



Martin Institute NEWS

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Fear and Loathing in Bosnia-Hercegovina:

Historical Roots of the Current Crisis

Three years ago most Americans, and probably many Europeans, would have been hard-pressed to find Bosnia-Hercegovina on the map. During the past year, however, a bloody ethnic civil war has brought the region to the world's attention. Bosnia is now the focus of intense scrutiny by the international media, the United Nations, and the US Government.

This is not the first time that Bosnia has appeared on the world stage. In 1914 a young Bosnian Serb nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne and ignited the First World War. As with his counterparts today, Princip's goal was the inclusion of Bosnia in a great Serbian state.

Conflicting ethnic identities and ambitions in Bosnia long predate 1914. They go back at least a thousand years. To have any hope of resolving a conflict, one needs to understand its historical dimension. What follows is a brief overview of Bosnia-Hercegovina's cultural/political evolution. Hopefully it will give the current crisis some perspective.

During the Middle Ages the Western (Roman) and Eastern (Orthodox) Churches engaged in a bitter rivalry for the allegiance of Balkan peoples. The south Slavic (Yugoslav) peoples were the chief focus of this competition, particularly the kindred Croats and Serbs. By the 9th century a Croatian kingdom had formed in the region of modern Zagreb. To the south a Serbian kingdom arose based in the region of Kossovo (today largely Albanian). Over the next few centuries the fortunes and frontiers of these states fluctuated constantly with spurts of militant expansion alternating with long periods of foreign domi-

nation. By 1200 Croatia had passed under the domination of Hungary and the Roman Catholic Church and thereafter developed a culture and economy linked to Central Europe. In contrast, Serbia fell under the cultural and political spell of the Byzantine Empire and adopted Orthodox Christianity.

But between Croatia and Serbia lay a mountainous region centered on the Bosna river, hence, Bosnia. From 900 to 1300 Bosnia was a constant bone of contention among Croat and Serb, Hungarian and Byzantine, and, of course, between Roman and Orthodox. However, the rugged terrain and the hostility of the inhabitants meant that no power gained lasting control. Although the Bosnians were definitely a branch of the Serbs, as early as 1200 a distinct regional identity had developed. The most important manifestation of this was the so-called Bosnian Church. Also known as Bogomilism, this syncretic faith rejected both the Roman and Orthodox Churches. To the Byzantines, for instance, Bosnia was "unbaptized Serbia."

In the late 1300s an autonomous Bosnian kingdom emerged, although it quickly dissolved into feudal anarchy. One result of this was the appearance of yet another political/cultural entity, Hercegovina. This region became an independent duchy in 1448. Moreover, the Roman Church re-established itself as the dominant religious influence in Hercegovina, giving the region a predominantly Catholic, Croat character. This has an important influence on the current state of affairs. Although little noted in the world press, Hercegovinian Croats have declared the independence of "Hercegovina-Bosnia," maintain their own army, and seek union with Croatia.

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The history of Bosnia and Hercegovina took a fateful turn in 1463 when both were forcibly incorporated into the Muslim Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Turkish rule lasted until 1878. In Bosnia-proper there were mass conversions to Islam (46% by 1550), a fact probably linked to the traditional hostility of native Bogomilism to the Christian churches. Under Ottoman rule Muslims enjoyed complete economic and political control of the province, while the Christian communities, especially the Orthodox, were reduced to a subject population. During the 19th century Ottoman efforts to grant greater freedom to Bosnia's Christian inhabitants were violently opposed by local Muslims.

Later control by the Catholic Austro-Hungarian Empire (1878-1918) did little to redress this situation. As late as 1910, 40,000 Muslim landlords held almost absolute power over some 900,000 serfs, 90% of them Orthodox Serbs. The Austrians also showed favoritism to the Catholic Croats, while regarding Serbs as disloyal because of their attraction to a Greater Serbia. During WWI Bosnian Serb civilians were terrorized and murdered by special police units composed mostly of Muslims and Croats. Serb guerillas retaliated with indiscriminate attacks against Muslims and Catholics.

Thus, oppression at the hands of Muslims—and Croats—is hardly ancient history to Bosnian Serbs, and it is the main factor behind their refusal to accept inclusion in a Muslim or Croat dominated state. It also explains why today, as in 1914, most Bosnian Serbs seek salvation through the creation of a Greater Serbia.

The Serb position rests not only on the conviction that they have been historically victimized by Muslims and Croats, but also that Bosnia is, in its origins, an intrinsic part of Serbia. Bosnian Muslims, in this view, are renegades who sought the favor of infidel conquerors in order to rule and exploit their brethren. Not without reason, therefore,

Muslims fear for their cultural liberty, or survival, in a Serb-dominated state.

