MAKING IT, BREAKING IT, AND MAKING IT AGAIN:
The importance of identity in the destruction and reconstruction of war-torn societies

by

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ABSTRACT

Identicide is the conscious intent to destroy the physical manifestations of a society in order to destroy cultural identity and to erase any signs of previous existence. When a community is affected by identicide, and significant cultural places and symbols are destroyed, there is a weakening of cultural identity because the cues of being have been altered or destroyed and disorientation and disassociation result. The salience of place-making in war-torn societies is key to the reconstruction process of cultural identity.

This thesis examines how people and cultures construct identity through place-making, and also, how people are able to deconstruct it, through place-breaking. Damage to cultural identity can occur in times of war, and a case study of the Bridge of Mostar, Bosnia is used to illustrate the use of identicide and the subsequent reconstruction of identity. Policies concerning war-time protection and the protection of cultural property are examined.

Identicide is a profane war tool dealing damage to civilian life. The systematic and deliberate intentions behind this war strategy are highlighted. Conclusions are made regarding the usefulness of reconstructing place in order to reconstruct cultural identity in war-torn societies. The merging of hard and soft reconstruction practices is identified as a new methodology in post-war reconciliation.

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I dedicate this work to James, Margaret, John, and Suzanna, my grandparents, both Irish and Slovak, for giving me roots in foreign lands and in Canadian soil. Because of your tenacity, courage, and fearlessness, I have an identity.

This thesis has merged two very different fields of expertise - landscape architecture and peacekeeping - to produce a thesis that would be applicable to future post-conflict reconstruction projects, and perhaps, guide the Canadian Forces into a new era of soft-power within the global arena of peacekeeping.

The path towards completion has been challenging. I was blessed along the way with extraordinary teachers who have helped me spread my academic wings and have rigorously challenged my mind. They have guided me to places I did not recognize. They have taught me to dig deeper and to cut through issues to search for legitimacy. Most of all, they have showed me, by example, how to be authentic.

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To all of you, for making my dreams come true, I am forever grateful.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B-H	Bosnia-Herzegovina
Dayton	Dayton Peace Accords
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
GFAP	General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina
GO	Governmental Organization
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFOR	Implementation Force
IUCN	World Conservation Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDHQ	National Defence Headquarters (Ottawa, Canada)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OWHC	Organization of World Heritage Cities
SFOR	Stabilization Force
UNCRO	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNIDOIT	International Institute for the Unification of Private Law
UNPA's	United Nations Protected Areas
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WHL	World Heritage List
WHLD	World Heritage List in Danger

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PROLOGUE

The ancient Neretva River slides silently through the fog, south west towards the sea - timeless. The emerald green waters speed by with the comfort of practice and perfection. The River knows its path from start to end, every curve and fall and pool; its course is a blissful recollection of the past. The River ripples by, unchallenged and almost forgotten by those who watch it every day. The people are accustomed to the sight.

The mountain sunlight burns the fog away. Showing the slow rumble to the world above. Peering down from the banks are ancient stone buildings dating to a period long past, that of the Ottomans. The Turks once purged and plundered these banks and the Neretva tirelessly carried them on their conquests. Neutral in its cause, the river holds no grudges or prejudice. But those days were drawing to a close.

The people crowned the Neretva with a glorious bridge. Defiant in its gracefulness, it leapt off one bank, arced through the air, and alighted upon the opposite bank. It formed a link, a bond, a greeting. The River lapped at its piers and cradled it between its waves - all the time teaching it balance, symmetry, and continuity. It was named Stari-Most and the people visited her often.

People from both banks used the bridge. They walked over her, defying the depths. Boys would perch on her wings and plunge into the mountain water. Lovers would meet on her smooth white arch and kiss, defying mortality. She spanned to complete what nature had divided and she created union. The people were happy.

The River rumbled below and time passed. Still Stari-Most spanned the chasm and linked both the past to the present, and also the present to the future. She outlived the people and became as old as the River.

But then people became jealous of her. Some tried to protect their angel with ropes and wires and wood and rubber, but the bombs came. They tried to fell the angel and rip her tenuous white wings from the banks high above the water. Again and again they struck her, weakening her hold. She continued to perch there, wounded and weak, with her people rallying around her.

