2.7 The impact of the war: Social and economic consequences

Conceptual understanding

Key concepts
→ Change
→ Consequence
→ Significance

Key question
→ How did forces for change shape a new society in Kosovo?

A chronology of key events in Kosovo, 1999–2008

- Serbs withdraw from Kosovo: 1999 June 20
- The first direct talks take place between Serbian and Kosovo leaders: 2002 February
- 19 people are killed in Mitrovica in clashes between Serbs and others: 2003 October
- December
- 2004 March
- Parliament re-elects President Rugova as head of state
- 2006 January
- 2007 February
- The UN unveils its plan to set Kosovo on path to independence
- November
- 2008 February
- Kosovo declares itself independent.
Kosovo is a small country but it also has a lot of riches that were granted to us by God.

— Ibrahim Rugova

In June, the peace agreement between NATO and Yugoslavia ended a period of conflict that had been going on for years. The impact had been felt by almost everyone within Kosovo and, following NATO’s bombing campaign, by many of the people inside Yugoslavia too. It was time to rebuild. The scale of the damage to society was nothing like what had happened in Rwanda; nevertheless, it would take considerable investment of time, money and resources to try and rebuild the shattered economy and society of Kosovo. There were almost 1 million ethnic Albanians as well as another 500,000 displaced within the province. Given the choice, most Serbs left the region, and there were reprisals against those who remained. The KFOR mission had to address all of these problems.

Kosovo, already poor, had suffered from NATO bombing during the war and much of the infrastructure of the state, including houses, roads and bridges, had been bombed or damaged. Law and order had collapsed and, as the Serbs retreated, the KLA attempted to gain control. Under the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 1244, jurisdiction in Kosovo was handed to the UN, which then created the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). This was headed by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG). The civil administration, police and justice were run directly by UNMIK, and economic reconstruction was under the jurisdiction of the EU. The aim of that mission in Kosovo was KFOR. Institutions were in place to help Kosovo get back on its feet.

It is always difficult to rebuild both an economy and a society after a period of civil strife, but these can really only come about with a stable political situation and an improvement in the quality of life for the people. The bedrock of a stable society is the ability of a government to offer the possibility of prosperity for people through employment and the opportunity to develop and make progress. The future of Kosovo and the region therefore hinged on its ability to advance economically and socially in the face of the challenges posed by nationalist sentiment.

**Source skills**

Look at the cartoon on the previous page and answer the following questions.

**First question, part b – 2 marks**
Explain the object on the ground and the labels on the road sign.

**First question, part b – 2 marks**
What is the message of the cartoon?

Evidence suggests that the major consequences for Kosovo in the years immediately after the NATO intervention were scarcity of economic opportunities, unemployment and lack of security. Recalling that Kosovo was the poorest province of the Yugoslav Federation, even prior to the
break-up of the state, it is hardly a surprise that poverty continued to plague the development of Kosovo in the years after 1999. However, the tensions between Albanians and Serbs that had caused the war in the first place continued into the 21st century. Sporadic violence occurred between the two ethnic groups, for example in 2004, when anti-Serb riots broke out in numerous towns and cities in Kosovo. The unrest claimed 30 lives and caused the displacement of more than 4,000 Serbs and other minorities, a feature of what had been happening since the ceasefire in the summer of 1999. It is worth noting that, according to The World Factbook, in 2008 92% of Kosovo’s population were Albanians, with the other 8% made up of several groups, including Serbs, Gorani, Bosniaks, Roma, Turks, Ashkali and Egyptians (see https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kv.html). As an example, by 2014, one of these groups, the Ashkali community, probably comprised fewer than 50,000 people.

Rebuilding Kosovo’s society and economy

Kosovo’s population had been predominantly Albanian for a long time and the region is one of great ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. However, Kosovo is also a region of great divisions, and we have seen how the Serb government attempted to expel the Albanians and tilt the demographic balance more in the favour of the Serb minority. Rebuilding a nation out of a civil society already economically poor and divided would prove even more of a challenge.

Put simply, the mission facing UNMIK and the international community in Kosovo was nothing short of a relaunching of the economy and a simultaneous rebuilding of the society. These tasks went hand in hand. Considering the poverty that existed in Kosovo and the fractures in society, the achievements of the international community are impressive.

Kosovo’s economy

It is useful to look at the economic situation in Kosovo prior to the conflict and also in the decade that followed. As Rugova stated, Kosovo is a land with a number of natural resources, particularly mineral deposits. These include significant reserves of silver, zinc, nickel, chromium magnetite, bauxite, lead and, most importantly, lignite. Lignite is a fossil fuel, sometimes known as “brown coal”. Most of it is burned to generate electricity and to generate natural gas, but it also yields fertilizers for use in agriculture. Lignite is the greatest natural resource that Kosovo possesses, and its deposits there are ranked fifth in the world in quantity. The Romans mined lignite in the Balkans 2,000 years ago, and the high quality of the lignite in Kosovo makes it invaluable to its economy, providing over 90% of the country’s electricity from its deposits. The problem lies in extracting the deposits, which requires investment capital.
The mining of minerals and metals formed the backbone of the economy in the Yugoslav Federation, especially at the Trepča mines, where British investment in the previous century had helped to modernize the process of extraction. The whole economy needed modernization though, as much of the infrastructure was outdated. Kosovo’s industrial drive required more direct investment and inclusion into the wider European market.

After the war, the economy of Kosovo was still based heavily upon agriculture, with over 80% of the output in this sector a product of subsistence farming. Products included wheat, potatoes, corn, dairy products
and fruit, contributing about 13% of the gross national product (GNP). The majority of these agricultural products were used by the Kosovars themselves and so generated very little income for the country’s economy.

Overall, the economy of Kosovo in the post-war period became heavily dependent on foreign aid and the international community. Post-war reconstruction played a large part in helping the regrowth of the market, generating a temporary boom that disguised the deep-rooted problems within the Kosovo economy. Hundreds of thousands of houses were destroyed in the war and these needed to be rebuilt. Housing and basic infrastructure reconstruction was tackled in the three years after the war. Remembering that Kosovo was never a self-sustaining province, Yugoslavia benefited from the resources of Kosovo, but gave little in return. After the conflict, the consequences of this could be clearly seen. Kosovo’s economy is geared more for demand than production, meaning that it uses most of what it produces, leaving little for export to make money abroad. Its main trading partners are its immediate neighbours in Europe; Italy, Albania and the Republic of Macedonia buy half of Kosovo’s limited exports. Kosovo’s main import partners are Germany, the Republic of Macedonia and Serbia.

The labour market also impacts Kosovo’s economic situation. The consequences of the war, as well as other demographic factors, will be examined shortly. However, for years before the conflict, Kosovo had been reliant on remittances sent home by Kosovars working outside of the province. In the days of the old Yugoslav Federation, this had meant remittances principally from Kosovars in Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia. In the years immediately following the conflict, a number of Kosovars moved abroad, most of them to work in Germany and Switzerland, and from here they sent back money to their families in Kosovo. This diaspora had an impact on the economic development of Kosovo after 1999, with remittances estimated to be as high as 14% of Kosovo’s gross domestic product (GDP). Remarkably, the average Kosovar household received more cash from relatives working abroad than it did from working in Kosovo. This can be seen in the table below. This shows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo general budget – domestic revenues</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo general budget – donor grants</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIK budget</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction assistance for NGOs</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KFOR</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public enterprises (fixed capital formation)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6,262</td>
<td>5,251</td>
<td>4,066</td>
<td>3,085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Public expenditure in euros (millions)

public expenditure four years after the end of the Kosovo war, and indicates some of the deep-rooted problems within Kosovo's economy.

When the war ended in 1999, Kosovo adopted the German mark, which replaced the Serbian dinar. However, within two years, it adopted the euro, which remains the official currency of the country (although the Serbian dinar is also still used illegally in Serb enclaves). Kosovo's tie to the euro has helped keep the country's inflation low. Although Kosovo's economy has shown some progress in the transition from a small, state-controlled system to a market-based system, it is still very reliant on the international community and on Kosovars living abroad. The bottom line is that Kosovo's citizens remain the poorest in Europe: they had a per capita GDP of US$7,600 in 2013.

Unemployment is very high in the country; for example, in 2013, it was estimated at 45%. Over one third of the population lives on less than 2 euros (about US$4) a day. This encourages people to emigrate and fuels a substantial black market economy. The website of the government of Kosovo indicates that 34.5% of the population live in poverty and a further 12% are classified as living in extreme poverty. With a population of less than 2 million (the 2012 census gave the country a population of 1.8 million), Kosovo remains one of the poorest countries in the world, ranked 132nd in a 2012 survey (see https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kv.html).

Finally, this can clearly be seen through the statistics for average incomes for private households in Kosovo, which reflect the poor economic situation for the majority of people. A report by the Kosovar Stability Initiative, a think tank, in 2008 stated that "Kosovo is an island of poverty in Europe. Kosovo looks, feels like, and is, a poor part of Europe" (Judah, 2008: 106).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of income</th>
<th>Type of residence</th>
<th>Kosovo</th>
<th>% of income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash, wages and salaries, net of tax</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>192.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>13.51</td>
<td>23.56</td>
<td>19.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare benefits</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages in kind</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>13.68</td>
<td>9.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent, dividends, interests</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash remittances from Kosovo</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td>58.83</td>
<td>6.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash remittances from abroad</td>
<td>34.43</td>
<td>48.91</td>
<td>48.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other income</td>
<td>29.48</td>
<td>42.64</td>
<td>36.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>307.40</td>
<td>324.12</td>
<td>321.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

▲ Average monthly income of private households in euros, June 2002–May 2003
The social consequences and the refugee problem

The social impact of the conflict in Kosovo cannot be measured solely in the statistics of those who were killed. The number of deaths was, relative to what had taken place in Rwanda, small. Indeed, compared to those who had been killed in the other Yugoslav wars, the numbers were small too. Social consequences can be measured in ways other than by statistics. The dislocation of a society and the suffering seen through the media had a major impact on the decision to go to war in the first place in the context of the break-up of the Yugoslav Federation. Ethnic cleansing appeared once again on the doorstep of Europe and could not be tolerated.

The death toll in the Kosovo war is not accurately known and has become the focus of some debate. During the war, NATO officials suggested that as many as 100,000 people had been killed. The numbers were certainly nothing like as high as that. US Secretary of Defense William Cohen referred to 100,000 missing, possibly killed, as a justification for NATO’s need to intervene. He was supported in this by NATO spokesman Jamie Shea, who described Milošević as “the organizer of the greatest human catastrophe since 1945” (quoted at http://archiv.medienhilfe.ch/News/Archiv/1999/KosovaWar/r-s-fi.htm) and compared what was happening in Kosovo to the genocide carried out by Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia (Kampuchea) in the 1970s. This was a huge exaggeration.

In 2001, the ICTY surveyed a number of mass graves and exhumed approximately 4,300 bodies of people killed by Yugoslav troops and paramilitaries in Kosovo. Human Rights Watch and other organizations, including the Red Cross, added another 3,500 casualties, including ethnic Serbs who were missing in the conflict. More recent estimates from 2008 raised the final figure to approximately 10,000 deaths in Kosovo between 1998 and 1999. Add to that an estimated 800,000 Kosovar Albanians who fled to neighbouring countries (most of whom have returned) and we have a figure of between 10,000 and 11,000 dead. You may want to consider the scale of suffering in the light of what you know about other conflicts, particularly in the 20th century. The raw numbers are certainly lower than those in several other wars, notably in the case study of Rwanda where the scale of death and suffering, as well as the social consequences, are staggering. However, does an assertion of the numbers of dead – be it 10,000, 800,000 or 6 million – really diminish the scale of the crimes committed?

