

## Index

Names of interviewees are cited in direct order (e.g., Alenka Savic).

Locators in italics indicate portraits and profiles of interviewees.

- Albanians, ethnic, xxii, 75, 78, 265 nn.19 and 21
- Albright, Madeleine, xvii, 100, 143, 176
- Alenka Savic, 198, 199; Bosnian Women's Initiative, xxi, 199; ethnic identity of, 186, 187; on propaganda, 94, 95, 164; on reconciliation, 169, 177, 193; refugee support initiatives of, 154, 199; on responsibility for war, 186–87; on wartime childhood, 64–66; on women in postwar reconstruction, 138, 199
- Alma Keco, 200, 201; on casualties, 22; on the cease-fire, 128; on Dayton Peace Agreement, 128; on denial of war, 20; home reclamation by, 153; on job opportunities for women, 147; as medic, 20, 68–69; on Mostar destruction, 282 n.7; on Muslim women, 137; parents of, 68–69; on women in wartime, 117, 201
- Amanpour, Christiane, xx
- Amna Popovac, 202, 203; on aid distribution, 132; anti-Muslim discrimination, 87, 203; on the media, 160; on return of refugees, 132–33; on soldiers' conduct, 184; on *This is Not Our War*, 193; wartime living conditions of, 98; on women's empowerment, 137
- Ana Pranic, 204, 205; Bosnian Women's Initiative (BWI) and, xxi; on family casualties, 120; on inter-ethnic marriages, 166
- Anderson, Shelley, 282 n.4
- Ansbacher, Charles, xix–xx
- Arbour, Louise, 286 n.13, 287 n.17
- Arendt, Hannah, 283 n.2
- “Arkan,” 17, 38, 269 n.3
- Art, women's initiatives in, 147, 167, 225
- Austria, xvi, 44–45, 130, 209, 219, 271 n.16
- Baker, James, III, 99
- Balkan conflict: acts of kindness during, 42–43, 44, 53–54, 188–89, 247; diaspora view of, 65, 171, 207; disbelief of, 15, 16, 18–20, 22, 23, 70–71, 73, 100–101, 237, 270 n.8; education during, 26–27, 67, 164, 165; on food shortages during, 43, 56–57; homes reclaimed after, 153; ordinary people in, 223; religion and, 103, 106–10, 139; social relationships during, 25, 61–62, 70–72, 93–94, 124–25; urban/rural dynamics in, 74–75, 94. *See also* Banja Luka; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Communism; Croat headings; Dayton Peace Agreement; Mostar; Rape; Refugees; Sarajevo; Serb headings; United States
- Banja Luka: Bosnian/Croat counter-offensive and, 129; medical aid in, 149–50; mosque reconstruction in,

- Banja Luka (*continued*)  
 284 n.10; multiculturalism in, 215;  
 refugees in, 33, 99, 147–49; as Repub-  
 lica Srpska capital, 269 n.6; Serbian  
 refugees in, 147–49, 181, 227
- Barata, Mira, 264 n.7
- Barry, Robert, 265 n.18
- Bec, Janja, 269 n.1
- Belgrade, 84, 113, 121, 122, 139, 141
- Biljana Chengich Feinstein, 206, 207; dias-  
 pora view of war, 171, 207; on postwar  
 revenge, 171; on religious tolerance,  
 109–10; on societal morality, 86–87; on  
 wartime Croatia, 30–31; on women’s  
 leadership, 137
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 130, 144, 249,  
 280 n.15; Croatian Serb exodus into,  
 xxxiii; division of, 79, 130; Iranian ex-  
 tremists in, 138, 275 n.28; Jews in, 102,  
 108, 261 n.1; multiculturalism in, 95,  
 100–101; postwar corruption in, 135;  
 Serbian use of the media in, 92–93,  
 277 n.45, 278 nn.46 and 49; U.S. inter-  
 vention in, 99; women and restoration  
 of, 139; women political activists in,  
 141. *See also* Dayton Peace Agreement;  
 Republika Srpska; Sarajevo; Serbs;  
 Serbs, Bosnian
- Bosnia-Croat-Serb truth and reconcilia-  
 tion commission, 286 n.7
- Bosnian Women’s Initiative (BWI), xxi,  
 199, 205, 247, 265 n.14
- Bozic, Milan, 266 n.25
- Bringa, Tone, 280 n.15
- Bush, George H. W., 263 n.2
- Bush, George W., 99
- Calling the Ghosts* (documentary), 272  
 n.26
- Chernomyrdin, Victor, 287 n.17
- Children: adolescents, 23–25; Center  
 for Culture and Youth (Mostar), 165,  
 166, 167, 221; daughters, 32, 33, 39, 67,  
 205, 223; education of, 26–27, 64, 87,  
 103, 203, 227, 231, 235; evacuation of,  
 62–63, 173, 229; friendships of, 124–  
 25; grandchildren, 223; impact of war  