The river rolled below and a direct hit! Her white heart plunged downwards and rocketed to the depths below, disappearing forever. Slowly, her stones fell like a rain shower and she was gone from sight, leaving a hole in the sky which the people had never seen. She was reclaimed by the river and the union was broken.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

> There are no fortuitous constructions, distinct from the human milieu where they develop and its needs, desires and ideas, just as there are no arbitrary lines and forms without motives in architecture. But like this relationship to the place where it has been built, the origin and life of every great, beautiful and useful building often contains dramas and complicated mysteries. In any case, one thing is certain; between the life of the people of the city and this bridge, there is an intimate, age-old link. Their destinies are so intermingled that they cannot be imagined or recounted separately. This is why the tale of the bridge's origin and destiny is also the tale of the life of the city and its inhabitants, from generation to generation, and why all the tales of the city are marked by the line of the stone bridge... (Andric 1945)

War devastates. The act of war is motivated by land: staking, claiming, protecting, and taking. We fight for the freedom of our homeland, fatherland, and motherland. Land is our referencing point and our compass to understand our parents, our children, and ourselves. Land is where we make our homes, our governments, and our graves, and it is this which makes us fight. Land is the spatial, visual, and psychic framework which enables humans to make places. Places, both real and imagined, are our stake-hold on earth and they house the elements which make up our culture and hence, our identity. Destruction of place destroys elements of cultural identity. War against identity is the study of this thesis.

Humans have the ability to create meaning in space and time by creating place. When places become meaningful, they begin to influence human beliefs, values, and

behaviour. Place, therefore, has the power to impact identity. We become anchored and attached to places because of the symbolism and meaning we *load* onto place.

The systematic targeting of culturally loaded places can destroy cultural identity, and this act is called *identicide*. The development of the new theory of identicide will illustrate the systematic removal of architecture to disrupt community identity. Identicide, differing from ethnocide and genocide, is examined and defined to show how and where it is currently being used to eliminate identity in communities around the world. Furthermore, this thesis illustrates the importance of identity in place-making; how we do it and what we do it with. Place evolves as the fundamental aspect of the enactment of culture and the fuel for identity. How cultural identity can be disrupted through the employment of identicide and place-breaking, and how the reconstruction of cultural identity can be achieved through *identigenesis* and place-making will be examined. The significance of continuity will be explored and applied to the reconstruction of destroyed symbols once representing cultural identity in war-torn communities.

The Bridge of Mostar in Bosnia is used as a case study to illustrate the creation of cultural identity, the use of identicide against this identity, and the resulting post-war reconstruction decisions surrounding the rebuilding of the Bridge. Specific characteristics of the Bridge are identified which increased its significance after its destruction, and helped to motivate its subsequent reconstruction. Although the entire city of Mostar was destroyed, the Bridge was chosen because it is the salient ingredient of identity of Mostarians, and the global attention devoted to its destruction signified the Bridge's salience in our collective cultural heritage. The reconstruction of the Bridge is

highlighted to reinforce that identity-driven reconstruction practices can strengthen cultural identity in post-war societies.

Identity-driven reconstruction practice is motivated in a different way than other reconstruction processes centred upon economic and political recovery. This approach is unique because its focus is upon *hard* (objective, physical) elements combined with *soft* (subjective, emotive) elements and will reconstruct community identity internally rather than using criteria external to the community. External criteria could be foreign aid, foreign stabilizing forces, and mitigating groups such as UNESCO. Policies devoted to war-time protection and protection of cultural property are offered.

The inception and development of policy in times of armed conflict is presented from the Geneva and Hague Conventions. The UNESCO sub-groups dedicated to the preservation and protection of cultural properties are also presented. The difference between the two will be demonstrated. Currently, there is a split between physical reconstruction practices and civil engineering practices in war-torn societies. The groups, which implement reconstruction programs and training, are not creating partnerships between physical reconstruction and civil engineering. This gap is lengthening the reconciliation process in war-torn societies because it takes longer for communities to regain orientation and association - a sense of identity - when the programs, funding, and planning initiatives are not aimed at reconstructing the key components of cultural identity. The current methods of post-war reconstruction and the process involved in recreating community identity through place-making will be developed. This thesis aims to illuminate cultural identity as the missing link between physical reconstruction practices and civil engineering practices in war-torn societies.

