

Kent Academic Repository

Full text document (pdf)

Citation for published version

Bieber, Florian (2006) Post-War Bosnia: Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector. Ethnicity, Inequality and Public Sector Governance . Palgrave Macmillan, London, 224 pp. ISBN 978-1-4039-9882-8.

DOI

Link to record in KAR

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/3256/>

Document Version

UNSPECIFIED

Copyright & reuse

Content in the Kent Academic Repository is made available for research purposes. Unless otherwise stated all content is protected by copyright and in the absence of an open licence (eg Creative Commons), permissions for further reuse of content should be sought from the publisher, author or other copyright holder.

Versions of research

The version in the Kent Academic Repository may differ from the final published version.

Users are advised to check <http://kar.kent.ac.uk> for the status of the paper. **Users should always cite the published version of record.**

Enquiries

For any further enquiries regarding the licence status of this document, please contact:

researchsupport@kent.ac.uk

If you believe this document infringes copyright then please contact the KAR admin team with the take-down information provided at <http://kar.kent.ac.uk/contact.html>

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
<i>List of Graphs</i>	x
<i>List of Maps</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
<i>Note on the Terminology</i>	xv
1. Introduction	1
2. Historical Legacies	5
a) Empires and Bosnia	5
Ottoman Bosnia	5
Bosnia under Austro-Hungarian rule	6
b) The Yugoslav experience	8
Bosnia in the first Yugoslavia	8
The Communist era	10
c) After the fall of Communism	19
The first multiparty elections in Bosnia	19
Failed power-sharing	23
The war	26
3. Cleavages and Inequalities in Post-War Bosnia	29
a) Ethnic cleavages in post-war Bosnia	29
b) Socio-economic inequalities	33
4. Politics and Governance in Post-War Bosnia	40
a) Political parties in post-war Bosnia	41
b) Power-sharing in Bosnia	43
c) The state-level institutions	46
Presidency	48
Council of Ministers	52
Parliament	54
The state level administration	56
d) Decentralization and the entities	60
e) Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina	62

The institutional set-up	67
Public administration	73
f) The Serb Republic	76
The institutional set-up	79
Public administration	81
g) The Office of the High Representative	83
5. The Record of the Post-Dayton Elections	86
a) The electoral system	88
b) The results of the first post-war elections	90
c) Electoral reforms	93
Open lists	94
Multi-member constituencies	95
Preferential voting: RS presidency 2000	96
d) The elections 2000 and 2002	99
e) Elections and nationalism in Bosnia	103
6. Addressing Inequality & Reforming Governance in Post-War Bosnia	108
a) Refugee return, human and minority rights	108
Refugee return	108
Human and minority rights	114
b) The change of the entity constitutions and its impact on governance	121
Challenge to the ethnic entities	122
The court decision	123
The aftermath – constitutional commissions	127
The constitutional amendments	128
Does the reform matter?	131
c) The District of Brčko. A laboratory of multiethnic governance?	133
Institutions	135
Refugee return	138
Multiethnic police	140
Education	141
Is Brčko a model?	142
7. Conclusion	144

8. Appendices	152
a) Major Political Parties and Coalitions in Bosnia	152
b) Abbreviations	153
c) Structure of the System of Governance in Bosnia since the Reforms 2002	154
<i>Notes</i>	155
<i>Bibliography</i>	166
<i>Index</i>	177

1

Introduction

Bosnia-Herzegovina is a deeply divided society. After a three and a half year war (1992–1995), which left over 200,000 Bosnians dead or missing, the country is territorially, politically, and socially segregated. While a distinct Bosnian identity existed before the war and continues to some degree in the contemporary political and social life of Bosnia, the mobilization of nationalism prior to the war led to an unprecedented degree of polarization and the near disintegration of the country. Having been part of Yugoslavia and without a modern history of independence before 1992, Bosnia remains closely linked through history as well as political, economic and social reality to neighboring Croatia and Serbia.

Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats constitute the main groups in Bosnia. In addition to these three groups, a number of smaller communities (Roma, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Jews) exist. At the last census in 1991, 92.4 percent belonged to either of the three groups, with an additional four percent having declared themselves as Yugoslavs, most of whom are from mixed marriages among the three groups or belong to either of the three communities, but rather identified with Yugoslavia than with their respective nation (see Table 1.1). Smaller communities, none of which have constituted more than one percent of the population in the past decades, have thus played only an insignificant role. The two most relevant groups are Jews, who have well integrated into the urban life of Sarajevo, whereas the other group, Roma, has been mostly living on the margins of Bosnian society.