In contrast, proponents of a unique Bosnian identity, most of them Muslim, point to the islamization of Bosnia as proof of its cultural autonomy and further argue that the Muslim population, as the direct heirs of the Bogomils, are the only "true" Bosnians. This idea, of course, feeds Serb fears that they (and Croats) would be second-class citizens in a unified state.

Although of more recent vintage, Serb-Croat animosity is no less bitter. During WWII Bosnia-Hercegovina was incorporated into an "Independent State of Croatia" under the leadership of the fascist, ultra-nationalist Ustasa movement. Between 1941 and 1945 the Ustasa murdered some 350,000 Bosnian Serbs in their own version of ethnic cleansing. Muslims, on the other hand, were accommodated by the Ustasa and, in some cases, participated in the anti-Serb excesses.

Those who ignore the past, it's been said, are doomed to repeat it. Similarly, peacemakers who ignore the history of the conflict they seek to resolve doom future peacemakers to repeat their effort. Talk of using international pressure, be it diplomatic, economic or military, to force Serb—or Muslim or Croat—acceptance of a Bosnian settlement is a case in point. An embattled tribe may be compelled to bow to superior force, but force cannot persuade it that its cause is unjust or forever lost. Defeat and subjugation are nothing new to the Serbs or other Bosnian factions. Forcing the submission of one to another will not bring true peace to Bosnia. That can only come about when things long ago lost, trust and tolerance, are restored to its warring peoples. That will be a much more difficult task than getting signatures on a piece of paper, but will be the only true measure of peace and peacemakers in Bosnia.

Richard B. Spence
Associate Professor of History
Martin Institute Associate

We extend a special thank you to all of our dinner hosts thus far. Your dedication and support are greatly appreciated!

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?

Dr. Boyd Martin, founder of the Martin Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, has been touring the northwest during the past year. At the invitation of friends and former students, Boyd has been attending a series of dinners to meet with community leaders to discuss the work and goals of the Martin Institute.

Initiated by members of the institute's Advisory Board, the dinner party program is intended to help Dr. Martin bring the work of the institute's Director, Fellows and Associates to the attention of university alumni and friends. It has been so successful that it will be continued for at least another year.

Nancy and Butch Alford of Lewiston extended their hospitality to several couples to initiate the program last year. Margaret and Dick Larson of Spokane invited friends from the Spokane area and north Idaho to join them for an evening in the Lilac City. In Boise, Marjorie and Ferd Koch brought friends together for a lovely evening, and John Chapman, Chair of the Advisory Board, hosted two dinners in his home. John Roper of Twin Falls hosted both Dr. Martin and institute director Joel Hamilton for a luncheon in that city.

In late summer Earlene and Zeke West hosted a memorable evening for friends in Kamiah, Idaho, where Dr. Martin has a summer home. Later in the fall, Marla and Morris Krigbaum kept the fires burning for a lovely dinner in New Meadows.

These gatherings of old and new friends have provided an opportunity to talk about topics ranging from the conflicts in Europe to the resolution of conflicts on Idaho's school playgrounds. We have enjoyed sharing the institute programs with interested people from communities around the state and we have plans for several more such events in the works. As the institute continues to take shape as a resource of benefit to all Idahoans, we look forward to hearing from more of the institute's friends. We appreciate the time that our dinner guests have taken to learn more about the institute and to offer us their advice about its future. They tell us that it is crucial that we address the need for conflict resolution programs for teachers to share with school children, as well as for an increasing level of conflict management skills needed to deal with today's business, regional and world problems.

Following this year's planting season (Dr. Martin manages several family farms which help provide the institute with operating funds), he looks forward to many more such evenings. Don't be surprised if you should receive a call from a friend who invites you to dinner and adds, "Guess who's coming to dinner? Boyd Martin will be joining us to discuss the Martin Institute."

We extend a special thank you to all of our dinner hosts thus far. Your dedication and support are greatly appreciated!

Liz Madison
UI Development Officer

"... you've got to know how important you are and the difference you can make."

"Service" was 1993 Borah Symposium Topic

The evenings of April 5 and 6, 1993 marked the 47th Annual Borah Symposium at the University of Idaho, the theme of which was "In the Service of Peace". The symposium is sponsored by the William E. Borah Outlawry of War Foundation, based at the UI.

The first night developed the theme with respect to East Africa and the many charitable and volunteer organizations operating in that region. The panel of speakers included: Mort Rosenblum, a journalist with the Associated Press in Paris who has done extensive reporting from East Africa; Dr. Michael Toole of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, an epidemiologist specializing in problems of refugee camps who has recently been working in Somalia; Stephen Tomlin of the International Medical Corps, who has been coordinating their programs in Somalia; and Makau wa Mutua, a Kenyan who currently heads the Human Rights Program at Harvard Law School.