This work is significant in today's world of peace-building. The Canadian Forces are no longer combatants, and though trained as soldiers, must act as peacekeepers in a global arena of peace building. A major effort is put forth by the CF to provide reconciliation support in war-torn societies. There is an opportunity for Canada to lead global peace-building initiatives in the area of post-war reconstruction. Canadians, with their long history of peacekeeping initiated by Lester B. Pearson, can supply effective soft-power in post-war societies. This thesis contributes to the efforts of war studies by providing a rationale for a soft power approach to post-war reconstruction - a role which the CF will be playing more often due to budget cuts and downsizing. A unique niche will appear for Canada's soft power initiatives through this simple yet effective approach to post-war reconstruction.

Cultural identity in post-war communities can be stimulated by reassembling destroyed historical and vernacular symbols in the landscape that are considered to be the cultural 'glue' of identity. This thesis integrates three fields - military strategy, academic theory, and planning policies - to yield a physical and social reconstruction practice to solve social problems in war-torn societies. By encouraging an interdisciplinary link between designers and peacekeepers, it is proposed that a methodology can be created and implemented, one which could revolutionize post-war reconstruction efforts.

Chapter Two

MAKING IT: PLACE AND IDENTITY

> Space offers each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. Space thus constitutes a collective mirror more faithful than any personal one (Lefebvre 1991:220).

Space is something in which we embed our identity. Out of space, we create places which we choose, order, design, and make mean something. We target it and raze it to destroy identities. And we reclaim it in the name of science, or nationalism, or religion to establish identity. Place directs our actions and behaviours, and it is capable of fomenting territoriality. We train professionals to design it, plan it, and make it mean something; we train our militaries to take it, hold it, and strategically mould it. Place becomes significant as we load it with memory, culture, and identity. In fact, identity is defined and supported by place, and in turn, places "become part of one's identity and one's memory" (Sack 1997:135).

Space

Space is the stuff around us, the natural world, and place is the cultural imprint we stamp onto this world. "Place and space are forces [that] braid together nature and culture (which includes social relations and meaning) and help constitute self" (Sack 1997:1). Our spatial ordering system shows the far-reaching effects that social thought has on the creation of place. Sack determines space to be "an essential framework of all modes of thought, from physics to aesthetics, from myth to magic, to common everyday

life" (1986:14). Partnered with our notion of time, a fundamental ordering system is created.

People cannot be separated from this spatial world because they are physically born into it and continue creating it by expressing social values and beliefs through it. Eventually, place represents individual and cultural identity. People use important symbolic material elements which represent ideology, religion, and culture to create meaningful places. These anchor and attach us to places. Place, then, has the power to impact identity, and it "constrains and enables our actions, and our actions construct and maintain places" (Sack 1997:13).

Our social conception of space is forever changing. Humans perceive and understand space relations differently and are able to reference space in order to explain relationships, past and future. Sack (1986) believes the first conceptual link between things or substances and space occurs through locating the former in space, which then provides a means for describing facts. This is a natural occurrence, and it supports the reasoning for loading space with meaning. We can then establish that the premise of 'where, when, why, and what' are important to understanding our positioning in space (where), as well as our relationship to time (when), furthering the inscription of meaning (why) onto the cross-road of *now*.

Before we are able to construct identity through place-making, we need to make sense of the world; we need to know where and when we are. The cross-road of where (space) and 'when' (time), finds us at 'here and now'. This 'spatial connectivity' (Sack 1986:130), or 'temporal symbolism' (Eliade 1957:73), is tantamount to our understanding our conceptions of space in the past, present, and future. Orientation

provides the means to create categories to make sense out of the world, and this sense-making system provides continuity.

Place

We shape our environments, choose our places, and establish a hierarchy of significance expressed by an articulation of space. Place, both real and imagined, anchors people and creates continuity of experience and orientation in the world. Architectural articulation of space refers to the delineation of positive and negative space, and the establishment of boundaries, centres, and circulation. Physical form has mass and is able to fill a volume in space. The form of a church, for example, creates positive and negative space, first by filling a volume, and second, by delineating the unfilled space around the filled volume. Space is manipulated and the result is what we experience in our day to day lives.

Churches, homes, streets, trees, landscapes, town centres, place names, art, memorials, and people - are the places or *cues* for expressing individual, community, national, and international identity.[1] Each day, people experience built space, which provides orientation, and while experiencing a series of material elements, humans are cued *how* to be and, also, *when* to be. Lynch (1972) develops this theory through explanations of collective time. "By constant communication and reinforcement, a group past and a group future is created through selecting, explaining, retaining, and modifying" (1972:125). These components fill our daily lives with familiarity and forge a link between a collective past and future.