 on, 64–66, 122, 124, 270 n.14; of inter-  
 ethnic marriages, 249; orphans, 225,  
 227; parents separated from, 67, 223,  
 249; in postwar era, 122, 165, 166, 167,  
 221, 223; propaganda in textbooks, 164;  
 rape of, 50, 51–52, 122; safety of, 46, 47,  
 64; sons, 29–30, 51–52, 56, 57, 62–64,  
 175–76, 225; summer camps for, 165,  
 227; of war criminals, 257
- Christianity, 103, 109, 112, 139, 225, 249
- Christopher, Warren, 280 n.14, 282 n.8
- Cigelj, Jadranka, 272 n.26
- Clark, Wesley, xxii, 265 n.19
- Clinton, Hillary, 179
- Clinton, William Jefferson (Bill): on Bos-  
 nian Women’s Initiative (BWI), xxi; on  
 Bush (George H. W.) administration,  
 xvii; intervention in Kosovo, 169; mili-  
 tary initiatives in Bosnia, 105, 128–29,  
 282 n.8; nonintervention policy of, 100,  
 280 n.14; Srebrenica massacre, 128. *See  
 also* United States
- Cockburn, Cynthia, 268 n.7, 289 n.4
- Cohen, Roger, 263 nn.2 and 3, 267 n.2,  
 273 n.1, 279 n.7
- Coles, Robert, 252, 286 n.5
- Communism: nationalism and, 75–76,  
 98, 141–42, 274 n.3; party membership,  
 243; religion and, 77–78, 109, 243;  
 women and, xviii, 207, 229, 231
- Concentration camps: disappeared per-  
 sons, 52, 54; documentary of, 272 n.26;  
 Jews in Auschwitz, 101, 217; Omarska  
 camp, xx, 182, 272 n.26, 286 n.7; Prijedor  
 camp, 51–52; rapes in, 48, 49–50,  
 51–52
- Connor, Walker, 267 n.6
- Contact Group, 73, 101, 277 n.37, 280 n.16
- Croatia: anticommunist attitudes in, 98;

- Catholic Church in, 139; Croatian Serb exodus into Bosnia, xxxiii; Peter Galbraith on, 263 n.2, 269 n.7; Operation Storm, xxxiii, 128; Danica Petric in, 37–41, 70, 85; postwar corruption in, 135; refugee support initiatives in, 153; Serbs in, 37, 83, 121, 148, 270 n.14, 275 n.25; Vukovar, 17, 270 n.14; Western recognition of, 272 n.29; women's antiwar demonstrations in, 268 n.7; Miomir Zuzul and, 268 n.4, 274 n.15, 279 n.4. *See also* Tudjman, Franjo
- Croats: Croatian Serbs, 121; Croat Radio Television, 277 n.45; on ethnic tolerance, 113; HDZ (Croat Democratic Union), 79, 277 n.45; Herzeg Bosna, 129; in Mostar, 221, 284 n.11; Muslims and, xviii, 172, 205, 225, 274 n.15; resettlement of, 158; in Sarajevo, 172, 225; in Sipovo, 155; stereotypes of, 160
- Curtin, Leah, 264 n.14
- Danica Petric, 208, 209; in Croatia, 37–41, 70, 85; on the Dayton Peace Agreement, 130–31; disbelief at onset of war, 16, 22; on ethnic tolerance, 123; in exile, 130–31; on gender inequality, 209; memories of prewar life, 111–12; postwar depression, 123; on postwar reconstruction, 119; on reconstruction in Sarajevo, 130; refugee support initiatives of, 153; on women's peace initiatives, 209
- Dayton Peace Agreement: Bosnia divided by, 128, 130–31; conditions before, 64; Croat army, 227; economic impact of, 132–33; humanitarian aid distribution, 181; implementation of, 128–31; on the media, 160, 277 n.45; Slobodan Milosevic and, 129; refugees and, 130, 131, 157, 289 n.4; Republika Srpska, 130, 132; U.S. aid and, 151; U.S. peace-keeping forces, 182; war crimes tribunals and, 129–30, 179; women absent from, xix
- Decker, Karen, 264 n.6
- Dobrinja (Olympic Village), 27–29, 46–48, 157
- Dole, Bob, 264 n.13
- Drakulic, Slavenka, 270 n.8
- Duga (NGO), 149, 150, 151, 152
- Eagleburger, Lawrence, 99
- Emsuda Mujagic, 210, 211; community organizer training, 147; on the Dayton Peace Agreement, 131–32; on domestic violence, 120; on forgiveness, 187–88; on NATO bombings, xxiii; in Omarska concentration camp, 211, 286 n.7; on politicians as cause of war, 77; on Prijedor atrocities, 51–55; on Serbian privilege, 84, 276 n.32; on women's empowerment, 137; women's vocational training, 211
- Enslar, Eve, 283 n.1
- Erdemovic, Drazen, 288 n.27
- Erlanger, Steven, 266 n.25
- Ethnic cleansing: of Albanians, xxii, 265 nn.19 and 21; Arkan and, 17; in Bosnia, 12; of Muslims, 135; rape as, 49; of Serbs, 181; at Srebrenica massacre, 175; war crimes tribunals on, 287 n.21