We have seen that the generally accepted figure for the death toll in Kosovo is approximately 10,000 people. In Serbia, the government claimed that NATO was responsible for the deaths of around 500 people. The largest single incident was the death of 87 Albanian refugees killed on 14 May 1999 at Korisa, the victims not Serb soldiers,
but innocent civilians caught up in the war and killed as a result of collateral damage. Considering the extent of bombing by NATO forces, the figures are remarkably low. However, the signing of the ceasefire agreement on 12 June 1999 did not bring an end to the killing, or the suffering, felt by many in Kosovo and the region. The Serb and Roma minority groups in the province felt the social consequences immediately. What was to happen in the months immediately following the conclusion of the NATO intervention was another bout of ethnic cleansing, albeit on a smaller scale, that transformed the society of the new state emerging from the Kosovo conflict.

Acts of revenge

In the aftermath of any war there are often acts of reprisal taken by the victors against the defeated and those caught up in the conflict. In Kosovo, the Serb minorities and the Roma were immediately targeted for revenge by many ethnic Albanians who regarded them as complicit in, if not actively supportive of, the ethnic cleansing that had gone on in the previous decade. The KLA was principally responsible for many of these reprisals in the weeks of the summer that followed the arrival of the small KFOR contingent. Burning and looting of homes and the destruction of a number of Orthodox churches and monasteries took place, as well as the displacement of Serb and Roma minorities. The social consequences were profound and led to a restructuring of Kosovo society. By the end of the first decade after the war, when Kosovo declared its independence in 2008, the society in the new country was significantly different from that which had existed in the early 1990s, when the conflict began.

During the war, the Serbs had driven the Kosovar Albanians (an estimated 90% of the Albanian population) from their homes and at least 1,200 cities, towns and villages had been damaged or destroyed. It is clear that, during the conflict, Serbian forces and paramilitaries had instigated a systematic campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Then, in 1999, after the Serb defeat, came the removal from Kosovo of non-ethnic Albanians in order to justify the move towards the creation of an independent state. However, there is no clear indication that there was a coordinated policy on behalf of the KLA or Kosovo’s political leadership. This means that there is a moral difference between what the Serbs were trying to do and what occurred afterwards. That is certainly not to excuse what did happen; there is rarely an excuse for violence, certainly where unarmed civilians are concerned. The social consequences have become apparent. According to surveys carried out by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), more than 150,000 displaced people fled to Macedonia and Serbia after 12 June 1999. The majority were Serbs, but the number also includes 25,000 Roma. Other minority groups were displaced, too, including Gorani, Croats and Bosniaks (a South Slavic ethnic group, many of whom are Islamic and living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in the region). Albanians accused of collaborating with the Serbs also suffered. An estimated 1,000 Serbs and Roma disappeared after the Kosovo ceasefire, missing and unaccounted for.

Prior to the war, the Serbs and Serb institutions were predominant in Kosovo, even if the majority of the population were ethnic Albanians. After the war, society changed rapidly: the use of the Cyrillic alphabet, and nearly all the Serb media institutions, including television and newspapers,
disappeared. As Serb rule ended in Kosovo, so too did Serb domination of society. The demographic consequences for the society of Kosovo are highly significant. The few remaining minorities are concentrated into enclaves inside Kosovo, which can be seen from the map above. There are still an estimated 130,000 Serbs living in Kosovo, representing almost two thirds of the pre-war population. Those who left were predominantly urban Serbs; the majority of those who remained were rural Serbs who make a living from farming. Many Serbs stayed in Kosovo simply because they had always lived there and there was nowhere else to go.

The majority of Serbs who left went because they did not want to live in an Albanian-dominated state any more than the Albanians had wanted to live under Serb rule. In this lies the fundamental problem facing Kosovo: that of social inclusion. Social inclusion means a more
active form of citizenship and the refusal to accept any type of discrimination. Society in Kosovo is fragmented along social lines and it is this, combined with economic problems and poverty, that prevents the building of a stable and functioning society. The social consequences of the war were bitter lessons and the task of rebuilding a new state was daunting.

The state-organized campaign against ethnic Albanians and their institutions that took place in 1998-99 in Kosovo included targeting houses and places of worship. In the years following the NATO victory, acts of random violence peppered areas where Serbs, or reminders of Serb culture remained. There was more violence in 2003 and 2004, most of it directed toward the remaining minorities.

Large-scale violence broke out in March 2004 due to an incident in which three Albanian boys drowned, allegedly, being chased into the water by Serbs. The reports were false, but indicative of social instability. Widespread anti-Serb riots and attacks by Kosovar Albanians led to the death of 28 people and the destruction of over 500 houses. In 2004, UN personnel and vehicles were also targeted. The socio-economic problems are the most striking consequences of post-conflict Kosovo.

![The Church of St Basil of Ostrog at Ljubova, November 2002](image)

**Source Skills**

**Source A**

A Serbian newspaper account from *Gracanica*, published on 17 November 2002, entitled “Albanian extremists attack two Serbian Orthodox churches in Kosovo”.

Early this morning Albanian extremists attacked two Serbian Orthodox churches in the Pec area and caused great material damage. Attacks on two churches in a single night demonstrates once again that the intentions of the Albanian extremists remain to erase the last traces of the existence of the Serb people, their culture and history in this region. It represents a serious challenge to UNMIK and KFOR, especially after last week’s statement by Michael Steiner in Berlin that security in Kosovo and Metohija has improved significantly and that the UNMIK mission has achieved a great success. The recent attack on Serb pensioners in Pec, frequent desecrations of cemeteries, and these most recent attacks on churches speak eloquently in the language of fact that not even minimal security exists for Serbs in this area and that security cannot be improved by propaganda but only by decisive action against extremists and their political mentors. It is tragic that so far not one perpetrator in the destruction and desecration of more than 100 Orthodox churches since the war in Kosovo and Metohija has been found nor brought to trial. No one has been held accountable even though these crimes were committed in the presence of more than 30,000 KFOR troops before the eyes of the entire world.

Furthermore, it is a disheartening fact that not one Serbian church destroyed since 1999 has yet been restored. This response clearly demonstrates the acceptance of the rule of terror and ethnic violence as accomplished facts which the international community apparently does not intend to change.
Source B

A newspaper account entitled “Two Serb Orthodox churches destroyed in Kosovo” published by the Western news agency, Associated Press, on 17 November 2002.

Sun Nov 17, 5:27 AM ET

“PRISTINA, Yugoslavia — Two Serb Orthodox churches were destroyed in western Kosovo in separate explosions, a U.N. spokesman said Sunday. The first church, in the village of Djurakovac, 50 kilometers (30 miles) west of Pristina, was damaged inside when targeted with explosives late Saturday, U.N. spokesman Andrea Angeli said. The second church, in the village of Ljubovce in the same area, was almost completely destroyed in an explosion early Sunday, he said. No one was injured in the explosions, Angeli said. An investigation was under way.

Kosovo has been run by the United Nations and NATO since 1999, when the alliance bombed Serb troops to stop former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic’s crackdown on ethnic Albanian separatists. Some 200,000 Serbs and other minorities since have left the province in fear of revenge attacks by majority ethnic Albanians avenging the crackdown by Serb forces, which killed thousands of ethnic Albanians. Although ethnically motivated incidents have since decreased, tensions between the rival ethnic groups remain high.

Source C

A political cartoon from a US source, published in 2000 and entitled “Serbian real estate weekly”.

Second question – 4 marks

With reference to origin, purpose and content, assess the values and limitations of Source C for anyone looking at the aftermath of the conflict in Kosovo.

Third question – 6 marks

Compare and contrast the information in Source A with the cartoon in Source C. How might you account for the differences?
The political impact of the war in Kosovo

Ibrahim Rugova did not have a good war. His appearance on television with Serbian President Milošević in April 1999 tarnished his reputation badly. Just two weeks into the NATO bombing campaign, the de facto political leader of the Kosovar Albanians was seen, once again, bowing to the will of the powerful Serbs. Rugova claimed that he was taken to Belgrade against his will. On the drive from Priština to Belgrade, Rugova saw the exodus of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo and the destruction inflicted upon his country. He is reported to have said:

I am a president without a people ... what is the point of holding out as the last hero of Priština?

The situation in Kosovo at the end of NATO’s bombing campaign had opened the door for the removal of Serb political control over Kosovo, but the new political framework to be established in the province was still undecided. UN Security Council Resolution 1244 stipulated that there would be no change in Kosovo’s constitutional status. Ibrahim Rugova, the de facto head of state elected back in 1992, assumed with reason that he would take political power. However, Rugova and the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) had lost ground in the late 1990s to the more aggressive KLA. Rugova’s strategy of passive resistance had been popular among many Albanians until the meeting at Dayton. However, it did not gain him supporters inside Kosovo when it became apparent that non-violence would not achieve independence for Kosovo.

During the bombing campaign, Rugova was summoned to Belgrade to appear with Milošević and both men condemned the bombing. Rugova remained under house arrest in Priština until, in May 1999, he was allowed to leave for Italy in temporary exile. He did not return until a month after the cease-fire, and was criticized by some for this delay. His arrival in Priština after the war ended was greeted by Kosovo’s main newspaper with the headline: “The loser is back” (The Economist, 2000; http://www.economist.com/node/413320).

The divisions within Kosovo’s new political scene were largely shaped by their experience under Serb rule. The emergence of the LDK and the KLA had an enormous impact on deciding the political future of Kosovo. Initially, though, it was to be run by UNMIK as a UN protectorate until a decision was made about its future status. Certainly the Serbs wouldn’t let Kosovo go easily, and there was
nothing in the ceasefire agreements to indicate that Kosovo would gain its independence. UNMIK worked on the basis that Kosovo would become a multi-ethnic state, but this was unlikely given what had happened before the war, and became even less likely after Milošević’s campaign of ethnic cleansing during the bombing operation. Kosovo wanted independence; it was a matter of how and when it would get it.

The disbanding of the KLA

The international community continued to insist that a future Kosovo be multicultural. This meant that, after years of ill treatment, the Kosovo lambs had to lie down with the Serbian lions. The KLA, having taken a hard line since 1997, now found itself less popular; its extremist position was needed less in a period that focused on rebuilding. In the first weeks after the cease-fire, the KLA attempted to gain power locally and to fill the vacuum left by the Serb administration. Under the terms of Security Council Resolution 1244, political jurisdiction was passed to the UN which governed via UNMIK.

The UN body was faced with the challenge of building a transitional administration and establishing self-governing institutions to attempt a return to normality for the population, an objective which was successfully achieved. Resolution 1244 had called for the disarming of the KLA and this was primarily achieved by absorbing most of its members into the Kosovo Protection Force (KPC), a civilian defence force which, effectively, became an army in waiting. As well as disestablishing the KLA, the interim administration of the UN set up a police force, the Kosovo Police Service, that attempted to maintain law and order. KFOR Commander General Jackson and Hashim Thaci, the young radical who commanded the KLA, signed the agreement for the transformation of the KLA. Thaci was a 31-year-old former political science student and military man who had represented the Kosovars at Rambouillet before the air campaign started and had also been elected as prime minister of the provisional government in Kosovo. The KLA now overshadowed other political parties in Kosovo. It emerged not only as the strongest military force, but it enjoyed widespread popularity and support among a significant number of the Kosovar Albanians. Kosovo was to experience its first political tug-of-war between the KLA and the LDK, with the international community sitting more easily with the moderate position of Rugova’s party.