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[1] Although there are other elements, symbols and signs which form identity (i.e. folklore, music/song, and ideology), this chapter focuses upon the material elements of cultural identity (i.e. architecture, place, landscape).

We are aware of time passing and our place in time through cycles. These range from eating breakfast, reading the morning paper, dressing in clothes, driving to work, sitting in an office or classroom, playing in the park, reading a street sign, or watching a hockey game on television. Every re-enactment leaves an imprint on mind and body like a psychological stamp - a mark on human memory. By virtue of contact with physical elements, we are cued on how and when to prepare, to look, to locate, to act, to enjoy, to find, or to relax. We are cued into being. "By following the culture's rules and practices, and by retelling what happens and where, each individual, in the minutest daily activities and routines, becomes entwined in this world-building and world-sustaining activity" (Sack 1997:8).

Humans construct cultural identity (Jackson and Penrose 1993) through the employment of material elements. Pan-cultural methods of constructing identity exist, but also, unique methods exist which are significant to each culture. Almost all material places are different, but the significance lies in the collective act of loading meaning onto material elements, and this is often expressed through the employment or acceptance of material elements, like symbols in the landscape. Each is of great value to the cultural group that builds them and subscribes to these constructed places. Sometimes, societies place significant cultural beliefs on specific symbols that create physical manifestations of taboos, sacredness, and myth.

Places, with their defining material elements become a part of the mythology of each culture - the building blocks of identity. "For all of us the landscape is replete with markers of the past - graves, and cemeteries, monuments, archaeological sites, place names, religious and holy centers - that help us remember and give meaning to our lives"

(Sack 1997:135). Charged places intertwine space and culture. They can either be naturally or socially occurring places. Sensing natural phenomenon, societies can mark naturally occurring charged places as extraordinary. As well, people are able to choose places for rites and ceremonies, mark them with art, architecture, or sacred objects, and then the places become charged. Both types are valid and examples of each can be seen around the world. In both instances charged space embodies culture and space in a mutually inclusive relationship, reinforcing identity.

Just as *landmarks* create direction in the landscape, so too do *history-marks*[2] blaze the way through space and time and direct us forward. History-marks are the marking of time and circumstance throughout history. This 'pricking of time' (timapuncture) with remembered circumstances are the landmarks of history and the acupuncture points of collective memory - the stimulation of which forces remembrance. Halbwachs explores the use of landmarks as a human construct, which gather or mark salient times, places, and events or circumstances. Landmarks enable us to locate ourselves within a social framework of space (Halbwachs in Coser 1992:175). Daniels situates Halbwach's landmarks within *landscape*, which becomes the spatial framework for merging memory, culture, and identity:

> The symbolic activation of time and space, gives shape to the 'imagined community' of the nation. Landscapes, whether focusing on single monuments or framing stretches of scenery, provide visible shape; they picture the nation, and become a powerful mode of knowledge and social engagement (1993:5).

[2] David Cressy's arguments in Gillis begin this theory. Cressy talks about rites and rituals throughout time ... "they formed a repertory of remarkable occurrences that continues to reverberate through time, requiring instruction across the generations and solemnity or festivity on their anniversaries" (Cressy 1994: 62)

Humans load the landscape with symbols, which "serve to punctuate time, focus space, and figure the landscape, converting it into a psychic terrain" (Osborne 1996:25) which serves to strengthen identity. Certain events have claimed significance throughout history and create symbolically charged space and time, or a psychic terrain. Cultural cues in the landscape - symbols - can summon emotions and strengthen power of place.

Continuity lies in *vernacular* architecture, which contributes to a vernacular landscape. Local styles of architecture are unique and embody the past; they carry forward the spirit and style of our ancestors to create familiarity, repetition, and orientation. Vernacular architecture is that which is local, native, or indigenous to an area. Usually 'vernacular style' refers to the patterns, colours, texture, scale, and line used in the design of architectural elements and it places one in a specific time and place. Someone visiting Cinque Terre on the Mediterranean coast of Italy will not confuse it with the Basque region of Spain. Even though there are similarities of style there are great differences in quality, scale, texture, line, and colour - all of which lend a place its spirit and symbolize the group which created the place.