- Ethnic identity: children and, 249; definitions of, 5, 160 267 nn.6 and 8; discrimination and, 83–87, 121, 124, 164, 243, 249, 275 n.25, 276 n.34; Samuel Huntington and, 279 n.4; Jews and, 91, 101–4; marriage and, 95, 106–7, 111, 112, 121–22, 165–66, 205, 225, 247, 285 n.19; multiculturalism and, 95, 100–101, 105–6, 215, 241; religion and, 103–4, 106–10
- Fahrija Ganic, 212, 213; on acts of kindness, 169; disbelief at onset of war, 17; escape of, 93–94; forced migration of,

- Fahrija Ganic (*continued*)  
 35–36, 213; Ejup Ganic, xix, 17–18, 213;  
 on medical aid for Sarajevo, 113–14, 281  
 n.29; on Muslim persecution, 85–86;  
 parent care by, 69–70; political activ-  
 ism of, 144, 213; on wartime media,  
 93–94; on wartime morality, 177
- Federation of Bosnia and Herze-  
 govina, 130
- Frazure, Robert, 280 n.16
- Friendships in wartime, 25, 71–72, 87,  
 124–25, 203
- Frowick, Robert, 263 n.18
- Galbraith, Peter, 263 n.2, 269 n.7
- Galina Marjanovic, 214, 215; on Duga  
 (NGO), 149, 150, 151, 152; on multicultur-  
 alism in Banja Luka, 209; psychological  
 rehabilitation efforts of, 146, 150–51; on  
 reconciliation, 177; refugee children  
 aided by, 99; on responsibility for war,  
 89; on Serbian refugees in Banja Luka,  
 148–49, 181, 215; on Serbs' war crimes,  
 48, 181–82. *See also* Banja Luka; Serbs
- Gall, Carlotta, 289 n.4
- Ganic, Ejup, xix, 17–18, 213
- Gast, Zdenka, 264 n.7
- Germany, 71, 271 n.16
- Glenny, Misha, 272 n.29
- Goldstone, Richard, 4
- Gorazde, 68, 241, 273 n.4
- Greta Ferusic-Weinfeld, 216, 217; in  
 Auschwitz, 101, 217; on courage, 193;  
 on disbelief at onset of war, 102; on  
 ethnic identity, 117; on Jewish iden-  
 tity, 101–4; on religion, 102, 103–4; on  
 Sarajevo under siege, 22, 70–71, 217;  
 on Serbs, 88, 128, 276 n.32; on wartime  
 morality, 184
- Gutman, Roy, xx, 264 n.11
- The Hague. *See* War crimes tribunals
- Hall, Brian, 268 n.7
- HDZ (Croat Democratic Union), 79, 158,  
 277 n.45
- Hilber, Dragor, 266 n.25
- Holbrooke, Richard, xvii, 100, 128, 280  
 n.16, 282 n.8, 287 n.17
- Holocaust, Jewish, 10, 91, 101, 102, 286 n.5
- Housing in postwar era, 130–31, 153,  
 155, 158
- Humanitarian aid: Association of Serb  
 Sisters (Kolo Srpskih Sestara), 33–34,  
 154, 284 n.14; Dayton Peace Agree-  
 ment and, 175; delivery of, 132, 134–35,  
 154–55, 156, 164–65, 283 n.15, 285 n.15;  
 Iranian extremists and, 139, 281 n.28;  
 La Benevolencija, 103, 217; medical  
 care, 113–14, 149–50, 281 n.29; for Mus-  
 lims, 156; Open City program, 285 n.15;  
 psychological rehabilitation, 122, 146,  
 150–51, 161–62; Red Cross, xxi, 41, 42,  
 43, 145, 151; for refugee resettlement,  
 157–58; restrictions on, 164–65, 281  
 n.28; for Serbs, 156; George Soros and,  
 284 n.9. *See also* NGOs (nongovernmen-  
 tal organizations)
- Hunt Alternatives Fund, xxi, xxii
- Hunter, Robert, xvii, 100
- Huntington, Samuel, 97, 279 n.4
- Hutchison, Kay Bailey, xxii
- Independent Media Commission,  
 277 n.45
- International community: aid dona-  
 tions from, 132, 156, 284 n.15; Bosnian  
 women and, xvii; campaign for truth  
 by, 176, 287 n.15; Contact Group, 73,  
 277 n.37, 280 n.16; indifference of, 54–  
 55, 100–101; on postwar reconciliation,  
 169–70; Srebrenica and, 128, 133, 145,  
 174; war criminals prosecution and, 286  
 n.13. *See also* United Nations; United  
 States
- Interview techniques, 56, 252–58
- Irma Saje, 218, 219; childhood of, 23–25,

- 219; disbelief at onset of war, 16, 23; escape from Sarajevo, 43–45; living conditions in Sarajevo, 23–25, 26; on personal relationships, 124–25; on politicians as cause of war, 77; on women in wartime, 146
- Islam. *See* Muslims
- Izetbegovic, Alija: the media and, 92, 160; personality of, 274–75 n.15; post-war corruption, 135; SDA (Party for Democratic Action), 19, 79, 80, 142; Tito and, 78; United Nations and, 55; war preparedness of, 266 n.26