Toole stated that there is no reason for famine and war to become permanent fixtures in Africa. He feels that today's situation is due to neglect and a lack of responsiveness by policymakers to problems they knew about much earlier. Mutua added that the press is primarily responsible for portraying Africa as "a continent beyond redemption". The panel told the audience that they could

help the situation by:

- calling their representatives in congress and insisting that our government assist democracies in Africa;
- pushing for debt relief in Africa;
- maintaining cultural exchanges between U.S. and African universities; and
- seeing that aid to third world countries goes toward sustainable types of development.

The second evening the theme focused on service in the Pacific Northwest. The two speakers were Mrs. Marilyn Shuler, director of the Idaho Human Rights Commission; and Ken Cole, a housing rights activist in Seattle and director of the Pike Market Senior Center. Shuler focused on the need for people to get involved. "For civil rights work, you've got to know how important you are and the difference you can make," she said. "Your workplaces and social surroundings are a rich laboratory where you can work. Say something when someone tells a racist or sexist joke. Take a stand." Cole, who works with the homeless, indigent and mentally ill, decried the discrimination that these people often face. "People aren't poor by choice, and there's no magic wand to wave." He emphasized the need to provide people with affordable housing, employment possibilities and real opportunities.

Institute Holds Conflict Resolution Training Workshop

One of the prime goals of the Martin Institute for Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution is to train students, faculty and members of the community in conflict resolution skills. This was the purpose of a Conflict Resolution Training Workshop which the Martin Institute, along with the College of Law and North Idaho Family Mediation Services, conducted March 26th through 28th.

The 2 1/2 day workshop attracted over 110 participants to four subject-area tracks: child custody issues, education and classroom conflicts, business and workplace disputes, and natural resource and environmental conflicts. Participants included undergraduate, law, and graduate students (and even two high school students), faculty from UI and several other universities, and a wide range of community people including public

school teachers, attorneys and counsellors.

The workshop was a great success, due in large part to the trainers we were able to involve. These included: Jim Melamed, Executive Director of the Academy of Family Mediators; Merle Lefkoff, Fellow of the Martin Institute and conflict resolution consultant from Santa Fe, New Mexico; Theresa Jensen of Confluence Northwest; Marcia Banta of the Idaho Education Association; and Donna Johnson, a primary school teacher from Lewiston.

We especially want to thank the Law Students for Alternative Dispute Resolution for all the work they did to help plan and organize the workshop. Our plans are to regularly offer workshops at this introductory level, as well as more advanced training in conflict resolution skills.

Second Track Dialogue:

A Tool for Conflict Resolution

One of the frustrations of the academic area of peace studies has been the difficulty of actually doing anything about the international conflicts being studied. While students may learn all about a conflict situation, it is still something that occurs "over there". Many peace studies programs have embraced conflict resolution as a way to train students in resolving conflicts between people or conflicts over public policy issues — with the assertion that these same skills also apply to international conflict.

Merle Lefkoff, a fellow of the Martin Institute, uses "second track dialogue" to carry the process one step further. Merle is a conflict resolution trainer and practitioner from Santa Fe, New Mexico. One of the many roles she plays is to teach conflict resolution skills at Armand Hammer United World College, a tiny liberal arts college near Las Vegas, New Mexico, with a large international student enrollment.

In a second track dialogue, conflict participants with real decision making power meet with the assistance of a trained facilitator

to try to reach agreement. It is second track in the sense of being an alternative to the very public summit meetings of heads of state where little real dialogue is possible in the presence of TV cameras and reporters. It is very important that second track dialogue sessions occur away from the media glare, where the participants are more able to speak freely and frankly.

Merle has organized three such dialogues focusing on Nicaragua, the Middle East, and Bulgaria. The Nicaragua session occurred just after Violeta Chamorro's election victory over the Sandinistas. With Merle serving as facilitator, the participants (diplomatic, labor, military, and business leaders from both sides) discussed how to make the transition proceed more smoothly. The Middle East dialogue addressed the water issues which are among the more intractable of the disputes being discussed in the Middle East peace talks. Dialogue participants included water officials from most of the countries in that region. The third dialogue concerned efforts in Bulgaria to protect and codify rights of minority populations. Participants included government officials and representatives of various ethnic interest groups. In all three dialogues, the participants found a surprisingly broad range of things they could agree on. The agreements reached in the Middle East water dialogue played a major role in the water agreement signed recently in Geneva — the first substantive agreement reached in the Middle East peace talks.