In January 2000, UNMIK set up a constitutional framework that would lead to general elections. The head of UNMIK, and a special representative of the UN Secretary-General, was a French former politician and a founder of Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders), Bernard Kouchner. He played a very important role in the early years of Kosovo’s new situation, holding his position until January 2001. In the summer of 1999 he announced optimistically, “I intend to build a multi-ethnic Kosovo which will not ignore history” (Cohen, 2000: 43).
Chapter 2.7: The Impact of the War: Social and Economic Consequences

It soon became clear that the expulsion and flight of a number of remaining Serbs meant that Kosovo was on its way to becoming a nearly ethnically homogeneous state, almost entirely Kosovar Albanian.

The elections of October 2000

The first ever local elections held for the newly constituted Kosovo state were due to take place in October 2000, and campaigning for these began in the New Year. The parts played by UNMIK and KFOR were vital in helping the transition, but neither was able to fully prevent the violence that took place during the political campaigning. Some observers felt that, with the rifts that already existed within Kosovo and the bitter divisions exacerbated by the decade preceding the NATO war, Kosovo could have fallen into a state of civil war at this time. It was significant that the UN bodies and Bernard Kouchner were able to prevent this happening.

The reformation of the KLA into a political party

In the early weeks of the post-war period, the KLA made considerable effort to assume control of a number of areas, collecting taxes and beginning to control sources of revenue from the illicit activities that emerged when law and order were absent. With the cease-fire agreement (including the disbandment of the KLA), many former KLA members transferred into the Kosovo Protection Force (TMK). Others, including Hashim Thaçi and some of the KLA hardliners who wanted more power (and felt they deserved it after their resistance to the Serbs), formed a new political party, the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK). Meanwhile the more moderate supporters of the KLA established the Party of Democratic Progress (PPDK) in July 1999.

The LDK under Ibrahim Rugova had dominated Albanian political life in the 1990s and the unofficial elections in 1992 had made Rugova the head of the Kosovo Albanians in the eyes of the world. The LDK perpetuated the myth of Rugova as the “father of the nation” and their spiritual leader. However, the KLA and its splinter political groups were credited with the victorious war of liberation against the Serbs, so there was no obvious winner in the October 2000 elections. The USA and other Western governments preferred the pacifism of Rugova over the radicalism of Thaçi. Nevertheless, Ibrahim Rugova’s position was essentially as uncompromising as that of the hardliners in Thaçi’s party, in that he was adamantly that Kosovo’s independence was necessary.

_We will not live under the UN guardianship forever. We make no secret that we wish for a separate and independent Kosovo._

— Hashim Thaçi, January 2000

Early in 2000, Thaçi made clear what he hoped to achieve:

_We are still a part of Yugoslavia during the three year transition period stipulated in the Rambouillet Accords. But afterwards, staying in Yugoslavia or Serbia after everything that has happened is incomprehensible for the Kosovars, and I think for the entire world as well._

— Cohen, 2000: 46

Hashim Thaçi (1968 to present)

Hashim Thaçi served as the prime minister of the Republic of Kosovo from 2008 until 2014. He was a former leader of the KLA (the paramilitary organization active during the Kosovo war in opposing the Serbs). Thaçi’s nickname was “the Snake”. His critics have accused him of being involved in organized crime, smuggling and prostitution within the province to finance KLA training and acquire weapons. He became known to the West through the talks at Rambouillet in 1999, and some diplomats, including US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright saw him as a “voice of reason”.

Following Rugova’s death in 2006, Thaçi’s power in Kosovo was unchallenged and he was elected prime minister in 2008. The following month, in February, Kosovo declared its independence.
Both political leaders had the same vision. While Rugova's style of leadership was regarded as soft and liberal, the chain-smoking, scarf-wearing bohemian concealed a will of steel when it came to Kosovo's independence. When interviewed about a possible future tie with Serbia he commented, "No, not with Serbia, never again with Serbia" (Cohen, 2000: 47).

In October 2000 the people of Kosovo voted. Some, fearful of the violence of the political scene, saw the corruption and lack of law enforcement as a consequence of the militarism of the PDK. The local elections gave Rugova's LDK party almost 60% of the votes while Thaçi's PDK party polling less than 30%.

"My vision is to have an independent Kosovo, democratic, with a politically tolerant society and with a solid economy, integrated into the EU, the NATO and to continue with our good relations with the USA."

— Ibrahim Rugova

The election of Ibrahim Rugova as president

The problems facing Rugova and his LDK party were severe. Over the next two years, UNMIK and KFOR played a role in guiding the newly fledged province. Western leaders recognized that Rugova's popularity in Kosovo was indispensable to dealing with the future status of Kosovo.

Violence against members of political parties continued after the elections in October, although this was not always politically motivated. This violence revealed the deep-rooted problems facing the province. Economic issues as well as huge social difficulties were compounded by the lack of effective action taken by the UN and the peacekeeping forces. As in Rwanda, the problems were compounded by the absence of law enforcement and an effective judiciary.
In March 2002 the Kosovo Assembly appointed Ibrahim Rugova as president of Kosovo – the “comeback kid” had made it to the pinnacle of political power. As the new president, Rugova never shied from his stated aim, which was to achieve independence for his country. The question at this stage was how and when this goal would be realized. Rugova had begun his political career as a pacifist and he maintained that pacifism was the means to achieve independence. He was also astute enough to recognize that having strong relations with the USA was in the best interests of his country and the most effective way to achieve his aim.

His methods as a politician were always slightly unorthodox. As president he received visiting diplomats in his private home and gave gifts of crystals from his rock collection. Most of these came from the Trepça mines, and demonstrated the potential wealth of Kosovo. Some critics pointed this out as indicating his lack of touch with reality; but for his supporters it showed his essential humanity. The silk scarf and cigarettes may have been an anachronism but they distinguished Rugova for most Kosovar Albanians who remained loyal to him. He was widely regarded as a fervent nationalist who rose above party politics to lead his country to independence.

Unfortunately, Rugova was not to see that achievement himself. Rugova’s critics in Kosovo continued to condemn him for being too passive when it came to pursuing the standards of democracy and protecting the minorities in Kosovo. He survived a botched assassination attempt by radicals in 2005 and in the same year had to receive medical treatment for illness. Kosovo’s Albanians wanted the talks on Kosovo’s future to get underway, and his support rallied when it was announced that he would be leading the Kosovar delegation at the forthcoming talks on Kosovo’s status. In the end, Rugova did not quite live to see the fulfilment of his dream of independence for Kosovo. He died in January 2006 and is buried in a place of honor in Pristina, the capital of his beloved Kosovo.

Parliamentary elections were held in 2007 when the PDK, under Hashim Thaçi, formed a coalition and took power. On 17 February 2008 Kosovo declared its independence. In the days that followed, a number of states recognized the status of Kosovo with the majority of the world following in the ensuing years. Kosovo’s independence has never been recognized by Serbia or Russia, and Kosovo has been unable to apply for recognition as a member state of the UN.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

*Bringing war criminals to justice: Bringing justice to victims.*

— Slogan on the website of the ICTY

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was set up in May 1993 at the beginning of the excesses of the Bosnian war and before the genocide in Rwanda. In February of that year, Resolution 808 called for the creation of *an international*
tribunal ... for the prosecution or persons responsible for the serious violations of international humanitarian law ... in Yugoslavia since 1991" (http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N93/098/21/IMG/N9309821.pdf?OpenElement).

Established under Resolution 827, the tribunal had jurisdiction over a series of crimes alleged to have occurred in Yugoslavia since the outbreak of hostilities. These included violations of the Geneva Convention, methods of waging war, crimes against humanity, and genocide. The tribunal was established for a set period with the aim of bringing all trials and appeals to a conclusion by the end of 2015. The establishment of the UN court of law represented the first tribunal since the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, which tried German and Japanese war criminals. The court was established initially to try cases of humanitarian law in a time of war, but has since been modified to enable it to address cases in post-conflict situations, such as in Kosovo in 1999–2001. The ICTY is made up of three main branches: the chambers, containing the judges and support staff; the registry, responsible for administrative duties; and the office of the prosecutor to investigate crimes and present cases at trial.

The first reference in the tribunal to occurrences in Kosovo was in 1998, after the Serbian attack in Drenica. Within months, investigations began into war crimes in the province. The Yugoslav government refused to cooperate with the work of the tribunal, arguing that it was interfering with terrorist actions in Kosovo, an internal dispute which did not concern the international body. Later that year Serbian police prevented a Finnish forensics team from investigating a reported massacre at Gornje Obrije. In January 1999, Chief Prosecutor Louise Arbour was refused entry into the country to investigate the Račak massacre (although a Finnish team was permitted to examine the bodies in March).

As soon as the NATO bombing campaign began in March, the ICTY set up an office in Albania to begin investigations into serious humanitarian law violations. In April the US State Department issued a statement declaring that any army commander issuing an order which allowed or encouraged a war crime would be individually responsible for charges, and there would be no statute of limitations on war crimes. On 27 May 1999 the tribunal announced that the president of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milošević, was to be indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was the most significant individual to be charged to date, a serving head of state of a European nation. At the same time, four other leading Serbian officials were to be arraigned on charges that included “murder, persecution, and deportation in Kosovo” between January and May 1999. The four indictees were:
CHAPTER 2.7: THE IMPACT OF THE WAR: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

- Milan Milutinović, then president of Serbia
- Dragoljub Oldanić, chief-of-staff of the Yugoslav army
- Nikola Sainovici, deputy prime minister of the FRY
- Vlajko Stojiljkovíć, minister of internal affairs of Serbia.

Significantly, these charges did not relate to crimes committed in other wars in Yugoslavia but specifically to crimes in the Kosovo conflict. The tribunal had already tried cases against those involved in crimes against humanity in the Croatian and Bosnian wars, and these involved military men of various ranks as well as members of the police forces. High-ranking diplomats included Milan Babíć, head of the Republic of Krajina in Croatia, and a summons had also been issued to apprehend the two most notorious Bosnian Serb leaders: Radovan Karadžić, former president of the independent Serbian Republic of Bosnia (renamed Republika Srpska) and Ratko Mladić, the commander of the Bosnian-Serb army.

The chief prosecutor of the ICTY from 1999 to 2007 was Carla Del Ponte, who also served as the prosecutor for the tribunal established at Arusha to try those accused of involvement in the Rwandan genocide. She presented her findings to the UN Security Council in the summer of 1999, reporting on the tribunal’s work. This included the exhumation of bodies at grave sites in Kosovo to establish an accurate figure of those killed as well as to identify who was implicated in crimes of war and humanity. A year later, in an address to the Security Council at The Hague on 24 November, she commented, “It will never be possible to provide an accurate figure for the number of people killed, because of deliberate attempts to burn the bodies or to conceal them in other ways” (http://www.icty.org/sid/7803).

In the same speech, she appealed to the Council to extend the tribunal’s jurisdiction to allow it to investigate crimes committed after the conflict had ended. This was to address allegations of ethnic cleansing against Serb and Roma populations. She stated, “We must ensure that the Tribunal’s unique chance to bring justice to the populations of the former Yugoslavia does not pass into history as having been flawed and biased in favour of one ethnic group against another” (http://www.icty.org/sid/7803).