Historically, Muslims and Serbs have been the dominant communities in Bosnia, both in terms of the share of the population and in regard to political, social and economic influence. While Croats historically constituted a smaller share of the population – a fifth or less – Bosnia has

Table 1.1 Census Results in Bosnia, 1971–1991

	Muslims		Serbs		Croats		Total
	in percent	in number	in percent	in number	in percent	in number	
1971	39.6	1,482,430	37.2	1,393,148	20.6	772,491	3,746,111
1981	39.5	1,629,924	32.0	1,320,644	18.4	758,136	4,102,783
1991	43.7	1,905,829	31.4	1,369,258	17.3	755,892	4,364,574

been for over hundred years considered a region defined by the presence of these three groups. Thus, the contemporary term “constituent people” designating Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs, has an established historical precedent and defines Bosnia as a tri-national state.

Despite the depth of divisions between communities in post-war Bosnia, the nature of the cleavages is considerably less than in other divided societies. Some have even argued that the smallness of the differences has been a cause of conflict, referring to the Freudian “narcissism of minor differences” (Ignatieff 1997: 34–71). While attributing the conflict of the 1990s to the similarities between the three nations of Bosnia might not be a fully satisfactory explanation, the differences are indeed small: Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats of Bosnia speak the same language¹ and have largely similar traditions and cultural habits. The main “objective” distinguishing criterion between Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks is religion, with Serbs adhering to the Serbian Orthodox Church, Croats following the Catholic Church and Bosniaks being Muslims. While religion has been historically important as an identifier with the three groups and religious communities played an often-detrimental role during the conflict, the majority of the population before the war was either atheist or possessed only little attachment to their respective religious community. Even among more religious members of the three groups, religion has not been a self-standing political identity, but rather informing national identity.

In addition to antagonistic interpretations of the war and its causes among the different national communities (Naučoistraživački institut 2002), the state and its powers has been the major source of contention. A majority of Serbs and a strong minority of Croats prefer secession from Bosnia, whereas an overwhelming majority of Bosniaks supports the continued existence of Bosnia (UNDP 2003: 27). These different preferences also translate into different political positions vis-à-vis the joint state institutions and the degree of autonomy of the two entities, the predominantly Bosniak-Croat Federation of Bosnia and

Herzegovina, which covers 51 percent of the country and the Serb Republic, constitutes the remaining 49 percent.

In pre-war Bosnia the settlement patterns of the three groups were mixed in large parts of the country, even though there were some areas where individual ethnic groups were predominant. One of the main results of the war, in addition to the death of approximately 200,000 citizens and the displacement of roughly half the population, has been the territorialization of ethnicity. Most of the Serb population today lives in the Serb Republic in Northwestern and Eastern Bosnia. Bosniaks mostly live in seven of the ten cantons of the Federation, primarily in central and in Northwestern Bosnia. Croats live mostly in Herzegovina (the south of the country) and along the Sava River in the north.

The territorial concentration of the three nations was a result of two secessionist movements, which sought to dissolve Bosnia and join neighboring states. While the Serb secession triggered the conflict in 1992, the Croat project of secession soon followed and contributed to the conflict particularly during the period 1993–1994, symbolically culminating in the destruction of the famous Ottoman bridge in Mostar. This self-determination dispute, which is at the core of the Bosnian conflict and its post-war inertia, has not been resolved, but pacified. Post-war Bosnia has been a semi-protectorate with a substantial civilian and security presence. Governance structures recognized the territorialization of ethnicity by devolving much of the power to homogenous regions, be they municipalities, cantons or entities. At the same time, tenuous power-sharing arrangements were established to promote minimalist joint institutions. This weak common state has, however, grown in strength in the mean time. It is within this framework of multiple layers of governance, some ethnically exclusive, others inclusive, that this book seeks to evaluate the development of post-war governance in Bosnia.