- Jackovich, Victor, xviii, 264 n.5
- Jagger, Bianca, 286 n.15
- Jelka Kebo, 220, 221; Center for Culture and Youth of, 165, 166, 167, 221; on inter-ethnic marriages, 166; on Mostar, 80, 165–66, 285 n.20; on women as leaders, 138–39, 140; on women's empowerment, 165, 221
- Jews: ethnic identity of, 91, 101–3; Holocaust and, 10, 91, 101, 102, 286 n.5; La Benevolencija, 217; Muslims and, 108, 281 n.26; in Sarajevo, 102–3, 217, 267 n.1
- JNA (Yugoslav National Army): anti-war demonstrations in Serbia, 12, 268 n.7; attacks on Croatia, 37; in Dubrovnik, 270 n.14; investigative reporting of, 159–60, 243; media control by, 92; Slobodan Milosevic and, 78; in Slovenia, 11–12; United States and, 99
- Kada Hotic, 222, 223; ethnic identity of, 5, 87; family members as war casualties, 57, 126–27, 173, 175–76; on food shortages, 56–57; on reconciliation, 187, 193; return to Srebrenica, 133–34, 145; on soldiers' actions, 187; Srebrenica massacre and, 21, 57–58, 175, 223, 286 n.14; on wartime destruction, 81–82, 95, 180
- Kaplan, Robert, 280 n.14
- Karadzic, Radovan: ethnic divisions of, 79, 87–88; indictment of, 129, 135, 175, 287 n.21, 289 n.4; personality of, 266 n.24, 274 n.15; Biljana Plavsic and, xviii, 264 n.4 (*see also* SDS [Serb Democratic Party]); on Serbian victimization, 274 n.15, 276 n.36; Srebrenica and, 56; support for, xxiii. *See also* Milosevic, Slobodan; Serbs, Bosnian
- Karolina Atagic, 224, 225; artwork of, 147, 225; in concentration camp, 225; on forgiveness, 172; marriage to Muslim, 112, 225; on religious tolerance, 112–13; son in the military, 63–64; on survival in Sarajevo, 21–22; on wartime destruction, 81; on women as peacemakers, 140
- Kissinger, Henry, 169–70
- Kolo Srpskih Sestara (Association of Serb Sisters), 33–34
- Kosovo: Albanians in, xxii, 75, 265 nn.19 and 21; Battle of, 88, 276 n.36; human rights abuses in, 75, 287 n.16; NATO in, xxiii, 266 n.23; United States on, 75, 169
- Kostunica, Vojislav, xxxiv, 286 n.7
- Krajisnik, Momcilo, 79
- Kristina Kovac, 226, 227; Association of Serb Sisters, 154; on children in wartime, 66–67, 99; on ethnic identity, 95; on humanitarian aid distribution, 154–55, 156; on postwar reconstruction, 135, 170; on propaganda, 90, 124; on reconciliation, 169, 189; as refugee, 32–34; on responsibility for war, 73, 80; on return of refugees, 155–56; on soldiers' humanitarian aid, 154–55, 156; summer camp started by, 165; on wartime conditions, 16; on women's postwar recovery, 154–55
- League of Women Voters of Bosnia and Herzegovina, xxii, 144, 284 n.7

- Maja Jerkovic, 228, 229; evacuation of her son, 63; on fear, 29–30; on politics, 141–42; on reconciliation, 170, 183, 229; on wartime media, 90; on women in wartime, 117, 139, 169
- Markovic, Mirjana, xviii
- Media: Independent Media Commission, 277 n.45; journalism, 18, 80, 159, 160–61, 162, 182, 237, 241, 243; misinformation in, 159; nationalism in, 91–92; propaganda in, 90–91, 94, 160, 277 nn.40, 41, and 45, 280 n.15; radio broadcasts, 90, 160, 162–63, 203, 229, 241; on refugee resettlement, 158; Serbs and, 92–93, 94, 277 n.45, 278 n.51, 279 nn.46, 49, and 50; television, 90, 92–93, 159, 277 n.45, 278 n.51; UN media code of conduct, 160; U.S. foreign policy and (CNN factor), 99–100
- Mediha Filipovic, 230, 231; anxiety for her son, 62–63; on multiculturalism, 105–6; in Parliament, 106, 143, 231; on postwar reconciliation, 117, 128, 180–81, 231; on suffering, 121; on women in politics, 140; on work and family, 231
- Memory: forgiveness and, 171–72, 174, 180, 286 nn.5 and 7; historical record of war crimes, 288 n.23; of prewar life, 42, 85, 98, 111–12, 123, 223, 239
- Menzies, John, xviii, xxi, 129, 264 nn.5–6
- Milosevic, Slobodan: ethnic Albanians and, xxii, 265 n.19; indictment of, 175, 177–78, 194, 287 nn.16–17; Kosovo bombing, 266 n.25; Mirjana Markovic and, xviii; propaganda of, 11, 91, 92, 94, 97–98, 100, 277 n.41, 278 n.51, 279 n.7; sanctions against Yugoslavia and, 89, 277 n.37; SDS (Serb Democratic Party), 79; on Serb victimization, 78, 82–83, 88, 274 n.5, 276 n.36, 277 n.37; United States and, 99, 129, 287 n.16. *See also* Dayton Peace Agreement; Serbs; United Nations; United States