The dispensing of justice in Kosovo

In Rwanda, the sheer number of trials was overwhelming; this was not the case in Kosovo. It was reasonable to assume that local courts could handle some of the crimes brought before them in the aftermath of the conflict. However, as was the situation in Rwanda, the lack of appropriate machinery and expertise meant that, in reality, much of the justice dispensed had to be through the UN and initially through UNMIK. The lack of expertise inside Kosovo led to criticism over its handling of one or two cases where local Serb Kosovars were found guilty on spurious evidence. The Serbian government argued, reasonably, that there were others besides the Serbs who should face charges. It had always held that the KLA was a terrorist group responsible for war crimes.
Carla Del Ponte (1947 to present)

Carla Del Ponte is a Swiss citizen and international prosecutor and diplomat. Within the UN system, she is a former chief prosecutor of two UN international criminal tribunals and is probably the most recognized person to serve in those offices. Del Ponte was born in Switzerland, and speaks Italian, German, French, and English. Her work as a public prosecutor in Switzerland includes investigating and prosecuting cases of terrorism, weapons smuggling, money laundering, and transnational crimes.

In August 1999, Del Ponte was appointed prosecutor for the ICTY and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). She remained prosecutor at the ICTR until 2003, when she stepped down in an effort to expedite the backlog of work that had built up there. Del Ponte replaced Louise Arbour as head of the ICTY in 1999, and remained in that position until 2008.

A total of 91 indictments were filed during Del Ponte's term, including those brought against Slobodan Milošević while he was an acting head of state. Her achievements include proving beyond reasonable doubt that genocide was committed at Srebrenica in Bosnia, and that rape constituted a crime against humanity. In a 2001 interview, Del Ponte emphasized: "Justice for the victims and the survivors requires a comprehensive effort at international and national level." After retiring from the position on the ICTY, Del Ponte served as Swiss ambassador to Argentina from 2008 to February 2011. In 2008 she published a book called The Hunt in which she claimed that Kosovar Albanian had taken organs from Serb prisoners. The Kosovo government refuted these charges. Since 2012, Del Ponte has served as a commissioner of the Independent International Commission of inquiry for Syria.

Individuals were brought before courts in Kosovo, including members of the KLA, some of whom were tried and convicted of war crimes. Once its mandate was extended, the ICTY also indicted some former KLA members in 2003 but found that, although some KLA members did commit atrocities, prosecutors were unable to prove that the KLA itself had a policy of targeting civilians or engaging in war crimes. Some of those tried included high-ranking KLA leaders, however most were acquitted. These included Fatmir Limaj, a KLA commander, who was to serve as Minister of Transportation and Telecommunications in Kosovo from 2008 until 2010, as well as Ramush Haradinaj, one of the KLA commanders who became Kosovo's prime minister in 2004, but stepped down the next year to stand trial.

Rape as a weapon of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo

As happened in Rwanda, rape and other forms of sexual violence were perpetrated against women in Kosovo. Human Rights Watch began investigating the use of rape and sexual violence by all sides in the conflict in 1998, and continued to document rape accounts throughout the refugee crisis in 1999. As in Rwanda, evidence clearly established that rape was used in Kosovo in 1999 as a weapon of war and an instrument of ethnic cleansing. As with the Hutu in Rwanda, the widespread use of rape was not a rare and isolated act committed by individuals but was used deliberately by Serbian and Yugoslavian forces as an instrument to terrorize the civilian population and force people to flee their homes.

Thinking skills box

Carla del Ponte's address to the Security Council (an excerpt of which is given as the source below) covers many issues and concerns regarding justice. Read this source and answer the questions that follow.

The address to the Security Council given by Carla Del Ponte, prosecutor of the ICTY and ICTR, The Hague, 24 November 2000

In completing my report on my activities, Mr. President, I must, of course, make reference to the recent developments in Belgrade, which have led to the removal of President Milošević from office, the lifting of sanctions, and the return of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the international community.

The world has embraced President Kostunica despite the fact that he has repeatedly said that co-operation with the ICTY is not a priority for him. If he chose that phrase himself, I admire him. It is a clever line, one capable of different interpretations — a true politician's phrase.

But it is not a solution either, and the Milošević question cannot so easily be brushed aside. Milošević must be brought to trial before the International Tribunal. There simply is no alternative. After all the effort the international community has invested in the Balkans to restore peace to the region, after the weeks of NATO bombing to prevent massive human rights abuses against the citizens of Kosovo, and given the enormous residual power and
continuing influence of the hard liners in Belgrade, it would be inconceivable to allow Milosevic to walk away from the consequences of his actions. It is not enough to say that the loss of office is punishment enough, nor is it satisfactory to call him to account for election offences or some such national proceeding. We have already seen that there can be no "deals" with figures like Milosevic. It is to the great credit of the international community that the temptation to offer him an easy escape route was resisted. The consequences for international criminal justice would have been devastating, if that had happened. I urge the Security Council not to allow the same result to be achieved in slow motion by lingering inactivity. It is of crucial importance that double standards be avoided in dealing with the FRY, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Any softening in the position adopted by the international community towards Yugoslavia will encourage other states to discontinue their co-operation with ICTY. And we should not forget that other fugitives, such as Ratko Mladic, are in FRY. The authorities must also co-operate with the tribunal in the arrest of these persons.

1 What do you think Del Ponte means when she quotes President Kostunica's statement that co-operation with the ICTY "is not a priority" and when she says, "if he chose that phrase himself, I admire him - it is a clever line, one capable of different interpretations - a true politician's phrase." What is a politician's phrase? Can you give examples of any which have been used in recent elections in your country or elsewhere?

2 How effective a speech do you think the source is? Identify any three statements Del Ponte makes which you consider to be particularly noteworthy. Explain your reasons for thinking this to be a partner or small group.

3 Find out what happened to Ratko Mladic.

The final years of Milosevic

Milosevic called for presidential elections to be held in Serbia in September 2000 in order to reaffirm his grip on power. It was a gamble that did not pay off. In the first round of elections he was challenged by opponents on the grounds of his failures in the wars and was defeated by opposition leader, Vojislav Kostunica, who gained over half the votes. The Serbian people had finally grown tired of Milosevic's rhetoric, combined with the hardships faced in the last decade, the defeats and the break-up of the Yugoslav federation. Mass demonstrations in Belgrade ensued when Milosevic tried to call for a second round of voting.

Milosevic, having lost the support of his army leadership, accepted defeat and conceded victory to his opponent. After almost 13 tumultuous years in power, Milosevic was replaced as head of the Yugoslav state. In October 2000, Kostunica became president of Yugoslavia, declaring that cooperation with the ICTY would not be one of his main priorities. Nevertheless, in the interests of his country, Kostunica would be forced to come to terms with the demands of many around the world to bring Milosevic to account for the crimes committed during his tenure from 1987 to 2000.
The indictment of Milošević

It would be inconceivable to allow Milošević to walk away from the consequences of his actions.

— Carla Del Ponte, chief prosecutor

Milošević was indicted by the ICTY in May 1999, during the NATO bombing campaign. This was deliberately done, not only to send a message to him and the Serbian people, but also to show the determination of the international community that a serving head of state would not be able to hide behind diplomatic immunity from the charges being brought against him. His election loss in 2000 made it easier, but he still had to be apprehended and face charges in an open court. In September 1999, Del Ponte announced that the tribunal’s top priority was the investigation and prosecution of Milošević and the other leaders indicted in May. Thereafter, indictments against other individuals in positions of political and military authority could follow. Del Ponte urged the UN to pressure the new Yugoslav authorities, particularly President Koštunica, to cooperate in securing Milošević’s arrest and extradition to The Hague to face charges. It would not be easy to do; Koštunica himself repeatedly labelled the international body as an anti-Serb institution and, despite the Serbian people’s opposition towards Milošević (outlined above), he was still popular with a significant percentage of the Serbian population. He also received support from Russia and several other leaders.

The arrest of Milošević

In January 2001, Special Prosecutor Del Ponte visited Belgrade to meet with President Koštunica and members of the Yugoslav government. She returned reporting that she was disappointed with the lack of cooperation that she had received. Ultimately, it was to be money that opened the doors to cooperation. This came in the form of aid promised by the USA, who had allocated $50 million to the Yugoslav government. This package was contingent on the cooperation of the government with the tribunal, including the surrender and transfer of those named by the ICTY. The Bush administration had set a deadline to decide whether to allow this payment to go to the Yugoslavs. Desperate for money, the Serbian police arrested Milošević on 1 April. One day later, US aid was approved and, four days after that, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia served an arrest warrant on behalf of the ICTY on Slobodan Milošević. This was organized by the prime minister of Serbia, Zoran Đinđić — a charismatic Serb leader who encouraged his country to reintegrate with Europe and was assassinated in 2003 by radical Serb nationalists who saw him as a traitor. Đinđić then helped to organize Milošević’s transfer to The Hague in the summer of 2001.

Milošević was the first former head of state to stand trial for crimes against humanity. The “Butcher of the Balkans”, the man many hold responsible for the bloody wars that destroyed Yugoslavia and brought war, misery and a decade of bloodshed and vengeance that resulted in the deaths of more than 200,000 people, was finally under arrest.
In June 2001, Milošević was transferred into the custody of the ICTY in The Hague. On 2 July, he appeared in court for the first time, refusing defence counsel and denouncing the proceedings as a political trial. He dismissed the court as “victor’s justice”, refused to cooperate with the tribunal and declared that he would conduct his own defence.

The trial of Milošević

The trial was to be the longest war crimes trial ever held and ended inconclusively with his death in March 2006. He faced charges of violating the laws of war, breaching the Geneva Convention in both the Croatian and Bosnian wars, genocide in Bosnia and crimes against humanity. He was also charged with genocide and complicity in genocide, murder, persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds, of committing inhumane acts including forcible transfer (ethnic cleansing), unlawful deportation, torture, killing, the plunder of public or private property, attacks on civilians and the destruction of historic monuments. These charges related not only to what Milošević did in Kosovo but also to crimes committed in Croatia and Bosnia. He was deemed responsible for the murder of hundreds of non-Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia.

The trial began at The Hague on 12 February 2002. Milošević, a lawyer by training, defended himself. At the beginning, he refused to recognize the authority of the Tribunal because it had not been established with the consent of the United Nations General Assembly, but through the Security Council. On those grounds, he refused to appoint counsel for his defence and would conduct his own. He often spoke for hours, summoning witnesses including the former President Bill Clinton, who declined to attend. Already suffering from hypertension and a heart condition, Milošević attended court on only three days a week following advice of medical specialists.

Some of the proceedings were pure drama. Milošević retained a core of loyal supporters and, taking the stand, presented himself as a Serbian nationalist, adopting the role of martyr for the Serbian cause until the end of his life. The prosecution took over two years to cover the charges against Milošević. During that time he consistently attempted to delay proceedings, scolding the West and questioning the legitimacy of the court.

The death of Milošević

As his health deteriorated, his advisers asked permission for Milošević to go to Moscow for medical treatment. This was refused on the grounds that sufficiently good medical treatment was available in The Hague. At the beginning of 2006, his health took a turn for the worse and on the morning of 11 March 2006 he was found dead in his bed. The autopsy revealed that he had died from a heart attack.