The Bosnian state and society has been much in flux since the end of the war. This means that a study of post-war Bosnia has to emphasize the dynamics of change rather than offer a snap-shot that can only reveal a partial picture of interethnic relations. For this purpose, this study is organized in five main chapters. The first chapter will trace the historical legacies since the late Ottoman period in the 19th century, when the development of a modern national identity set in. The focus of this chapter is on the nature of governance in Bosnia as regards interethnic relations. Particular emphasis will be placed on the Communist period, as well as the two years before the 1992–1995

war. The second chapter examines the main sources of division and inequality in post-war Bosnia, including ethnicity and socio-economic status. The third chapter focuses on post-war governance in Bosnia, exploring the development of political parties, the institutional structures of Bosnia at the state level and in its two entities. Here governments, legislatures and administrations will be studied to identify mechanisms of inclusion and discrimination. The fourth chapter addresses the dynamics of post-war elections in Bosnia. Here both the dominance of national parties, a key source of division and inequality, and the experiments with inclusive and moderating electoral rules merit particular attention. The final chapter traces three key initiatives to overcome the post-war division of the country and the inequalities resulting from the wartime "ethnic cleansing." The first, a most ambitious project, has been the return of refugees to their pre-war place of residence. The second concerns the reforms of the two entities, which in 2002 eliminated legal discrimination against the non-dominant nations of the entities. Finally, the case study of Brčko, a multinational district in Northern Bosnia under direct international administration, provides an example to examine the success and limitations of policies that seek to recreate diversity and eliminate discrimination.

What emerges from the study is that Bosnia is a unique case of multinational governance. The substantial involvement of the international community, making Bosnia a semi-protectorate, and the extensive and firm rules determining group representation and governance have made Bosnia a highly complex country. With some seven different types and levels of governance in Bosnia, 13 constitutions, well over one hundred ministries (and ministers) and six hundred deputies,² veto rights at most levels of government, Bosnia's complexity is hard to grasp. Despite these challenges Bosnia has moved significantly towards integration since the end of the war and many inequalities have been eliminated. At the same time, the country remains deeply divided and most change continues to be driven by international actors. There is little indication that Bosnia has become self-sustainable and no longer needs international intervention. At the same time, the international civilian and military presence has fostered a climate of dependency and reinforced the reliance on external actors. Significantly, the elaborate mechanisms of power-sharing have increased group inclusion at the price of governability and cross-national identity. Nationalism and the self-determination disputes, which have been at the core of the war, and difficulties of post-war governance remain potent.

Index

Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations, maps

- Abdić, Fikret, 20, 23, 161n99
Agrokomerc company, 17, 20
Albanians, 15, 17–18, 62, 163n126
Alliance of Independent
 Socialdemocrats (SNSD), 41–3, 92,
 97, 100, 101–5, 136, 161n109,
 164n141
Anić, Mijo, 101
Anti-Fascist Council for the National
 Liberation of Yugoslavia
 (AVNOJ), 10
Ashdown, Paddy, 67, 84–5
Austro-Hungarian rule, Bosnia under,
 6–8, 10
- banovina*, 9
Barry, Robert, 94
Behmen, Alija, 101
Belgium, 60, 125, 126
Berlin Congress, 6
Bihać, 10, 13, 30, 38, 109
Bildt, Carl, 84
Bonn powers, 84
Boras, Franjo, 23
Bosanska stranka (BOSS), 97, 100,
 102, 161nn107, 109
Bosansko Grahovo, 13, 30, 32, 109
 see census results
Bosniak-Croat territory, 2, 27, 56,
 63–4, 66, 76, 119
Bosnian Podrinja Canton, 37, 63
Bosnian Presidency, 49, 51, 65, 85, 91–2,
 101, 122, 148, 158n51, 163n127
Bosnian Serb army, 27, 134
Bosnian-Macedonian proposal, 25
Brčko district, 4, 37–8, 43, 78, 82, 87,
 133–43, 140–2, 160n90
 election results in, 136
 property claims in, 139
 governance in, 154
 as a model, 142–3, 164n147
Bundalo, Perica, 97
- Canada, 126
Cantons of the Federation, 3, 63, 72,
 119, 140, 157n41, *see also*
 individual entries
Carlos Westendorp, 84
Ćavić, Dragan, 103
census results, 2, 7, 14, 15
Central Bosnian Canton, 63, 71
Čerešnješ, Ivan, 23
citoyenneté, 125
Clarke, Henry L., 142
Communism, 16, 19–28
The Communist era, 10–19, 34
‘constituent people’, term, 2
constitutional amendments, 44–5,
 68–70, 73, 76, 78, 80–3, 116, 122,
 128, 128–34
constitutional commissions, 127–8,
 132, 164n140
Constitutional court decision, 2000,
 123–9, 133, 163n134
Čović, Dragan, 49, 97, 101
Croat Democratic Community (HDZ),
 20–6, 42–3, 53, 62–7, 82, 90–3,
 117, 128–9, 147–9
 in 1990–2002 elections, 105
 in October 2004 elections, 136
 and 2000 and 2002 elections,
 99–103
 and Croats voting, 80, 89
 as Bosnian Presidency member, 49,
 54
 support for, 106–7
Western Herzegovina controlled by,
 41