Architectural elements, which are not vernacular, can also symbolize identity. A nation that subscribes to democracy and views itself as democratic and fair is able to use a Classical architecture to design its banks, schools, or courthouses. Classical architecture is taken from history as a symbol of democracy attributed to Greek society. Regardless of the Greek government's treatment of its citizens, modern societies use Classical architectural elements, not because they are more structurally sound, but because they are symbolic and synonymous to a specific ideology. As well, designers are

able to create symbols that represent foreign cultures.[3] We are masters of creating places, which evoke an identity based on a particular set of beliefs. Architecture defines and articulates place through an established spatial ordering system and is only initiated if a clear ordering system of beliefs and hierarchy exists. In fact, humans must provide the framework upon which architecture defines place. The framework is made up of levels of importance, most often defined by symbols in the landscape.

Symbols

> A desirable image is one that celebrates and enlarges the present while making connections with the past and future. The image must be flexible, consonant with external reality, and, above all, in tune with our own biological nature" (Lynch 1972:1).

Similar to architectural elements, symbols are employed to enhance a psychic understanding of religion, race, or ideology. Mircea Eliade states, "a symbol speaks to the whole human being and not only to the intelligence" (Eliade 1957: 129). In fact, symbols effect humans deeper than the cognitive level and act as catalysts towards the bonding of humans to place linked at a psychic level of understanding. Our external landscape is transformed into something beyond which we engage visually. It becomes an internal psychic landscape of symbolic meaning, an *inscape* (Osborne 1998:433). In each instance of re-using a symbol, the past is recreated in the present and identity is reinforced by place. Symbolic content is imbibed by place, which "remains the pivot and all participating agents consequently invest it with symbolic value" (Werlen 1993:175).

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[3] As an example, after the Vietnam War, there was an open design contest held by the American government to design an appropriate war memorial for the American people killed in Vietnam. The anonymous winner was a Korean landed immigrant Mia Lin, a student of landscape architecture. Her powerful design succeeded in over-riding the public outcry forbidding the American government to grant first prize to Mia, because of her race. Her design was built, and it captured the feelings of loss and anguish for the American public. It is touted as the most powerful memorial in America.

By loading specific meaning onto the landscape, we are able to choose how we want to be identified, individually and as a group. We use symbols to represent present relationships - individual to community, individual to religion, individual to state - and to satisfy our relationships with the future (Lynch 1972:65). Symbolism is everywhere and it acts as an important indication of a creature's behaviour within [an] environment (Appleton 1975:82). Although all symbolism is dependent upon interpretation (Vale 1992:286), they act as cues for behaviour and allow people to understand and react with predetermined, socially acceptable actions. Interpretation and understanding are dependent upon subscription to a particular identity; those who belong to a group are well aware of the appropriate interpretation associated to a symbol of their group.[4]

As well, symbols separate and define the significance of space and its intended use. Places are divided into familiar, everyday places, and those holding higher importance or extraordinary features. For example, behaviour is different in a church than in a park - both have been socially categorized and fixed as either the sacred or the profane. Similarly, their respective symbols capture the significance and subsequent behavioural action. Northrop Frye crystalizes the role symbols play: "symbols possess a tremendous condensing power. Their focus of relationships can act as a burning glass, kindling a flame of response from the heat of a myriad social concerns that they draw together into a single impact" (Frye 1987:5). A symbol embodies the past and present and future into a single descriptive element which can be used at will to communicate one's identity subscription. Groups can implement the use of specific symbols to create

[4] The actions and behaviours resulting from places and their associated symbols are reactive. For example, when a Catholic arrives at church, they must bless themselves with holy water before they pass through the doors.

places of religion, politics, or culture. "Space" becomes "place" after it is identified and marked with specific symbols, and likewise, landscape only becomes such when humans take notice of it and load cultural meaning onto them.

'Thick symbolism' is the deep patina acquired by culturally significant symbols, the hue of which has been enhanced over a long period of time. It also refers to the layering and loading of history and heritage, circumstance and dates, times and people. Sack (1997) writes of *thin* places and *thick* places. He describes thick places as those assigned particular people, things, and times and the intense interaction between these assignments. Places become 'thin' when the meaning of place weakens through lack of attention, either physically or socially. This is the dis-enactment of place. Interestingly, Sack attributes the 'thinning of places' to the modern movement which uproots us from the particularities of ethnic and local identities, and we are placed in a world of strangers (i.e. the city, or a highway) (1997). Thin places create feelings of disorientation and disassociation, whereas thick places with their attached symbolism create feelings of orientation and association.