Reactions to Milošević’s death were mixed: some lamented that he had cheated justice and remained unpunished, while his supporters blamed the tribunal for bringing on his ill health and refusing him adequate treatment. As Milošević had died before the trial could be concluded, he was therefore not found guilty of the charges brought against him.
However, the evidence presented to the tribunal and the world left little doubt of Milošević’s moral guilt for the crimes.

Following his death, there was even some controversy about where he should be buried. Some did not want him in Serbia, and a burial site was offered in Moscow. In 2006 the Serbian government granted permission to his family and friends to bury him in Serbia and they held a private funeral service in his hometown of Požarevac. This followed a large ceremony in Belgrade attended by tens of thousands of his supporters.

**The legacy of Milošević**

Milošević’s legacy left an indelible mark on the history of late 20th-century Europe. Villified by his critics and deified by his supporters, a critic in the Belgrade weekly *Vreme* wrote, “he turned Serbia into a colossal ruin”. Another summed up Milošević’s legacy when testifying against him in The Hague in 2002, saying, “You brought shame upon the Serbian people... You brought misfortune on the Croatian people, on the Muslim people” and “orchestrated” the Balkan conflict (http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/12/international/europe/12milosevic.html?_r=0&pagewanted=print).

Milošević was the most dangerous figure in post-Cold War Europe. In 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the beginning of communism’s decline in Europe, the rise of Milošević took that corner of south-eastern Europe in a different and bloody direction. Misha Glenny, a British expert on the Balkans, said:

> At a time when there was real optimism in Europe, Milosevic almost single-handedly – with help from some Croats and some Serbs – managed to plunge Europe into a profound crisis. There will be few people mourning his death because he did great damage to Serbia, as he did to other Yugoslav republics.

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/12/international/europe/12milosevic.html?_r=0&pagewanted=print
However, there are those who worshipped the man and still value his legacy. How was he able to retain his hold over so many? In 1991, before the conflicts started, Warren Zimmerman, the late US ambassador in Belgrade, said “Milošević is a Machiavellian character for whom truth has no inherent value of its own. It’s there to be manipulated.” Milošević manipulated people into believing what he wanted them to believe. CIA psychiatrists who profiled the Serbian leader during the crises of the 1990s concluded that he had “a malignant narcissistic personality ... strongly self-centred, vain and full of self-love” (http://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/mar/13/guardianobituaries.warcrimes).

For a long time, Milošević seemed to hold Serbia in the palm of his hand and the rest of Yugoslavia in his thrall. Kosovo had brought him to power and losing the war the war in Kosovo was one defeat too many. The legacy of his years in power fostered the mutual estrangement of Serbs, Croats, Bosnians and Albanians that will haunt the region for generations to come.

The achievements of the ICTY

The court has been criticized for being a politically motivated and very expensive body to run. Other criticisms point to its ineffectiveness but, as we have seen in the case of Rwanda, the price of administering justice not only involves soul-searching and compromise but can also be expensive and time-consuming. In South Africa, justice was served through a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (which had its own detractors). In Rwanda, the slow progress at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) made way for the local Gacaca courts. Following Milošević’s fall from power, Vojislav Koštunica created a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Serbia. One of his reasons for doing this was to demonstrate that Serbs could administer their own justice to their own people. However, it was disbanded within two years as it dealt with only low-level crimes and would not handle the complicity of the Serbian government in any crimes. The international community was even less impressed with this commission than the ICTY and continued to use the international tribunal.

During its tenure, the ICTY dealt with 91 cases, 20 more than were managed in Rwanda. There will always be critics of a system established to try those accused of war crimes – especially when the system is set-up by the so-called “winners”. Milošević claimed that the court had no legal authority because it had not been created on a broad international basis. Other critics have argued that the tribunal exacerbated tensions rather than promoting reconciliation. The alternative to not having an international tribunal is surely more problematic. Certainly, the majority of those sentenced were Serbs: fewer sentences were handed down to other ethnic groups accused of crimes, such as the Croats and Kosovar Albanians – but that surely represented the reality that Serb aggression was much more widespread.
Thinking skills

Milošević, the media and political cartoons

Milošević was keenly aware of the value of propaganda, taking control of Belgrade television and the authoritative Belgrade newspaper Politika. As noted in Kosovo in 1987 and 1989, television was central to establishing his power. In the years that followed, Milošević recognized that the manipulation of television could be vitally important. Under his rule, the party machine, the army and the media were Milošević's main instruments for maintaining his power. In the early years he was seen everywhere, displaying a formidable talent for public oratory. He was not alone in this of course. Like other great despots of the 20th century, he established a cult of personality that struck fear into non-Serbs in Yugoslavia.

Leaders throughout history have used a cult of personality, but in the 20th century the development of mass media has enabled those with power to exercise a formidable and persuasive influence over millions of people. We have seen in Rwanda, how Hutu “hate” radio, the RTML and the magazine Kanguru were able, in a short time, to ruthlessly exploit latent feelings within the Rwandan people and further the political aims of the government. Milošević was not alone in using latent nationalism, and the hero-worship he received after his death, as well as his continued status among some Serb nationalists, bears testimony to the esteem in which he is held.

In his television addresses, he emphasized the negative impact of “the enemy” and the threat this group posed to the existence of Serbia. He played on the dangers of the Ottoman past and on Serbia’s glorious handling of itself since 1389. In the 1990s he portrayed the Catholic Croats as fascists bent on destroying the Serb nation, as had been shown in the Second World War. He portrayed the Muslims of Bosnia as Islamic fundamentalists, and the Albanians of Kosovo as little more than rapists and terrorists. As for the Americans, they were imperialists: anxious to secure more influence in the Balkans. Much of this nationalist appeal stemmed from a Serbian persecution complex, but Milošević was able to harness it as a vehicle for his ambition through the use and control of the media.

In Western eyes, his media image was different. It is worth examining how the Western press often portrayed Milošević through political cartoons; look at the ones provided here to further your understanding of the political bias that can be used, and the power of image and symbolism.

Source A

A cartoon by Chris Riddell published in the UK newspaper The Observer on 28 March 1999.
Source B
A cartoon by Peter Brookes published in the UK newspaper The Times on 21 April 1999.

Source C
A US cartoon of Milošević.
International reaction and the impact of the Kosovo war

The NATO campaign was hailed as a victory for democracy, the rule of law and for the rights of oppressed minorities. This type of selective thinking allowed Western leaders to bask in the success of their stance against the aggression which took place in Kosovo. For others, though, it was less clear-cut. NATO’s war against Yugoslavia over Kosovo was a precedent of sorts in international law, breaking a new dawn for the principle that aggression should not be allowed against defenceless minorities. However, many of the wars in the 20th century were fought over similar issues; indeed, Hitler was able to justify his aggression against the Sudetenland of the former Czechoslovakia by claiming that ethnic Germans were being persecuted.

The NATO campaign against Yugoslavia was strongly opposed by both China and Russia, and, to a lesser extent, by India too. Their reaction to this war was based, in public at least, on the premise that the Western powers bypassed the UN in going to war. More cynical observers might note that China and Russia (and India) were alarmed because of the precedent it set, and that having a number of triggers for ethnic and regional conflicts within their own borders might be turned on them in the future. The Russians were dealing with the Chechens at the same time, and the Chinese have long suppressed any Tibetan or Uighur calls for self-determination.

The war in Kosovo shows the importance of the principle of national sovereignty, which has largely governed nation-state relations for much of the last century. Sovereignty and self-determination were often cited as reasons for fighting wars in the first half of the 20th century. The intervention in Kosovo (and not in Rwanda) sent the signal that there might be new rules in the post-Cold War world. In facing situations of humanitarian disaster and instability provoked by internal conflict in places such as Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo, the USA and its allies found themselves having to redefine the limits and circumstances regarding intervention and their own interests. However, in the case of Kosovo, it seemed as though consensus among the major powers was impossible, and that the moral imperatives and their own national and humanitarian interests outweighed the question of sovereignty.

Following the Kosovo conflict, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan endorsed this position in a speech in Stockholm, Sweden.

There is an emerging international law that countries cannot hide behind sovereignty and abuse people without expecting the rest of the world to do something about it.

― Kofi Annan

Reflections

In the final analysis you should reflect upon the case studies of Rwanda and Kosovo and contemplate some of the similarities and differences between them – the conflicts and the interventions. For example, consider the following:

- Both conflicts were caused by ethnicity merged with nationalism; in Rwanda, an ethnic minority won, largely on its own and, importantly, on the battlefield.
In Kosovo, the causes were similar and the minority won this contest too; but they were grateful victors as opposed to conquerors. They had not won the war themselves but depended on the international community for their victory.

In Rwanda, the UN was slow to intervene; none of the major powers had enough at stake or wanted to risk their own troops until late in the conflict.

In Kosovo, dissension among the major powers meant that the UN was unable to act effectively until after the conflict had been won – and by another international agency: NATO. Intervention in this case had been crucial, though; it is conceivable that, left alone, the Tutsi would have triumphed in Rwanda; it is inconceivable that the Kosovars would have done the same.

The aftermath of the Rwandan genocide contributed towards instability in central Africa for a decade after the conflict in 1994; in Kosovo and the Balkans, the region has benefited from being at peace.

The UN was a central character in the diplomatic situation in both case studies, playing a more passive role until the conflicts had largely been resolved; the UN and the international community undoubtedly learned from the lessons of Rwanda; but it did not prevent other similar genocides taking place; the situation in Darfur, for example, has been largely ignored in the 21st century.

Finally, the impact of Kosovo demonstrated that there is no cheap and easy way to prevent genocide.

There are questions of morality which you could address as you draw conclusions on these two case studies from different regions of the world. Some of these may have been addressed in the case study of Rwanda; some questions remain the same.

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**Thinking, social and communication skills**

**Debate on conflict and intervention**

Part of the argument about the morality of intervention has to do with international law but also, essentially, what one thinks is the right thing to do. Consider some of the debates elicited by the arguments below. They can be used as starting points for a debate on conflict and intervention in either or both case studies.

Work in a pair or small group to discuss the statements below and to answer the questions.

1. NATO Secretary General Javier Solana asked the question: Are human rights and the rights of minorities more important than sovereignty? What do you think?

2. “There are occasions when if force is not used, there is no future for international law” (Robert Skidelsky). Do you agree?

3. “Armed intervention can only be justified in two instances: first, when human rights abuses rise to the level of a systematic attempt to expel or exterminate large numbers of people who have no means of defending themselves; second, where these abuses threaten the peace and security of neighbouring states” (Michael Ignatieff). Do you agree?

4. “Force can’t be justified simply to punish, avenge or signify moral outrage. It must be a credible way to stop abuses and restore peace” (Michael Ignatieff). What do you think?

5. The slogan of the ICTY has been “Bringing war criminals to justice: Bringing justice to victims”. Of the two parts to this slogan, which do you consider is the most important? Which do you consider may be the most difficult? Explain your reasoning.

6. Is there any such thing as a “just war”? 
References


Writing the internal assessment for IB History

Key concepts
- Causation → Change
- Consequence → Perspective
- Continuity → Significance

Key questions
- What is the purpose of the internal assessment in history?
- How is the internal assessment structured and assessed?
- What are some suggested strategies for choosing a topic and getting started?
- What are some common mistakes students make?
- What are good criteria for selecting sources?
- What are the challenges facing the historian?