- Minow, Martha, 267 n.1
- Mirhunisa Zucic, 232, 233; Association of Displaced Persons and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 157; on disappeared persons, 176; on Dobrinja (Olympic Village) massacre, 157; on friendships as casualties of war, 71–72; on gender roles, 137; on postwar reconstruction, 119, 156–57; on rape victims, 49–50, 68, 157, 233; relief work of, 49–50, 67–68, 156–58, 176, 233; resettlement projects of, 157–59; on her source of strength, 159; Srebrenica refugees organization, 144–45, 157–58
- Mladic, Ratko, 175, 180, 274 n.15, 287 n.21
- Mostar: Amna Popovac and, 87, 98, 132–33, 160, 202, 203; cease-fire and, 128, 282 n.7; children in, 165, 166, 167, 221; Croats in, 221, 284 n.11; destruction of, 282 n.7; ethnic identity in, 80; home reclamation in, 153; Muslims in, 203; postwar reunification in, 166, 172, 229, 285 n.20; religious tolerance in, 108; Serbs in, 203, 221. *See also* Jelka Kebo; Maja Jerkovic
- Mothers: care of, 69–70, 99, 237; children separated from, 67, 223, 249; daughters and, 32, 33, 39, 67, 205, 223; as providers, 70, 273 n.7; of soldiers, 63–64, 225; sons and, 51–52, 56, 57, 62–64, 225; wartime childrearing, 65–67
- Mount Igman, 43–44, 69, 273 n.6, 278 n.47
- Muslims: Bosniaks as, 56, 87, 158; Croats and, xviii, 172, 205, 225; culture of, 111; Duga (NGO) and, 151; expulsion from university of, 203; humanitarian aid for, 156; interethnic relations, 112, 135, 151, 188–89, 225; Jews and, 102, 108, 281 n.26; mosques of, 48, 95, 284 n.10; in Mostar, 203; in Sarajevo, 207, 289 n.4; Serbs and, 85–86, 94, 150, 183, 188–89, 278 n.47, 284 nn.10 and 12; in Sipovo,

- 155; tolerance for, 107–8, 203, 274 n.15; Zelene Beretke (Green Berets), 150, 284 n.12. *See also* Srebrenica massacre
- Nada Rakovic, 234, 235; decision to flee, 40, 41; medical service of, 40–41, 42; as member of parliament, 143; optimism of, 193; in Republika Srpska, 158; on villagers in Balkan conflict, 74; on women's influence in politics, 143
- Nationalism: media campaigns and, 91–92; of Slobodan Milosevic, 98, 279 n.7; *Oslobodjenje* (newspaper), 161; religion and, 107; Serbs and, 279 n.7
- NATO: airstrikes by, xxiii, xxxiv, 266 n.23, 273 n.1, 287 n.17; Robert Hunter and, xvii, 100; nationalism and, 98; Sarajevo market attack and, 278 n.47; Serbian military and, 104, 148. *See also* War crimes tribunals
- Nazism, 82, 91, 98, 100, 101
- Network of East-West Women, 270 n.8
- Neville-Jones, Pauline, 264 n.9
- NGOs (nongovernmental organizations): Antonia, 147, 249; art collective, 225; Association of Displaced Persons and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 157; Association of Serb Sisters, 154, 284 n.14; Bosnian Women's Initiative (BWI), xxi, 199, 205, 247, 265 n.14; Duga, 149, 150, 151, 152; Mercy Corps, 199; postwar reconstruction and, 138, 139; Women for Women International, 247
- Noor, Queen of Jordan, 264 n.13
- Nurdzihana Dzozic, 236, 237; on attacks on Dobrinja, 27–28, 46; on the Dayton Peace Agreement, 160–61; disbelief at onset of war, 15, 73; on ethnic identity, 27–28, 46, 95, 102; journalism of, 160–61, 162, 182, 237; League of Women Voters of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 144, 284 n.7; on living conditions, 27–29; as mother's caregiver, 99, 237; on politicians, 140; radio broadcast by, 163; on reconciliation, 185, 237; social activism of, 162–63; *Zena 21*, 162, 237
- Oakley, Phyllis, 265 n.14
- Omarska concentration camp, xx, 188, 272 n.26, 286 n.7
- Open Society Institute, 284 n.9
- OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), xxi–xxii, 141, 269 n.5, 277 n.45
- Pale, 19, 239, 269 n.6
- Plavsic, Biljana: Radovan Karadzic, xviii, 264 n.4; on Muslims, 263 n.3; war crimes tribunal and, xviii, 90, 235. *See also* Karadzic, Radovan; Republika Srpska