The Nicaragua and Middle East Dialogues were held at the United World College campus in New Mexico, and the Bulgarian sessions were held at another United World College campus near Trieste Italy. The dialogues are integrated into the conflict resolution curriculum, so students learned about the dispute, and about conflict resolution skills appropriate for dealing with the dispute, before they sat in to observe the dialogue. Other invited observers also participated. Joel Hamilton, Martin Institute Director, was present at the Nicaragua dialogue, and Ken Gallant, Martin Institute Fellow, observed the Bulgaria dialogue. During the two and a half days of the Nicaragua session, at least fifty students and twenty adult observers were always present. During breaks, the interaction between participants, students and other ob-



Martin Institute Fellow Merle Lefkoff (standing, at left) facilitates discussion among participants in a second track dialogue on Nicaragua, held in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1991. The Institute is working to bring a similar event to the University of Idaho in the near future.

servers were interesting, educational, and sometimes heated.

We are very interested in trying the second track dialogue process at Idaho in the

coming year. It offers a fascinating possibility to actually make a difference in a real international conflict, and at the same time educate students, faculty, and community participants.

Participants in the Nicaragua dialogue included (from left) the Nicaraguan Ambassador to Costa Rica; a labor union leader; Institute Fellow Merle Lefkoff; a representative on the private sector business community; a commander of the Nicaraguan Resistance (Contras); a journalist; and a top-level Sandinista leader.



Director's Corner

We are getting a glimpse of the new world order, and it raises some unsettling questions. Is Somalia the new order for a third world ravaged by exploding population, poverty and water shortage? Is Yugoslavia the new order for people whose ethnic aspirations have been released from the constraints of totalitarian government? Is the veneer of civilization really so thin and fragile that people can abandon all pretense of moral behavior when pressed by poverty, hunger, ethnic differences, or memories of past grievances? Are these just foreign nightmares, or are there parallel lessons which we should draw from the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict, anti-abortion violence, or the increasing shrillness of environmental debate?

These are disturbing questions to those of us who are dedicated to ending war and resolving conflict. What can we do to protect

that thin veneer? The only answer I see is education. We need to teach people to embrace rather than fear differences in ethnic origin, religion, or political philosophy. We need to teach people to understand the process of conflict, and skills to manage and resolve conflicts. Perhaps most important, we need to address the root causes of conflict — poverty, powerlessness, human overpopulation, inequity, distrust, misinformation, and lack of communication.

Over the last two years the Martin Institute has made a lot of progress in developing programs which address these issues. The daily news reminds us that there is much work still to do.

Joel R. Hammit

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MISSION STATEMENT

The Martin Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution is a multi-disciplinary center at the University of Idaho, founded in the belief that war and violence are neither necessary nor inevitable. Its purposes are to encourage education and research to advance peace at all levels, and also to resolve local and regional conflicts with alternatives to confrontation and litigation. Institute scholars seek to understand the major causes of disputes and violence and to provide information, training and assistance for the resolution of conflicts. The institute brings together scholars, students and present and future leaders to develop the knowledge needed for the ongoing and new challenges of establishing peace as a basis for long-range social and economic progress.

Yes, I would like to help the Martin Institute grow!

I would like to make a donation of \$ _____ to the Martin Institute.

I wish to join the "Friends of the Martin Institute" with a gift of:

_____ \$100 _____ \$250 _____ \$500; _____ \$1000; _____ Other (specify).

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Members of "Founders' Circle" Honored

Three individuals have recently been honored as new members of the "Founders' Circle" of the Friends of the Martin Institute. In February a reception was held in the institute offices to recognize Mr. John Roper a Twin Falls businessman with a great interest in the work and goals of the Martin Institute. He has made a significant bequest to the Institute which will greatly enhance institute programs in the future. At the reception, attended by a number of UI administrators as

well as institute Fellows, members of the Advisory Board and other friends, Mr. Roper was presented with a certificate of membership in the Founders' Circle and with a book on conflict resolution techniques.

In April, during the spring meeting of the institute's Advisory Board, board member E. Richard Larson and his wife Margaret were similarly honored for having established a Larson Endowment for the enhancement of Martin Institute activities. The Larsons have made two large gifts of stock and securities to this endowment, which is already helping to provide funding for some institute programs.

We are grateful to both John Roper and Margaret & Dick Larson for their support and enthusiasm.



Institute Director Joel Hamilton (left) presents gift and certificate to John Roper of Twin Falls, Idaho in recognition of his new membership in the Martin Institute's "Founders' Circle" of donors.

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