“Doing history”: Thinking like a historian

The internal assessment (IA) is an engaging, inquiry-based 2200 word investigation that provides teachers and students with the opportunity to personalize their learning. You will select, research and write on a historical topic of individual interest or curiosity.

The IA is an essential component of the IB History course. Students in both standard level (25%) and higher level (20%) will complete the same task as part of their course mark. Your teacher will evaluate your final draft, but only a small, random sample of your class’ IAs will be submitted to the IB for moderation.

The purpose of the historical investigation is to engage students in the process of thinking like historians and “doing history” by creating their own questions, gathering and examining evidence, analyzing perspectives, and demonstrating rich historical knowledge in the conclusions they draw. Given its importance, your teacher should provide considerable time, guidance, practice of skills and feedback throughout the process of planning, drafting, revising and submitting a final copy of the IA. In total, completing the IA should take approximately 20 hours. This chapter is designed to give both students and teachers some guidance for approaching these tasks.

Class discussion

How does the place and the time you live in affect the topics you might be interested in, or curious about? How might where and when you live affect the evidence and sources you have access to? Which topics could you investigate that students in other places could not? What does this tell us about the nature of history?

What does the IA look like?

The IA is divided into three main sections. Each of these sections will be explained and approached in more detail later in this chapter. Below is an overview of each section:

1. Identification and evaluation of sources (6 marks)
   - Clearly state the topic in the form of an appropriate inquiry question.
   - Explain the nature and relevance of two of the sources selected for more detailed analysis of values and limitations with reference to origins, purpose and content.

2. Investigation (15 marks)
   - Using appropriate format and clear organization, provide critical analysis that is focused on the question under investigation.
   - Include a range of evidence to support an argument and analysis, and a conclusion drawn from the analysis.

3. Reflection (4 marks)
   - Reflect on the process of investigating your question and discuss the methods used by historians, and the limitations or challenges of investigating their topic.
Your history teachers can use the IA for whatever purposes best suit the school context, syllabus design or the individual learning of students. Nevertheless, you should be encouraged to select and develop your own question. The IA can be started at any point during the course, however the task is most effectively introduced after students have been exposed to some purposeful teaching and practice in historical methods, analysis and writing skills.

The IA is designed to assess each of the following History objectives:

**Assessment objective 1: Knowledge and understanding**
- Demonstrate understanding of historical sources.

**Assessment objective 2: Application and analysis**
- Analyse and interpret a variety of sources.

**Assessment objective 3: Synthesis and evaluation**
- Evaluate sources as historical evidence, recognizing their value and limitations.
- Synthesize information from a selection of relevant sources.

**Assessment objective 4: Use and application of appropriate skills**
- Reflect on the methods used by, and challenges facing, the historian.
- Formulate an appropriate, focused question to guide a historical inquiry.
- Demonstrate evidence of research skills, organization, referencing and selection of appropriate sources.

**Beginning with the end in mind:**
what does success look like?

### Self-management skills

Throughout the process of planning, researching, drafting and revising your investigation, you should be continually checking the criteria. Ask your teacher and other students to provide specific feedback using the criteria. Continually ask yourself if your work meets the criteria.

Before getting started, you should look carefully at the assessment criteria to appreciate what each section of the IA demands. Teachers will use the same criteria for both SL and HL. It is important to have a clear understanding of what success will look like before you invest the time and hard work that this task will require. Teachers will use the criterion found in the IB History Guide to provide feedback to teachers and to assess the final draft. The assessment is based on “positive achievement”, meaning that teachers will try to find the best fit according to the descriptors in each criterion. Students do not have to write a perfect paper to achieve the highest descriptors, and teachers should not think in terms of pass/fail based on whether scores are above or below 50% of the 25 marks in total.

To simplify the criterion and to provide some fixed targets for what success looks like, consider using the assessment tool provided on the next page.
Teacher, Peer and Self-Assessment Tool

**Criterion A: Identification and evaluation of sources (6 marks)**
Suggested word count: 500

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria for success</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does the investigation have an appropriate question clearly stated?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has the student selected, identified, and referenced (using a consistent format)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appropriate and relevant sources?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there a clear explanation of the relevance of the sources to the investigation?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there detailed analysis and evaluation of two sources with explicit discussion of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the value and limitations, with reference to their origins, purpose and content?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Criterion B: Investigation (15 marks)**
Suggested word count: 1,300

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria for success</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Improvements needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is the investigation clear, coherent and effectively organized?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the investigation contain well-developed critical analysis clearly focused on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the stated question?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Is there evidence from a range of sources used effectively to support an argument?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there evaluation of different perspectives (arguments, claims, experiences etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the topic and/or question?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the investigation provide a reasoned conclusion that is consistent with the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>evidence and arguments provided?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Criterion C: Reflection (4 marks)**
Suggested word count: 400

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria for success</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Improvements needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does the student focus clearly on what the investigation revealed about the methods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used by historians?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the reflection demonstrate clear awareness of the challenges facing historians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and/or the limitations of the methods used by historians?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there an explicit connection between the reflection and the rest of the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>investigation (question, sources used, evaluation and analysis)?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography & formatting (no marks applicable)
Suggested word count: Not included in total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria for success</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Improvements needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Is the word count clearly stated on the cover? (2200 maximum)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Is a single bibliographic style or format consistently used?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Is the bibliography clearly organized and include all the sources you have referenced or used as evidence in the investigation?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Getting started: Approaches to learning history

Thinking skills

To start generating ideas for a topic and to help you focus your question, use a research-based thinking routine such as Think-Puzzle-Explore (see Ritchhart, Church and Morrison, 2011. Make Thinking Visible, Jossey-Bass).

Think: What topics do you think might interest you?
Puzzle: What puzzles you about these topics?
Explore: How can you explore more about each of these topics?

Ideally, you will have opportunities throughout the IB History course to explore and develop understandings about the methods and the nature of history. This will prepare you to better develop the skills necessary for the IA and the other assessment papers in the IB History course. Additionally, these kinds of learning activities provide clear links to TOK.

• Debate controversial historical events and claims.
• Compare and corroborate conflicting sources of evidence.
• Take on, role play or defend different perspectives or experiences of an event.
• Discuss the value and limitations of historian’s arguments and evidence.
• Develop criteria for selecting and comparing historical sources.
• Gather and analyze a variety of different kinds of sources (photos, artwork, journal entries, maps, etc.) focused on the same event or issue.

• Co-develop good questions and carry out an investigation of a historical event as a entire class.
• Read an excerpt from a historian’s work and identify which parts are analysis, evidence and narrative.

If students better understand that history is more than simply memorizing and reporting on facts, dates and chronological narratives, then they are more likely to be curious, engaged and motivated learners of history. Accordingly, they will more likely develop appropriate questions for their investigation and have a better understanding of how to organize and write effective analysis.

Selecting a topic and appropriate questions

Self-management skills

Before beginning, ask your teacher to find some examples of student IAs with examiner’s feedback. These can be found on the IB Online Curriculum Centre or in the Teachers’ Support Materials for History.

Examine the formatting and layout of each component to visualize in advance what your IA might look like, and the steps that will be required to complete them.

Once you have some general understanding of the IA components and are familiar with the assessment criteria, it is time to select a topic focus. Students often do not know how to begin selecting a topic. Identify a historical topic of interest and get to know it well by conducting some background reading from a general history textbook or an online encyclopedia. You may find some information that will help you narrow the topic focus quickly. These kinds of sources often outline the differing perspectives, interpretations and controversies
that make for an engaging investigation. Well-written textbooks and articles will also include references, annotated bibliographies and footnotes of additional, more detailed sources that will help in the research stage.

After selecting a topic, formulating an appropriate research question can also be very challenging. It is essential that you take the time to carefully think about what kinds of topics help produce good questions for investigations. Before you begin any writing, you should submit a proposal to your teacher to ensure that the investigation will be successful.

Some teachers recommend that students write about a topic related to their course syllabus, but there are a countless number of possible topics and you are better off choosing topics that interest you and motivate you to learn. The topic must be historical however, so students may not investigate any topic that happened within the last ten years. All investigations will take one of three forms:

1. An investigation of a historical theme, issue, person or event based on a variety of sources.

2. An investigation based on fieldwork of a historical building, place or site.

3. An investigation of a local history.

When selecting a historical topic, students often fail to select a topic that is manageable. For example, examining all of the causes of the Second World War is too broad for the purposes of a 2200 word investigation. Many students also select topics that cannot be researched in depth because there are not enough readily available primary and/or secondary sources.

Investigating a historically-themed film or piece of literature can be very engaging; but many students write better papers when they focus the investigation on a particular claim, portrayal or perspective contained in the work, rather than the entire work itself. Students who choose to investigate a historical site, or to investigate local or community history, often have an opportunity to engage in experiences that are more authentic to the work of professional historians, but these can also produce a lot of challenges when looking for sources. Whatever the topic, it is essential to formulate a good question.

One of the most common errors when planning and writing the IA is formulating an a poor question about their topic. A good question is essential for success and helps ensure that the IA is a manageable and researchable investigation. Consider the following criteria when formulating a good question:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 The question is re searchable.</th>
<th>• There is an adequate variety and availability of sources related to your topic.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 The question is focused.</td>
<td>• The sources are readable, available and in a language that is accessible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The question is engaging</td>
<td>• Questions that are vague or too broad make it difficult to write a focused investigation limited to 2200 words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Questions that are too broad make it difficult to manage the number of sources needed to adequately address the topic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Interesting, controversial or challenging historical problems make better questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Questions with obvious answers (i.e. Did economic factors play a role in Hitler’s rise to power?) do not make good investigations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using the concepts to formulate good questions

The IB History course is focused on six key concepts: change, continuity, causation, consequence, significance and perspectives. Each of these concepts shape historians’ thinking about the kinds of questions they ask and investigate. Therefore, they are helpful to students as a framework for formulating good IA questions. Using the historical thinking concepts, you may be able to generate several good questions about any historical topic that can be eventually focused into successful investigations.
To illustrate, a student interested in the Russian Revolution might use the concepts to brainstorm the following possible investigations:

**Change:** In what ways did the Russian Revolution change Russian society?

**Continuity:** To what extent did Stalin’s regime resemble the Tsarist system?

**Causation:** How significant were long term factors in causing the February Revolution?

**Consequence:** To what extent did Stalin’s purges affect military preparedness?

**Significance:** How important was Lenin’s role in the October Revolution?

**Perspectives:** To what extent did Doctor Zhivago capture the experience of upper class Russians during the Revolution?

After generating some possible questions, students can bring greater focus to their topic. For example, a student interested in how women experienced Stalinism may narrow the focus to a particular place or event. A student investigating long-term causes of an event may have more success if the question is focused on the significance of a specific, singular cause. For good examples of historical questions, you should consult past Paper 2 or Paper 3 examination questions.

You should notice that many of the questions above include more than one concept. Most good historical investigations will require students to think about perspectives because there will likely be multiple accounts of the issue under investigation, or there will be some controversy between historians. Here are some question exemplars showing how they capture more than one key historical concepts:

- How significant was Allied area bombing in reducing German industrial capacity during the Second World War? (significance; consequence)
- To what extent did Gandhi’s leadership achieve Indian independence? (significance; perspectives; causation)

All successful IAs begin with a well-developed, thoughtful and focused question that is based on one or more of the historical concepts.
Internal Assessment skills

Categorize the following questions (Good – Needs Improvement – Poor) according to their suitability as a historical investigation according to the criteria provided above. Suggest ways the questions might be improved.