- Croatia, 33, 134, 155n1, 158n63, 161n99
 and Bosnia, 33, 64, 108, 113, 117, 127, 139
 and Bosniak-Croat federation, 63
 and the communist era, 10
 and Herzegovina, 38, 41, 62
 HDZ in, 22, 65
 national movements in, 1, 6
 refugees from, 138
 SDS in, 20
 and Serbia, 147
 and Yugoslavia, 9, 24–8, 118
 Ćuk, Dobroslav, 97
 Cyrillic script, 119
 Czechs, 15, 163n126
- Đapo, Mirsad, 97, 135
 Dayton peace agreement, 27, 30, 33, 40, 42, 64, 111, 113–14
 and council of ministers, 53
 and decentralization, 60
 and the electoral system, 88
 and post-war Bosnia, 108, 118, 130, 140, 145, 150
 and public administration, 74
 and Serbia, 77
 decentralization, 18, 24, 46, 63–4, 71, 154
 and the entities, 60–2
 de-ethnification, 137
 d'Hondt system, 98
 Đilas, Milovan, 17, 155n17
 Dindić, Zoran, 165n153
 Divjak, Jovan, 163n131
 Djilas, Aleksa, 155n7
 Dodik, Milorad, 42, 78–9, 92, 96–7, 99, 164n141
 Drvar, 32, 156n34
 Dubrovnik, 26
 Dugonjić, Aljia, 97
 Duraković, Nijaz, 23
- elections for Presidency, 23
 election, 4, 22, 87, 89, 90–4, 149
 electoral reforms, 93–8
 electoral results
 of 1910, 7
 of 1990, 19–23
 of 1996, 90–1
 of 1998, 92–3
 of 2000, 97, 99–101
 of 2002, 101–3
 of 2004, Brčko, 136
 for national parties, 105–7
 and population census, 8–9, 21–22, 105–6
 electoral system, 50, 67, 69, 88, 94, 98
 Empires and Bosnia, 5–8
 entity constitutions, 44–5, 72, 79
 change of the, 108, 114, 117, 121–33
 'ethnic autonomies', 53, 115, 124, 125, 133
 'ethnic cleansing', 4, 26, 31, 34, 38, 74, 76, 83, 88, 110, 111, 140
 'ethnic issues', 120
 European Community (EC), 25, 27
- Federal Fund for Underdeveloped Regions (FADURK), 18
 Federation House of People, 55, 69, 115, 129
 Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 60, 121–2, 154, 155n13
 First Past The Post System (FPTP), 88, 98
- Ganić, Ejup, 23, 163n127
 Goražde, 13, 30, 63, 72, 109, 134, 151, 159n75
- Habsburg monarchy, 6–7
 Hadžipašić, Ahmet, 71
 Hague tribunal, 77, 160n98
 Halilović, Safet, 164n141
 Herceg Bosnia, 62, 73
 Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, 37, 63, 63, 71
 Horowitz, Donald I., 96, 148, 165n157
 Hungary/Hungarians, 15, 17, 163n126
- inequalities
 and cleavages, in post-war Bosnia, 29–39
 in post-war Bosnia, 108–43
 socio-economic inequalities, 33–9