- Postwar era: alcoholism, 122; brain drain during, 155–56, 164; children in, 122, 165, 166, 167, 221, 223; domestic violence, 120, 122–23, 282 n.6; forgiveness, 124–25, 171–72, 174, 180, 286 nn.5 and 7; housing in, 130–31, 153, 155–56; networking in, 165, 166, 221; psychological trauma in, 24–25, 31, 65, 70, 122, 147, 150–51; unemployment, 223; war casualties, 126–27. *See also* Humanitarian aid
- Powell, Colin, xvii, 99, 279 n.9
- Prijedor concentration camp, 51–52, 164, 211
- Propaganda: Bosnia-Herzegovina in, 280 n.15; inter-ethnic conflict as, 97–98; Slobodan Milosevic and, 11, 92, 94, 97–98, 100, 278 n.51; newspapers, 94; rape, images of, 48, 93; in Sarajevo, 92–93, 278 nn.46 and 49; Serbs and, 82–83, 92–93, 277 n.45; television and, 90, 93, 278 n.51; in textbooks, 164
- Rada Sesar, 238, 239; on acts of kindness, 188–89; disbelief at onset of war, 15,

- Rada Sesar (*continued*)  
 18–20; Muslims and, 188–89; radio broadcasts of, 189, 239; refugee interviews by, 20; religious tolerance, 110; on Serbs' use of the media, 92–93; on Serbs' war crimes/collective guilt, 176, 239; on the Serb view of history, 88–89; on wartime conditions, 19–20, 64
- Radio broadcasts, 90, 160, 163, 229, 241
- Ramet, Sabrina Petra, 276 n.34
- Rape: aid for victims of, 49–50, 157, 233; of children, 50, 51–52, 122; in concentration camps, 48, 49–50, 51–52; as ethnic cleansing, 49; propaganda images of, 48, 93; statistics on, 48–49; United Nations on, 179, 287 n.19; as war crimes, 179–80
- Red Cross, xxi, 41, 42, 43, 145, 151, 284 n.8
- Redmond, Chuck, xviii, 274 n.15
- Refugees: in Austria, xvi, 44–45, 130, 209, 219, 271 n.16; in Banja Luka, 33, 147–49; becoming, 34, 37–38, 39, 43, 124, 270 n.8; children as, 35–37, 38, 39; Dayton Peace Agreement and, 130, 131; disappeared persons and, 52, 54, 145, 175–76; Duga (NGO) and, 149, 150, 151, 152; escapes of, 38–39, 43–45, 93–94, 125; in Germany, 271 n.16; personal belongings of, 28, 39, 41–42, 173; resettlement initiatives for, 132–33, 156–57, 271 n.16; return of, 44–45, 125, 132–34, 153, 155–56; in Sarajevo, 68, 176, 233, 239; in Split, Croatia, 30–31, 87, 270 n.12; in Srebrenica, xxi, 133–34, 144–45, 157, 223; in Turkey, 35–37. *See also* Humanitarian aid
- Republika Srpska: Bosnian/Croat army and, 129; children in, 165; Croats in, 158; Dayton Peace Agreement and, 130, 132; Biljana Plavsic and, xviii, 235, 264 n.4; Sanski Most, 211; Serb Radical Party, 264 n.4; women activists in, 141, 147, 227, 235. *See also* Banja Luka
- Riedlmayer, Andras, 269 n.2
- Rieff, David, 264 n.11
- Rubin, Elizabeth, 264 n.4
- Sabiha Hadzimiratovic, 240, 241; on aid distribution, 132; on Dayton Peace Agreement, 128; dolls manufactured by, 165, 241; on domestic violence, 122–23; humanitarian efforts of, 184, 241; as journalist, 241; on media propaganda, 90; on multiculturalism, 241; on politicians as cause of war, 77; on reconciliation, 173, 185; on religion, 106–8; on women in politics, 144
- Samarah, Sunita, 197, 289 n.2
- Samarah, Tarik, xxxvi
- Sarajevo: Aerodrom massacre, 47–48; Bosnian army attacks, 128–29; civilian casualties in, 70–71; Croats in, 172, 225; disappeared persons from, 46, 47; Dobrinja (Olympic Village), 27–29, 46–48, 157; escapes from, 43–45, 93–94, 125, 130; ethnic relations in, 112–13, 225, 263 n.1, 280 n.15; food shortages in, 43; Jews in, 102–3, 211, 267 n.1; market massacre, 93, 128–29, 278 n.47; medical aid for, 113–14, 281 n.29; Muslims in, 207, 289 n.4; refugees in, 68, 176, 233, 239; Serb attacks on, 47–48, 129, 182–83; Serbian exodus from, 130, 289 n.4; Serbian propaganda, 92–93, 278 nn.46 and 49; George Soros and, 284 n.9; television in, 92–93, 277 n.45; women's anti-war demonstrations in, 268 n.7
- SDA (Party for Democratic Action), 19, 79, 80, 142
- SDS (Serb Democratic Party), 79, 92
- Sell, Louis, 268 n.3, 276 n.32
- Serb Radical Party, 269 n.5