1. Which Second World War film is the most accurate?
2. To what extent did ethnicity play a role in bringing about the Rwandan genocide?
3. How did women win the right to vote in the United States?
4. Did Hitler use film for propaganda?
5. Why did Ibrahim Rugova's policy of passive resistance fail in Kosovo?
6. What were the most important reasons for the launching of Operation Anarjalis by France in July 1994?

Common problems when selecting a topic and question:
- Poorly focused question – too broad and unmanageable.
- Obvious question.
- Question is not researchable.

Getting organized: making a plan of investigation

Self-management skills

Create your own plan for completion with target dates and goals. Submit this with your proposed topic and question. Include some initial sources of information you will use.

Completing the IA successfully requires that students create a plan for completion that includes several important steps of the inquiry process. Some of the steps may overlap, but it is important that you organize your tasks and stay on track for completion by setting goals and due dates. Your teacher should read at least one draft and give some feedback to ensure that the IA is not plagiarised. A plan of investigation should include the following steps:

1. Planning
   - Select a topic and formulate a question.
   - Submit a proposal to your teacher.
   - Identify information sources.

2. Researching
   - Gather information.
   - Carefully read information.

3. Organizing and processing
   - Create notes.
   - Record referenced sources.
   - Create a bibliography.
   - Organize ideas into an outline.
   - Formulate an argument.

4. Drafting
   - Write each section of the IA.
   - Revise and edit.
   - Check assessment criteria.

5. Sharing
   - Submit a draft for feedback.

6. Revising
   - Revise based on feedback from your teacher.

7. Publishing
   - Submit final copy to your teacher.
   - Evaluate using criteria.

Getting organized: researching

Communication skills

When supporting historical claims, it is important to make your evidence visible to your reader. Make sure you use a standard bibliographic format to show the reader where your evidence was found. In the discipline of history, the University of Chicago style or MLA style is most commonly used because it provides significant information about the origins of the source, and the endnotes or footnotes format allows the historian to insert additional information about the source where necessary.

Take good notes during the research stage. Post-it notes are helpful to record thoughts and ideas next to key passages as you read and think about the information in relation to the question. Using different coloured highlighters to identify different perspectives on the question as you read can also be helpful. If using borrowed books, take a photo of important pages on a tablet device and use a note-taking application to highlight and write notes on the page. Students who make their thinking visible as they read will have an easier time writing later in the process. Create a timeline of the event you are researching to ensure the chronology is clear in your mind.
It is strongly recommended that you record the bibliographic information and page numbers where you find important evidence and analysis. Many students wait until the very end of the writing process to compile their bibliography, but this is much more easily accomplished if the information is recorded throughout, instead of as an afterthought when the draft is finished. There are several easily accessible websites that provide the most up-to-date versions of MLA (www.mla.org), and Chicago Manual of Style (www.chicagomanualofstyle.org), which are the two most common formats used for bibliographies in university history departments.

**Common problems when planning and organizing an IA:**
- Lack of general background knowledge of the topic.
- No feedback on proposed topic and question.
- No plan for completion.
- Inaccurately recording page numbers and references.
- Poorly organized notes; or no notes at all.

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**Internal Assessment skills**

Create a proposal for the IA using the template shown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic:</th>
<th>Student:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research question:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposed sources:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources (2) proposed for evaluation in Section A:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section A: Identification and evaluation of sources**

Section A is worth 6 of the 25 total marks. It is recommended that the word count does not exceed much more than 500 words. While this section does not count for a substantial portion of the marks, most students will not be successful without a strong Section A. There are three key aspects of this section.

1. **Clearly state the topic of the investigation.** (This must be stated as a question).
2. **Include a brief explanation of the two sources the student has selected for detailed analysis, and a brief explanation of their relevance to the investigation.**
3. **With reference to their origins, purpose and content, analyse the value and limitations of the two sources.**

**Common problems with Section A:**
- Question is not clearly stated.
- Relevance or significance of selected sources not explained.
- Student summarizes the content of selected sources.
- Limited analysis.
- Discussion of origins, purpose and content is in isolation to value and limitations.
- Poorly chosen sources.
- Speculates vaguely about the values and limitations of sources.
- Reference to origins, purpose and content is not explicit.

**Thinking about evidence: origins, purpose, value and limitations**

Because it is built on a foundation of evidence, history is by nature interpretive and controversial.
This is not something many people understand — to them history is simply a long list of dates and dead people. While there are a great many things historians agree upon, there are countless historical questions that are enshrouded in debate and controversy. Since relatively few people personally witness the events they study, how one understands the past depends largely on which sources of evidence are used, and how they are interpreted. Even facts that historians generally agree upon can change over time. Philosopher Ambrose Bierce once said, "God alone knows the future, but only a historian can alter the past." Though the past cannot actually be changed, historical memory and understanding is always changing as each generation brings forward new questions, new evidence and new perspectives. This process of changing historical interpretations is referred to as revisionism. Revisionist historians are those who challenge orthodox, or generally accepted arguments and interpretations.

Besides revisionism, another reason why history is controversial is that accounts or evidence from the same events can differ drastically. People record events from different origins and perspectives, and for different purposes. Historical evidence might come from a limitless number of possible kinds of sources. Sources that all originate from the same time and place that we are investigating are typically referred to as primary sources. The interpretations and narratives that we find in documentaries, articles and books created by historians are called secondary sources.

Students often make the error of thinking that primary sources are more authentic and reliable, and therefore have more value, and fewer limitations than secondary sources. This isn’t always the case. Being there does not necessarily give greater insight into events, and indeed, sometimes the opposite is true. Historians can look at events from multiple perspectives and use a wide range of evidence not available to the eyewitness. Students often speculate that a primary source is valuable and significant to their investigation, but have poor reasons in support of the idea that it is a primary source.

It is important that you understand how to evaluate the value and limitations of a source. Reference to the origins, purposes, and content outside the context of the limitations will result in a poor essay.

| Origins | • Where did the source come from?  
|         | • Who wrote or created it?  
|         | • Whose perspectives are represented?  
|         | • Whose are not?  
| Purpose | • Why was this created?  
|         | • What purpose might this document have served?  
| Content | • What does the source mean?  
|         | • What does it reveal or contain?  
|         | • How useful is the information? Is it reasonable to believe it is accurate? Can it be corroborated?  

Generally, the closer in proximity (place and time) the origin of a primary source is, the more value it has to historians. If students can find ways to corroborate (support, confirm) a source by other sources, then the source likely has greater value to the investigation. Limitations may include any factors that cause someone to question the truthfulness, validity or value of a source.

Keep in mind, that using the term bias is not always useful in history – it is important to be able to identify bias, but bias does not necessarily limit the value of a source. Students often make the error of assuming a source is unreliable because they detect bias. Remember that most people will have biased perspectives that are unique to their own experiences, time and place. This does not mean that you should blindly dismiss the evidence they offer us. You should ensure that you explain clearly how the bias affects the value of the content in the source used.
Internal Assessment skills

Use this template for taking notes from each of the sources used in the investigation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source (bibliographic information):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary or secondary source?</th>
<th>How is the source relevant/significant to the investigation?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Origins/Purpose?</td>
<td>Value/Limitations?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Page#: | What evidence does the source provide? (quote, paraphrase, describe) | What is your interpretation? How does the content of the source relate to your question? What perspective does it add? |

Selecting sources for the IA

One of the challenges to students writing a successful Section A is making sure that they choose two appropriate sources to evaluate. You should be able to clearly and effectively explain why the chosen sources are relevant and important to the investigation.

Often students make the mistake of relying too heavily on non-scholarly sources such as online encyclopaedia articles and general history textbooks. As stated, these are good starting points for finding a topic, but they are not good sources to build your investigation upon. They are especially poor choices to use for detailed analysis in this section. Before selecting sources consider the following:

- You will be expected to discuss as much detail about the origins and purpose of the source as possible. Be sure to choose sources where you can identify as much of the following as possible: when it was created; who created it; why it was created; where it was created. If much of this information is not readily identifiable, you will have difficulty evaluating value and limitations with explicit reference to the origins and purpose.

- Select sources or excerpts of sources that have clear significance to the question. You should be able to clearly, and explicitly explain why the content of the source is important to the investigation. Some students choose sources that are largely irrelevant or vaguely related to the question.

- The investigation should include an appropriate range of sources. As a general rule, you should include both primary and secondary sources, but this may not work with some types of investigations. While secondary sources on a topic are likely to be easily obtained, they often provide less to discuss in Section A. Interviews, personal correspondence, newspaper articles, journals, speeches, letters, and other primary sources often provide students with much more meaningful material to evaluate in Section A. Ideas about origins and purpose come more readily with primary sources than they might when using secondary sources which generally, but not always, strive to present balanced arguments and perspectives.

- Choose secondary sources that reference the evidence the historians used to support their arguments. You will find it less difficult to
assess the validity of the evidence the historian uses, or how the evidence is interpreted in the arguments, if the historian has documented the evidence clearly.

- Consider using periodical articles. Many historians write excellent, concise articles on historical topics for peer-reviewed journals. These articles often have rich footnoting and bibliographies that you can use to find additional sources for the investigation.

- Be careful about relying too heavily on general web-based sources. Many online sources are not referenced or footnoted properly so it is difficult to validate information about the origins, purpose and authorship. On the other hand, a great number of rich primary sources can be found online, as well as articles written by respected historians.

- Consider using interviews. Some students have written exceptional IAs based on people’s experiences, or by interviewing historians or other people with extensive knowledge and experience. When using interviews, record them as an audio file for reference and accuracy.

Analysing the selected sources
After stating the research question and explaining the two selected sources and their relevance to the investigation, the largest part should focus on analysing the two sources. Depending on the sources chosen, they can be discussed separately or simultaneously. Discussing them separately is often more advantageous as you can make the origins, purpose, limitations more explicit.

- It is important that any arguments about the value and limitations make specific references to the content, origins and purpose.

- Be careful that the value of a source is not dismissed on the basis of bias without a strong argument about why the bias limits the validity or reliability of the content.

- You should avoid summarizing the content too much. Summarize and describe content only to the extent necessary to construct a strong analysis about the source’s value and limitations.

- You should be thorough in examining all aspects of the source’s origins including date of origin, cultural context, author’s background, publisher or other important details. If little information about the origins is identifiable, it is likely a poorly chosen source for analysis.

**Internal Assessment skills**

Use the Section A assessment criteria to discuss and evaluate this excerpt of a student’s work. Identify where the student has explicitly discussed origins and purpose, and value and limitations.