- institutional set-up, 67–73, 79–80
 Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL), 13, 30, 31, 90, 109
 Internally Displaced People (IDPs), 33, 74–5, 89–90, 110–13, 156n32, 163n128
 International Police Task Force (IPTF), 74, 82, 140–1
 Italy/Italians, 9, 15, 163n126
 Ivanić, Mladen, 42, 97, 99, 164n141
 Ivanković-Lijanović, Mladen, 42, 101
 Izetbegović, Alija, 20, 23, 24, 27, 49, 49, 90, 122–3, 157n44, 161n113, 163nn133, 134
- Jajce, 10, 13, 30, 109
 Jelavić, Ante, 49, 65, 93, 101, 162n113
 Jews, 1, 7, 9, 15, 163n126
- Kalinić, Dragan, 164n141
 Karadordević dynasty, 8
 King Aleksandar, 8–9, 11
 Karadžić, Radovan, 77
 Kecmanović, Nenad, 23
 Kljuić, Stjepan, 23
 Koljević, Nikola, 23
 Komšić, Ivo, 23
 Kosovo, 18, 20, 33, 62, 78, 87, 145, 165n153
 Koštunica, Vojislav, 165n153
 Krajišnik, Momčilo, 24, 49, 78, 91, 160n98
- Lagumdžija, Zlatko, 54, 109, 164n141
 Lebanon, 24, 156n26, 165n158
 Lijphart, Arend, 44, 51, 165n158
 Lozančić, Niko, 164n141
- Macedonia/Macedonians, 15, 17–18, 20, 25, 33, 62, 155n6, 163n126
 Marković, Ante, 19, 23, 161n101
 Matić, Božidar, 54
 Mihailović, Draža, 139
 Milić, Petar, 117
 Milinović, Ante, 97
 Miljko, Zvonko, 123, 163n136
millets, 5
- Milošević, Slobodan, 18, 20, 27, 42, 77, 78, 161n102
 minority returns, 33, 75, 81, 89, 109, 110–16, 119, 139, 144, 160nn94, 96
 and multiethnic police, 140
 minority rights, 33, 124, 142
 and refugee return, 108–21
 Mladić, Ratko, 77
 Montenegrins, 15, 17, 155n6, 163n126
 Mostar, 3, 13, 27, 30, 35, 39, 41, 66–7, 74, 87, 109, 118, 159n72
 Mrakovica, 128
 Mujkić, Zijad, 97
 multiethnic governance, 133–43
 multiethnic police, 140–1, 160n90
 multi-member constituencies (MMC), 95–6
 Muslim Bosniak Organization (MBO), 20
- National Bank, 124
 Neum, 13, 17, 30, 109
 New Croat Initiative (NHI), 42, 92–3, 100–2, 105, 164n141
- Office of the High Representative (OHR), 46–50, 57, 59, 61, 67–9, 87, 89, 119, 132, 136, 143, 145–6, 158n53, 159n71, 160nn92–4, 164nn139, 140, 142, 147
 constitutional amendments by, 43–4, 72–3, 82, 115, 117, 128–31
 and constitutional commissions, 128
 on the council of ministers, 52, 55
 and democratization, 145
 duties of, 84, 118
 and electoral reforms, 93
 office of the, 31, 83–5
 and RS presidency elections, 42
 and SDS, 99
 and transfer of districts, 31
 versus Croatia, 65
- Ombudsman, 114
 open lists, 94–5
 Osmanović, Adil, 103
 Ottoman Empire 3, 5–6