Throughout history, nature has been used to symbolize certain aspects of belief systems. Landscape elements are an ordering system for groups to make sense of their place in the world and "it is clear that inherited landscape myths and memories share two common characteristics: their surprising endurance through the centuries and their power to shape institutions that we still live with" (Schama 1995:15). Schama (1995) believes that we are inextricably linked and biased towards nature and suggests that our link to natural processes illustrates our veneration of elements of nature, whether through ritual, rites, or ceremonies. Accompanying the more obvious choices of symbols representing

political, ethnic or cultural identity, are the elements of nature to which we are biologically linked and drawn towards. Schama believes that national identity is created from the ways in which we use, order, and define space, place, and symbols in the landscape. He continues:

> National identity would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as a homeland (1995:15).

Societies have different examples of important natural landscape features which create places - mountains, rivers, trees, stones - and often, what is important to one culture is "insignificant" to another. An important place may be ignorantly disregarded by an outsider, and Sack echoes this belief: "some features of the landscape, which to the outsider may have no significance, have emotional strength and anchor emotions to places" (Sack 1986:130). Humans have claimed natural elements of wood, water, and rock and 'loaded' them with belief systems: the sacred yew tree, Yggdrasil; holy water in Catholic churches; and the hewn rock forming Stonehenge; the modern Olympic flame, are all examples of natural elements elevated to a higher level of symbolism.

A sense of place is what we are searching for; a place which we can claim as our own, as home. Cultural elements or symbols "give place its genus loci - the enduring idiosyncrasies that lend places their precious identity" (Lowenthal 1985: xviii). We seek to imprint and act out identity in places, and symbols enable this behaviour.

Social Memory

We create uses for space, place, and symbols, and in turn, create a collective archive of history, tradition, and heritage. This is the realm of social memory, which underpins the cohesion and identity of groups (Halbwachs 1941, 1980, 1992; Connerton

1989; J Bodner 1992; J. Fentress and C. Wickham 1992; Hutton 1993; Gillis 1994; P. Nora 1989). For Patrick Hutton:

> [c]ollective memory is an elaborate network of social mores, values, and ideals that marks out the dimensions of our imaginations according to the attitudes of the social groups to which we relate. It is through the interconnections among these shared images that the social frameworks *(cadre sociaux)* of our collective memory are formed, and it is within such settings that individual memories must be sustained if they are to survive (1993:78).

As elements of history are accepted by social memory, mythic narratives of times, places, and landscapes are acted out, materially and psychically. National identity is substantiated through this social memory, and as elements are accepted into the social narrative, so does national identity evolve and strengthen to support present contexts of being. Moreover, John Gillis has offered that national identity depends on a "sense of sameness over time and space" which is substantiated by systems of remembering and forgetting that are socially constructed (1994:3). Accordingly, individual and collective identity function in material and psychic terrains that have been nurtured to reinforce their identification with specific social contexts through symbolically charged time and space (Osborne 1998:433).

History, Heritage, and Tradition

Traditions are an element of social memory and for Hobsbawm, a large store of materials is accumulated in the past of any society, and an elaborate language of symbolic practice and communication is available for our choosing. Sometimes new traditions can be superimposed onto old ones, sometimes they can be devised by borrowing from the repositories of official ritual, symbolism, religion, and folklore (Hobsbawm 1983:6). History provides a palette of material from which to choose

symbols to strengthen present identity. These historical elements are manipulated to serve a new set of standards, and to symbolize a new set of cultural beliefs and values. Perhaps they are chosen to represent a set of values, which has not yet been accepted by society, or values, which the society wishes to move towards. Even tradition can be invented, as we see in many 20th century examples.[5] "Inventing traditions is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, (...) [through] impose[d] repetition" (Hobsbawm 1983:4). As Lowenthal puts it, "the pasts we alter or invent are as prevalent and consequential as those we try to preserve, and a heritage wholly saved or 'authentically' reproduced is no less transformed than one deliberately manipulated" (1985: xviii). Following from this, memory, history, and identity are social constructs that are constantly being reworked and which need to be decoded to discover the underlying structures and processes (Osborne 1998:433).