- Serbs: "Arkan," 17, 38, 269 n.3; Association of Serb Sisters, 154, 284 n.14; autonomous Bosnia regions, 79; in Belgrade, 84, 113, 121, 122, 141; collective



- guilt, 176, 239; discrimination against non-Serbs, 84–86, 276 n.34; Dobrinja (Olympic Village) massacre, 27–29, 46–48, 157; epic narratives of, 88–89, 276 n.36, 279 n.7; ethnic tolerance of, 113; humanitarian aid for, 156; in Kosovo, 265 n.21; the media and, 92–93, 94, 277 n.45, 278 n.51, 279 nn.46, 49, and 50; in Mostar, 197, 215; Muslims and, 85–86, 94, 150, 183, 188–89, 278 n.47, 284 nn.10 and 12; nationalism, 279 n.7; Operation Storm, xxxiii, 128; privileges of, 83–84, 86–87, 275 n.25; propaganda and, 82–83, 92–93, 277 n.45; refugees in Banja Luka, 147–49, 181, 215, 227; religious tolerance and, 110; resettlement of, 158, 159; Sarajevo and, 47–48, 92–93, 130, 278 nn.46 and 49, 289 n.4; in Sipovo, 227; United Nations and, 56; Vance-Owen peace plan and, 278 n.51; as victims, 78, 82–83, 85, 88–89, 274 n.15, 275 n.22, 276 n.36, 277 n.37, 278 nn.49 and 51; war crimes and, 181–82, 245; White Eagles, 19, 20, 269 n.5. *See also* Milosevic, Slobodan; Sarajevo; Srebrenica; Srebrenica massacre; United Nations
- Serbs, Bosnian: community organizer training for, 147; Ratko Mladic, 175, 180, 274 n.15, 287 n.21; Nada Rakovic, xxii, 40–42, 74–75, 143; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), xxii, 265 n.22; Pale, 19, 239, 269 n.6; peace negotiations, 277 n.37; as refugees, 121; in Tuzla, 64–65. *See also* Republika Srpska
- Seselj, Vojislav, 269 n.5
- Silajdzic, Haris, 75
- Sipovo, 32, 34, 80, 124, 135, 155, 227. *See also* Kristina Kovac
- Sivac, Nusreta, 272 n.26
- Slobodna Bosna* (magazine), 243
- Slovenia, 98, 111, 199, 272 n.29
- Soldiers: boys in wartime, 25–26, 270 n.11; choices made by, 184, 187, 288 n.27; domestic violence, 122; humanitarian acts of, 53, 54, 154–55, 156; recruitment of, 29–30, 32; sons as, 63–64, 225
- Soros, George, 284 n.9
- Split, Croatia, 30–31, 87, 270 n.12
- Srebrenica: childhood in, 223; commemorations of, xxi, 245; after the Dayton Peace Agreement, 134; refugees in, xxi, 133–34, 144–45, 157–58, 223; self-defense in, 145; standard of living in, 223; survivors of, 157–58, 159; United Nations forces in, 56, 57, 174–75
- Srebrenica massacre: deportations to Tuzla, 57–58, 145; Dutch peacekeepers in, 56, 57, 174, 175; Drazen Erdemovic and, 288 n.27; executions at, xxi, 58, 159, 175–76, 223, 286 nn.11, 14, and 15; international community and, 128, 273 n.1; rape during, 49–50, 68, 233; Red Cross, xxi, 145; United Nations forces and, 174–75, 286 nn.11 and 15; women's protests and, 144–45
- Stanisic, Mico, 287 n.21
- Steagell, Lael, 265 n.17
- Steinberg, Mark, 264 n.13
- Steinem, Gloria, 270 n.8
- Steiner, Michael, xx, 264 n.12
- Suzana Andjelic, 242, 243; on Dayton Peace Agreement, 128; disbelief at onset of war, 18; on ethnic identity, 95; political corruption investigated by, 80, 159–60; on politicians as cause of war, 77; Serbian identity of, 243; on war crimes tribunals, 177
- Talbott, Strobe, 287 n.17
- Tanja Ljubic-Mijatovic, 244, 245; on Dayton Peace Agreement, 128; disbelief at onset of war, 18; on gender roles, 143; in parliament, 18, 245; political activism of, xvii–xviii, 18, 142–43,

- Tanja Ljujic-Mijatovic (*continued*)  
 245; on postwar trauma, 120; on Serbian/state control of media, 93; on Srebrenica massacre, xxi, 245; on wartime morality, 177
- Tanner, Marcus, 270 n.14
- Television, 90, 92–93, 159, 277 n.45, 278 n.51
- Tito, Marshal: Alija Izetbegovic and, 78; on nationalism, 78, 103; onset of war and, 74; *Oslobodjenje* (newspaper), 161; repression of, 87, 103; Serbs and, 83; women in politics under, 141; Yugoslavia, 11. *See also* Milosevic, Slobodan
- Trauma: distrust, 124–25; domestic violence, 120, 122–23, 282 n.6; family casualties, 126–27, 161–62, 164, 175–76, 223; psychological, 24–25, 31, 65, 70, 122, 147, 150–51; soldiers, 63–64. *See also* Rape
