid convoys, 252, 258-9, 273-4, 277

*See also* Owen-Vance, Owen-Stoltenberg, and Geneva talks

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR): deployed in Croatia, 227; deployed in Bosnia, 254, 258, 269-70, 274-5; Spanish peacekeepers of, 252

United States (US), 136, 151, 155, 162, 230, 249, 262, 266, 270, 274; recognition of former Yugoslav republics, 214, 230, 233, 235-6; Department of State, 235, 246; and threat of air strikes, 268-9, 274-5; warplanes of 274

*See also* Clinton, Bill

urbanization, 184-9

*Ustashe, Ustasha* (Croatian fascists), 8, 11-12, 65, 100, 147, 201, 223; role in assassination of Alexander I, 131; in World War II, 136-7, 139-42, 147, 152, 155, 157, 162-4, 250; claim that Muslims were Croats, 141; influence in western Herzegovina, 171

Užice, 149

Vakuf Assembly, 163

Vakuf Commission, 107, 163

*vakufs* (Muslim charitable endowments), 67, 107, 163-4

Vance, Cyrus, 227, 260

*See also* Owen-Vance, negotiations and plan

Vareš, 254

Vatican, 164

Velika Kladuša, 196-7

Venice, 34

Vidin, 60

Vidovdan Constitution. *See* constitutions

Vienna, III, 134, 162, 201  
 Vietnam, 2-3  
*vikendicas* (weekend retreats), 187  
 Višegrad, 45-6, (46), 242  
 Vizier, Grand, 41, 45, 47, 50;  
     *vali* of Bosnia, 49-50, 52, 54-60,  
     62  
 Vojvodina, autonomous region and  
     province, 161, 181, 190, 203;  
     resignation of leadership in, 205,  
     217;  
     incorporated by Serbia, 205;  
     representation on Yugoslav federal  
     Presidency, 206, 214;  
     as part of rump Yugoslavia, 215  
 Vrbas (*banovina*), 129, (130)  
 Vrhbosna, 18, 34, 50  
 Vukovar, 226, 241, 249  
 war crimes tribunals, 247, 258  
 Washington, DC, 271  
*Washington Post*, 178  
 West Germany, 188  
     *See also* Germany  
 Western Allies, Western Powers, 143,  
     146, 153-5, 159, 172, 236, 266  
 Western Europe, 136, 188, 245  
 Wilkinson, Ron (UN relief spokesman, 1993), 259  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 120  
 workers' councils, 170  
 workers' self-management, 170, 198  
 World War I, 115-19, 157  
 World War II, 2, 8, 9, 11-12, 65, 95,  
     100, 131, 136-57, 208, 223, 225,  
     233, 241, 247, 250, 279  
 Yeltsin, Boris (Russian President),  
     269, 274  
 YU Summits, 212-13  
 Yugoslav Committee (World War  
     I), 120-1, 124  
 Yugoslav ideal, identity, loyalty, 100,  
     III, 147, 176-8  
 Yugoslav Muslim Organization  
     (YMO), 108, 124-7, 129-32

Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), 152,  
     155-6, 183-4, 194-5, 203, 207, 251,  
     257, 279;  
     preponderance of Serbian and  
     Montenegrin officers in, 155, 208;  
     and Bosnia's role in weapons produc-  
     tion, 174;  
     orientation and composition of,  
     208-10;  
     fight against Slovene indepen-  
     dence, 218-19, 230;  
     becomes agent of Greater Serbian  
     nationalism, 220-3, 244;  
     conducts war in Croatia (1991),  
     225-7;  
     supports Serbian autonomous  
     regions in Bosnia, 227-9;  
     strength of forces in Bosnia, 238-  
     9;  
     seizes Bosnian territory (1992),  
     213, 241-3;  
     division of (1992), 243-4  
     *See also* Serbian Republic of Bos-  
     nia and Herzegovina, army of  
 Yugoslav royal air force, 134  
 Yugoslavia, Yugoslavs *passim*, 2-4, 6-  
     7, 11-13, 28, 35, 57, 69, 71-2, 74;  
     royal Yugoslavia (1918-41), 120-  
     35, 237, 279;  
     kingdom of the Serbs, Croats,  
     and Slovenes, 120-9, 161;  
     kingdom of Yugoslavia, 129;  
     government-in-exile, London,  
     135, 142-3;  
     resistance movements in, 136-7,  
     142-56;  
     federal government of (socialist  
     period), 194-5, 211, 229-30, 237;  
     republics of (socialist period), 161-  
     2, 171, 175, 178, 180-2, 190-1, 211-  
     12;  
     federal Presidency of (socialist  
     period), 190, 197, 202-3, 206, 208,  
     212, 214, 216, 243;

Yugoslavia, Yugoslavs, (*continued*)  
prime ministers of (socialist period), 202-3;  
Federal Assembly of (socialist period), 202, 206;  
Secretariat of Defense (socialist period), 216;  
air force of (socialist period), 226, 238;  
proposals for confederation of, 212-13  
*See also* Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), and rump Yugoslavia

Yugoslavs abroad, 188-9  
Zagreb, 111, 134, 140-2, 145, 155-6, 164, 183, 224, 226, 250, 256, 277  
Završje, 19  
*Zemaljski muzej* (Provincial Museum), Sarajevo. *See* Provincial Museum  
Zenica, 97, 131, 185, 197  
Žepa, 243, 277  
Zeta (*banovina*), 129, (130)  
Zimmerman, Warren (US Ambassador to Yugoslavia), 235-6  
Zubak, Kresimir (Bosnian Croat leader), 271-2  
Zvornik, 43, 48, 50, 72, 242