Manipulating the past allows us to alter who we are or what we were. In fact, memory is created, and groups collectively subscribe to this social memory. "Heritage brings manifold benefits: it links us with ancestors and offspring, bonds neighbours and patriots, certifies identity, and roots us in time-honoured ways" (Lowenthal 1996:ix). Often, a golden age long passed will be harvested of its strong identifiers, which are then manipulated into symbols, and brought forward into the present as meaningful claims to cultural identity. Flags, patriotic colours, architectural styles, clothing, old place names, civil structures, and religious ceremonies have been appealed to and re-introduced into modern times, with the goal of strengthening identity boundaries, and to re-lineate group

[5] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) provide many examples. Please turn to their excellent volume for more detailed information on the process of inventing tradition in an attempt at constructing identities.

membership through emotive belonging. "Heritage is sometimes equated with reliving the past; more often, it improves the past to suit present needs" (Lowenthal 1996:142). In fact, the bringing forward of history "allows the inculcation of certain values and norms of behaviour through repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm 1983:1). We forge identity by creatively forming new traditions. Humans are able to manipulate history in such a way that it bonds people to places and forges identity through the process. This may be a conscious process, or one which occurs arbitrarily, yet heritage and tradition are the result, and this further bonds us to our ancestors and descendants:

> National identities are co-ordinated, often largely defined, by 'legends and landscapes', by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient or promised home-lands with hallowed sites and scenery (Daniels 1993:5).

Differing from historic endeavours, heritage's aims are to manipulate historic fact. Heritage embellishes, exaggerates, and builds upon specific elements of history, and "what heritage does not highlight it often hides" (Lowenthal 1996:156). Humans chose elements from the past which best represent current identity or an identity yearned for - the choice is conscious and the purposeful forgetting of other historic elements, specific. Lowenthal's discourse on heritage and history serves to illustrate human resourcefulness of making the old new again, and invigorating present day identity with the charm and claims of the past. This process provides continuity from the past, to the present, and into the future.

Additionally, history may be deliberately manipulated to shape cultural identity for political implications or to reinforce identification with place in support of specific

political, religious, or cultural ideologies. A direct relationship between nationalism and historic selections can be drawn because triggers of collective memory are chosen with predetermined intentions. Ashworth echoes Gillis: "the nation-state of Europe was forged by nationalist interpretations of the past and history was recruited to serve national policy" (Ashworth 1993:15).

Choosing symbols from the past is not an arbitrary process, and when national identity is in the balance, the process of remembering and forgetting the past are distinct exercises performed by political, religious, and national leaders. Look at the example of Kemal Atatürk, a military General and president of Turkey between 1923 and 1938. His portrait is currently used as a Turkish national symbol, and graces stamps, currency, and significant edifices. His features have taken on a supernatural stylized effect and are most un-human-like. His image no longer represents the man, but an ideological symbol. Who has changed his image? Is it the passage of time, and the forgetfulness of the portrait artist while remembering the likeness of Atatürk? Or is it the intent of those who hold the power, to create a god-like image? Whoever orchestrated the image did so with intent and purpose as an antagonistic symbol and reminder of liberation against the Islamic fundamentalist movement.

Heritage has the ability to strengthen current identity, perhaps too much so. Although "it offers a rationale for self-respecting stewardship of all we hold dear, it also signals an eclipse of reason and regression to embattle tribalism" (Lowenthal 1996:3). We care about heritage so much that we will do all we can to protect it, for it represents who we are. People fight to protect their heritage because it forges boundaries and membership.

Again, social memory is created by remembering and "experiences of the present (...) depend upon our knowledge of the past" (Connerton 1989:3). When we call upon social memory, identity is enacted in the present, and when enactment ceases, due to the elimination of place, identity loses its psychological strength and the process of forgetting begins. Connerton links built space and collective identity because humans forge identities through constant referral to the material environment which specific groups occupy (1989:37). As well, mental equilibrium caused by the physical objects which we contact on a daily basis provide us with an image of permanence and stability, and "no collective memory can exist without reference to a socially specific spatial framework" (Connerton 1989:37).