- Pale, 13, 30, 31, 49, 109, 110, 157n45
- Party of Democratic Action (SDA),
20–6, 54, 56, 91–3, 101–7, 117,
129, 156n25, 158n55, 161n99,
162n117, 163n127, 164n141
and elections of 2000 and 2002,
100
and elections of 2004, 136
and the federation, 90, 99
and post-war period, 41
at the state level, 43
- Party of Democratic Progress (PDP),
42–3, 54, 79, 97, 99–103, 105,
158n55, 161n109, 164n141
- Peace Implementation Council (PIC),
84, 87, 160n91
- Pejaković, Josip, 23
- Petersberg agreement, 74, 82
- Petritsch, Wolfgang, 128, 129
- Plavšić, Biljana, 23, 42, 78, 91–2,
160n98
- Poplašen, Nikola, 42, 78, 92
- Posavina Canton, 37, 38, 63, 134
- power-sharing, 67–72, 78–85, 91, 96,
130–1, 144–50, 156nn26, 27
in Bosnia, 43–6
and communism, 16
and decentralization, 60–1
and elections in Bosnia, 23–6
in the federation, 70, 88, 126
and governability, 4
in joint government, 52
and Presidential systems, 51
- preferential voting, 94, 96–8
- pre-war population, 75, 110, 144
- Princip, Gavrilo, 8
- proportional representation, 45, 56,
58–9, 82, 88, 95–6, 130–1,
158n57, 161n106
- Provisional Election Commission
(PEC), 87, 94, 161n104
- public administration, 45, 73–6, 81–3,
127, 129–30, 150
- Radić, Stjepan, 8
- Radišić, Živko, 49, 92
- Radmanović, Nebojsa, 101
- Ranković, Aleksandar, 11–12
- Referendum, 1992, 26–7
- refugee return, 31, 33, 45, 50–1, 73–4,
83, 90, 108–21, 125, 138–40, 145,
147, 150
- Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), 25
- Republika Srpska* (RS), 3, 25, 32, 35–8,
40–6, 51–4, 75–83, 90–2, 103–4,
110, 113–14, 115–21, 132–4,
139–41
autonomy of, 163n133
Croat minority in, 120, 165n156
declaration of, 25
definition of, 122
and election results (2000 and
2002), 102
and the federation, 163n132
and general framework agreement,
130–1
and Kosovo, 165n153
non-Serbs in, 157n49
population distribution in, 77
presidential elections 2000, 96–8
- Roma, 1, 16–17, 115, 155n15,
163n126
- Romanians, 15, 163n126
- royal dictatorship, 8–9, 156n18
- Russia/Russians, 6, 15, 163n126
- Ruthenians, 15, 155n16, 163n126
- San Stefano peace agreement, 6
- Šandžak, 20, 6
- Šarac, Jovanka Beca, 97
- Šarajevo, 1, 13, 29–31, 34, 64–5,
155n4, 156n20, 157n45,
163nn131, 134
as capital, 38–9
and constitutional amendments,
128
and World War One, 7, 26–7
- Šarajevo Canton, 37, 63, 71, 109
- Šarović, Mirko, 49, 97, 101, 101–2,
157n47
- segmental autonomy, 44–5
- Serb Democratic party (SDS), 20–6,
41–3, 49, 53–4, 76–9, 89–93,
97–107, 129, 136–7, 148–9,
156nn23, 25, 27, 157n47,
158n55, 162n117
- Serb People's Assembly (SNS), 42, 92,
100

- Serb Radical Party (SRS), 42, 92, 93, 99, 100–2, 104, 105, 161n100, 162n117
- Serb Republic
see Republika Srpska
- Serbia, 76–8, 91–2, 134, 158n63, 160n82, 161n102, 165n153
and Austria–Hungary, 8
and Croatia, 1, 6, 10, 28, 38, 112, 147
and Habsburg monarchy, 7
nationalism in, 34
nationalist mobilization in, 18–20
and SDS, 25
- Serbian autonomous areas, 25
- Šešelj, Vojislav, 17–18, 42, 92
- Silajdžić, Haris, 41, 91, 100, 101, 102
- Slovaks, 15, 163n126
- Slovenes, 8–9, 15, 17
- Social democratic Party (SDP), 41, 43, 92, 99–105, 149, 158n55, 161nn101, 109, 162n116, 164n141
and election results of 1996, 1998, 93
and election results of 2004, 136
- State Border Service, 47, 56, 58, 60
- state level administration, 56–60
- state level institutions, 40, 46–60, 90, 145, 150
- Switzerland, 125
- Tadić, Ognjen, 101
- Tepić, Momčilo, 97
- ‘third entity’, 135
- ‘third republic’, 147
- Tihić, Sulejman, 49, 50, 101–2, 164n141
- Tito, Josip Broz, 10, 18, 155n17, 158n51
- Tomljenović, Ivan, 103
- Tudman, Franjo, 20, 64
- Turks, 15, 163n126
- Tuzla, 13, 29, 30, 37–8, 41, 64, 109
- Tuzla Canton, 37, 63
- Ukrainians, 15, 155n16, 163n126
- Una-Sana Canton, 37, 63, 159n76
- Union for Peace and Progress (SMIP), 91
- United List (ZL), 91, 93
- Ustaše* movement, 9–10
- Velika Kladuša, 161n99
- Venice Commission, 116, 158n59
- Vidovdan constitution, 8
- Vojvodina, 18, 33
- Washington agreement, 27, 62–3, 67
- West Bosnia Canton, 32, 37, 63, 64
- Western Herzegovina Canton, 37, 63, 104
- Zenica, 13, 30, 37–8, 109
- Zenica-Doboj Canton, 37, 37, 63
- Zubak, Krešimir, 42, 49, 92–3, 100, 164n141