*This investigation will seek to answer the question “What did the Tiananmen Square protest reveal about the democratic sentiments in China between 1980 and 1989?” Democratic sentiments are defined as people’s attitudes toward democratic ideals. This investigation will analyze factors that influenced democratic sentiments from multiple perspectives, but will not assess the ethics and justification of the Chinese government’s response to the protest.*

*In order to take into account the opposing views on this event and keep the scope of the investigation manageable, I have made use of a variety of carefully selected sources. Two primary sources will be evaluated …*

**Source 1: Prisoner of State: the secret journal of Zhao Ziyang**

The origin of the source is of great value because the author is Zhao Ziyang, the General Secretary of the Communist Party during the Tiananmen Square Protest (the Protest). Zhao attempted to use a non-violent approach to resolve the protest and spoke against the party’s hardliners. After a power struggle, Zhao was dismissed and put under house arrest until his death in 2005. The content of the journal is translated from thirty audiotapes recorded secretly by Zhao while he was under house arrest between 1999 and 2000. The book is published in 2009 by Simon & Schuster, one of the largest and most reputable English-language publishers. The reputation of the author and publisher increases the reliability of this source.
Zhao's purpose for recording these tapes was to publicize his political opinions and express his regret for failing to prevent the massacre. This is valuable because Zhao was not allowed to publish his opinions while under house arrest, so this source is the only surviving public record of Zhao's opinions and perspectives on the protest. This source is also valuable because its author, Zhao, was directly involved in the government's decision-making process during the protest. It reveals the power struggle within the Communist Party through the lens of the progressive bloc. However, its exclusivity may limit its value because there are no counterparts to compare with or to verify its claims. As a translated material, the source may not accurately present Zhao's intentions and may have lost some cultural expressions. In addition, this source may be biased in that Zhao speaks in favor of political reform and democracy, which does not represent the Party's position...


Section B: Investigation

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<th>Common problems with Section B:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Too much narrative.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Poor referencing of sources.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Limited awareness of different positions or perspectives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Listing of evidence instead of integrating analysis and evidence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Overuse of quotations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Plagiarism.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Poor organization and arguments that are difficult to follow.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Few connections to the question and purpose of the investigation.</td>
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<td>• Conclusions are not evidence-based.</td>
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It is essential that you keep Section B focused on the purpose of the investigation and construct an argument using all of the sources you have listed in the bibliography. No marks are awarded for the bibliography, but an incomplete treatment of your sources, or inaccurate referencing will cost you marks in this section. Evidence must be integrated with very clear critical commentary that leads the reader to an eventual evidence-based conclusion that addresses the question posed in Section A. Students often make the error of simply listing facts they researched, without explaining how they are relevant or relate to their question. The following points should be considered when writing this section.

• The investigation should be carefully organized. The synthesis of evidence and critical commentary should be carefully planned to ensure that there is logic and flow to the section, and that your argument is very clear.

• The type of question you pose for the investigation will determine how you organize your writing. For example, a question that invites comparisons (for example: whether a film portrays an event accurately) will require you to discuss both similarities and differences. “To what extent” questions will require you to discuss both perspectives of “ways no” and “ways yes”.

• As you gather evidence and document your thinking in your notes, keep in mind you may need to adjust or change your question. You should give some consideration to planning and writing Section B before writing Section A.

• Where appropriate, discuss different perspectives of the topic. Historians may offer different interpretations, or there may be multiple experiences of an event.

• Quotes should be used sparingly. Most of your writing should summarize and paraphrase the evidence collected and explain explicitly how it relates to the investigation. Too many student papers read as long lists of quotes from sources. Quotes must be explained, or integrated as evidence in support of an argument, and add something specifically and convincingly to your argument.

• Any references to sources, or ideas that are not your own, should be referenced appropriately using endnotes or footnotes. If this is not completed carefully, you risk plagiarizing others' ideas as your own.
WRITING THE INTERNAL ASSESSMENT FOR IB HISTORY

- You should avoid writing significant amounts of narrative. Retelling a historical narrative or sequence of events is not the purpose of the investigation. On the other hand, you should demonstrate a clear understanding of the chronology and historical context of the events you are analyzing.

- Your conclusion is essential. The conclusion must offer possible answers or solutions to the question identified in Section A. It should not read simply as a summary of points, but rather as a well-reasoned, convincing, evidence-based closure to the investigation.

- There is no suggested number of appropriate sources required for your investigation. The number of sources you should use depends entirely on your topic and the kind of investigation you are doing. Local or community history, for example, might offer a limited numbers of sources. Community archives that you expect to require could yield fewer, but may be varied and specific, rather than general.

Submitting your bibliography

The bibliography—an **alphabetically ordered list of sources**—should be inserted at the very end of your paper. It is mentioned here with Section B because it should be created as part of the writing process, not simply thrown together at the last minute before submitting the paper. This bibliography is not worth any marks but it is an essential component of the paper that is often overlooked or poorly completed. Any sources referenced as evidence in Section B must be included in your bibliography.

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**Internal Assessment Skills**

Use the Section B assessment criteria to evaluate an excerpt of this student's investigation. Has the student effectively integrated evidence and critical commentary?

...Sentimentality played a key role in the events leading up to the protest in 1989. Western democracy and parliamentary system were believed to be the panacea for China's social problems. As Zhao Ziyang stated in his memoir: "In fact, it is the Western parliamentary democratic system that has demonstrated the most vitality. It seems that this system is currently the best one available." The death of Hu Yaobang, the former General Secretary of the Party who advocated strongly for democratic reform, created a unified sense of democratic sentiments that united both ideological and practical groups. Hu's successor, Zhao Ziyang, an even more progressive leader, spoke publicly in favour of political reform. Zhao's rise in power gave people an optimistic belief in democracy, and encouraged other progressives to act more openly. However, contrary to the revolutionary attitudes later in the protest, the democratic sentiment under Zhao's leadership was relatively constructive. Based on the Seven Demands drafted by the protesters, it was clear that, in the beginning of the Protest, protesters did not intend to be anti-governmental or anti-communist; they merely demanded that the Party take actions to end corruption and grant citizens more political freedom. As the leading figure behind the Party's progressive bloc, Zhao was generally in line with the protesters. Internally, he attempted to persuade hardliner party officials, particularly Deng, into making concession with the protesters. He also allowed the media, such as the People's Daily and the China Central Television to bypass censorship and broadcast the protest...

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2. Meaning the intellectuals and the working class.
Section C: Reflection

In Section C (approx. 400 words) you have the opportunity to reflect on what the investigation revealed to you about the methods used by historians and the challenges they face when investigating topics like your own. This section is worth the fewest marks (4), but it could make the difference between a good and an outstanding paper. You should not only have an understanding that the study of history is beset with a number of challenges and limitations, some of which have been discussed earlier in this chapter. Section A is designed to give you an opportunity to reflect on this understanding, but it must be focused specifically on the nature of your topic and/or the kind of investigation you undertook, rather than a reflection on the nature of history in general.

<table>
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<th>Common problems with Section C:</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Limited understanding of the nature of history and the challenges facing historians.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Limited understanding of the methods historians use to examine and study history.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Poorly focused on the challenges specific to the student's topic.</td>
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Throughout your IB History course, your TOK and History teachers should provide opportunities for you to think about and discuss the challenges of determining historical truth and understanding.

History can often be determined largely by who writes it, his or her purpose, and the methods he or she decides to use. Consider also that where there is scant evidence, historians often make very authoritative sounding speculations – essentially educated guesses – where they fill in gaps in the historical record with judgments they think are reasonable to believe. But often we cannot with absolute certainty verify or prove beyond doubt that their accounts are correct.

Many of the inherent challenges of history stem from problems related to its evidence-based nature. History is also challenging because of how it is used for so many different purposes including political slogans, national narratives, personal and group identity, entertainment, advertising and countless other ways. The past the historian studies is not a dead past. History is living, changing and visible in the present. Therefore, there is no shortage of questions to consider in your reflection section.

- What is history? Is it more creative and interpretive as opposed to scientific and objective?
- How did the nature of your investigation present specific challenges to finding reliable evidence?
- What methods did historians use? How were they limited by time and place? How are they limited by ideology or world views?
- Is it possible to capture the entirety of an event?
- What are the challenges of causation? How far back in time should the historian search for causes? Can immediate causes ever be separated from long term causes?
- How might national identity, cultural norms, values or beliefs affect one’s ability to reason and arrive at an understanding of history?
- How might mass culture, the entertainment industry or other powerful forces influence historical understanding?
- Who decides what topics and issues are important to record and study?
- How does bias and editorial selection impact what is recorded and reported on, and what is not?
- In what ways does the outcome of an event determine how it is recorded in history?
- How does technology affect understanding of history, or the methods the historian uses?
- How are value judgements in history determined? For example, how are terms like atrocity, terrorism or revolution treated now compared to the period under investigation? Should historians make moral judgements?
- In what ways does the idea of progress and decline affect our treatment of some historical events?
- What is the role of the historian? Can the historian ever be objective?
- Are all perspectives of history equally valid? If not, how do we determine which have greater value?
- How might knowledge of your investigation be used to solve complex problems in the present? How might it be abused?

In would be far too ambitious for you to consider all of these questions in Section C. It is essential however that you give considerable thought
to what you learned about history from your investigation. You should demonstrate clear awareness of the challenges facing historians, and the limitations of specific methods used in investigating topics like your own. In other words, there should be a clear connection between the nature of history as a way of thinking, and your own investigation. For a greater understanding of the nature of history, the following books are very useful.


Final touches: Wrapping up the IA

The Internal Assessment is arguably the best opportunity IB History students have to maximize their overall course mark. The final assessed mark is entirely in your hands because you control the process of topic selection, research, and writing. Before submitting to your assessment, make sure you have followed:

- Select and thoroughly research personal interest.
- Complete all sections fully and criteria.
- Compare your IA to examples posted on the OCC or the Teacher Support Materials.
- Include all relevant sources in your bibliography.
- Reference all sources using a consistent, standardized citation format.
- Edit and proofread your work carefully.
- Submit a draft for effective feedback from your teacher.
- Include a title page with your question, name, candidate number and total word count clearly listed.
- Include a table of contents.

Discuss and evaluate the student example below using the criteria for Section C:

Ever since Deng declared martial law on May 20th, 1989, the Tiananmen Square Protest had been a taboo topic in Mainland China. There are no public records of the protest, and any discussion regarding the Protest is immediately censored. In the educational system, particularly, the Protest was considered "non-existent". The Party's illegitimate historical revisionism illustrates the extent to which history can be manipulated to influence public opinions. Therefore, historians have the morally imperative role to present a balanced account of the Protest.

However, historians hoping to investigate the Protest face a dilemma: most primary sources are not made public by the Chinese government, and most available sources are from the protesters' perspectives. Historians either have no primary sources to work with, or have a disproportionate number of pro-protest sources. This dilemma is a common problem caused by illegalitimate historical revisionism, which made it difficult for historians to remain objective. Government records are not available. Media coverage during the Protest is censored. Government and military officers who gave orders during the Protest are not permitted to publicize their narratives. On the other hand, a large number of sources originate from political dissidents, protesters who sought asylum overseas, and families of protesters who were killed on June 4th. These sources, although highly valuable to historians, can be biased and unreliable. Therefore, historians should exercise caution when evaluating these sources.

In order to counterbalance the aforementioned dilemma, I purposely limited the number of sources originated from the protesters. I also took advantage of my Chinese proficiency by looking through Chinese newspaper archives and talking with former protesters and former Party officials during the protest. Those methods of acquiring evidence should have helped me gain a more balanced understanding of the democratic sentiments during the protest.

Apart from balancing different perspectives, historians who investigate this issue are under social and ethical pressures. If they suggest that there were democratic sentiments within the Party and the Army executing the martial law, many former protesters (especially families of victims who were killed during the June 4th incident) would accuse the historians of downplaying the Party's crime. In addition, the Western world almost unanimously agrees that the June 4th incident was a massacre and that the Party was the antagonist. Historians who propose otherwise are under significant ideological pressure. Therefore, historians should prevent these pressures from influencing the investigation. Any conclusions should be re-examined by other historians to ensure a higher degree of objectivity.