- Trnopolje, 272 nn.26 and 28
- Tudjman, Franjo: Catholic Church and, 139; division of Bosnia, 40, 79, 275 n.18; HDZ (Croat Democratic Union), 79; influence of, 11; the media and, 92, 160; nationalism of, 139; Operation Storm, xxxiii, 128–29; Serb expulsion from Croatia, 147; Miomir Zuzul and, 268 n.4, 274 n.15, 279 n.4
- Tuzla: Bosnian Serbs in, 64–65; deportations to, 57–58, 145; women’s protests in, xxi, 145
- United Nations: arms embargo, 98–99; in Bosnia, 56; Bosniaks and, 56; Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), 179; Alija Izetbegovic and, 55; media code of conduct, 160; Slobodan Milosevic and, 55–56; Serbs and, 56; in Srebrenica, 56, 57, 128, 174–75, 273 n.1, 286 nn.11 and 15; *Zena 21* supported by, 162
- United States: aid to Balkans, 194; bombing of Serb army by, 128–29; on fall of communism, 98; intervention in Kosovo, 169; the media and, xvii, 65, 99–100; Slobodan Milosevic and, 99, 129, 287 n.16; non-intervention policy of, 100, 104, 263 n.2, 280 n.14, 281 n.20. *See also* Dayton Peace Agreement
- U.S. Institute of Peace, 286 n.7
- USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development), xxi
- Valentina Pranic, 246, 247; Bosnian Women’s Initiative (BWI), xxi; on fear, 120–21; on gender inequality, 247; as refugee, 42–43; on responsibility for war, 73; on wartime media, 90
- Vance-Owen peace plan, 278 n.51
- Vesna Kusic, 248, 249; Antonia (NGO), 147; on forgiveness, 117, 172; job discrimination, 87, 121; League of Women Voters of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 144, 284 n.7; strength of, 139
- “Vital Voices: Women in Democracy,” 138
- Walker, Jennone, 264 n.7
- War crimes tribunals: Dayton Peace Agreement and, 129–30, 179; Drazen Erdemovic and, 288 n.27; establishment of, 287 n.21; Radovan Karadzic and, 129, 135, 175, 287 n.21; Slobodan Milosevic and, 175, 177–78, 194, 287 nn.16 and 17; Biljana Plavsic and, xviii, 90; Serbs’ war crimes, 181–82; value of tribunal, 178
- Westendorp, Carlos, 283 n.15
- White Eagles, 19, 20, 269 n.5
- Wiesel, Elie, 281 n.26
- Women: in army service, 20–21; as caregivers, 30, 35–40, 63, 69–70, 99, 237, 273 n.7; conferences of, 137–38, 141, 289

- n.2; disbelief of atrocities, 18–20, 70–71, 270 n.8; domestic violence, 120, 122–23, 282 n.6; economic independence for, 53, 133, 134–35, 147, 272 n.27, 283 n.12; gender inequality and, 143, 209, 217, 233, 235, 247, 289 n.4; in journalism, 80, 159–60, 161, 162, 182, 237, 241; leadership roles for, 53, 138–39; in medicine, 17, 20, 40–41, 42, 68–69, 229, 231, 235; in Parliament, 143, 231; as peacemakers, 139, 140, 194, 288 n.3; in peace talks, xix; in politics, xvii–xviii, xix, 140–43, 144, 158, 213, 231, 235, 245, 249, 283 n.3, 284 n.7; postwar reconstruction, 137–38, 283 n.1; public demonstrations of, xxi, 12, 122, 144–45, 268 n.7, 288 n.3; radio broadcasts of, 162–63, 189, 239; rape of, 48, 49–50, 51–52, 57, 93, 173, 179; refugee aid by, 49–50; relief work of, 49–50, 67–69, 156–58, 176, 233; religious repression of, 139; sex slavery, 122. *See also* Children; Humanitarian aid; NGOs (nongovernmental organizations); individual interviewees (e.g., Kristina Kovac)
- “Women: A New Political Future,”  
xx, 141
- Women in Black (Belgrade), 122, 284 n.14
- Women for Women International, 247
- Women’s Foundation of Colorado, 252
- “Women Transforming Themselves and Society,” 137–38, 289 n.2
- Woodward, Susan, 272 n.29
- Yugoslavia: Christianity in, 103; communism, 75–76; JNA (Yugoslav National Army), 11–12; media manipulation in, 90–91, 277 nn.40, 41, and 45; sanctions against, 89, 277 n.37; Serbian privilege in, 83, 275 n.25; Serb and non-Serb tensions, 85, 121–22, 276 n.34; Soviet Union and, 11, 75; U.S. public reaction to, xvii; women’s roles in, 217, 289 n.4. *See also* JNA (Yugoslav National Army)
- Zagreb, Croatia, 139, 269 n.7
- Zena 21, 162, 237
- Zimmerman, Warren, 55, 99, 263 n.1, 266 n.26, 276 n.34
- Zuzul, Miomir, 268 n.4, 274 n.15, 279 n.4