Moreover, because identity is forged through social memory, "images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by (...) performances" (Connerton 1989:40). Nora observes that performances rely "on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, [and] the visibility of the image (1989:13). Materiality expresses itself in architecture, which also, serves as a type of performance. The language of architecture reiterates belief systems and provides space for behavioural enactment and cues for identity:

> We share an identity with our ancestors because their symbols have survived to become our symbols of today. Their architecture has become our architecture through recollection, repetition, and remembrance. We are linked to our past by the surviving symbols, good or bad that surround us today (Lowenthal 1985:39).

The importance of continuity in this equation in paramount, for without the repetition and re-enactment of elements in daily life, we are unable to orient ourselves, and lose our spatial and temporal connectivity.

Place is a social construct in space, and a product of cultural identity. When place, either real or imagined, is destroyed and the spatial framework altered, memory and identity are mutually affected. Place and identity are mutually inclusive; one does not occur without the other. Humans use symbols to form identity by placing them in a spatial framework and often, heritage is borrowed and brought forward to aid this process. Architecture becomes the language with which humans mark place and the symbols employed speak to who we are; they are the soliloquy of identity. This interdependent structure of place and identity sustains continuity and orientation in daily life.

Chapter Three

BREAKING IT: IDENTICIDE

If you destroy their mosques, the people never come back (Dodds 1998:48).

Without the material reminders of the past, the present holds little meaning: "we shed tears for the landscape we find no longer what it was, what we thought it was, or what we hoped it would be" (Lowenthal 1985:8). When the physical elements of daily life are removed, disorientation results because there are no longer any cues for being.[1] The quickest method to psychologically damage a community during periods of conflict is to remove the physical elements that provide continuity in daily life. Cultural identity can be targeted during periods of conflict, resulting in disorientation and *dis-enactment* of place, that is, the removal of the living elements which articulated life in the landscape. Fried believes that when places are altered or destroyed, the human element that once interacted with them also disappears because there is no longer a place to enact life. He argues, "even familiar and expectable streets and houses, faces at the windows and people walking by, personal greetings and impersonal sounds may serve to designate the concrete foci of a sense of belonging somewhere and may provide special kinds of interpersonal and social meaning to a region one defines as 'home'" (Fried 1972: 233).

There is a link between spatial frameworks, which provide enactment of collective identity, and the removal of them which weakens the remembering process. Connerton

[1] As previously noted, there is a 'psychic' or imagined element of place, but this work focuses upon the material aspects of place. Place can be kept alive in the psychic terrain of the mind, and this is illustrated by

believes that "it is our social spaces - those which we occupy, which we frequently retrace with our steps, where we always have access, which at each moment we are capable of mentally reconstructing - that we must turn our attention, if our memories are to reappear" (Connerton 1989:37). Forged through the repetition and behavioural enactment of common physical elements, identity is kept alive.

Lowenthal shows that being deprived of one's heritage - whether symbols, landscapes, architecture, people, or memory - deprives one of one's identity. He believes it is crucial, both to integrity and to well being, to identify with one's own past. Arguably, it is possible to conclude that without a sense of symbolic heritage there is no sense of cultural identity. The following excerpt illustrates the disorientation of the survivors resulting from the bombing of Coventry in World War II:

> Although all three of us knew the place well we halted at one corner because we were lost. It was a dull morning at the end of November and not a light was to be seen anywhere. Every building that we had known was blasted into a mere shell and in whichever direction we looked, we could not see a single recognizable building, be it a house, office, factory, warehouse, etc. Even the old oak tree which had stood on the corner for donkey's years was leaning towards the middle of the road with a lot of its roots, some as thick as my arm, pointing to the sky. What with the gloom, the devastation, the complete and utter silence, we could have been the first men on the moon and it affected us so much that we found ourselves speaking in whispers (Longmate 1976: 230).

There are no points of reference or landmarks to find one's mental or physical bearings in destroyed places, which were once familiar. The disappearance "of human landmarks is one of the most depressing and disheartening things to experience" (Holdsworth 1976: 42). The removal of history-marks within a culture magnifies feelings of depression and

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groups which do not have a homeland, but are able to keep the memory of one alive in a sort of 'psychic landscape'.

devastation, for an act of elision has occurred. People are stunned when familiar places are suddenly omitted from the spatial framework of a community. When a skyline, a silhouette, a gateway, a promenade are destroyed, and no mark remains, there is an immediate feeling of spatial silence, as if the spatial conversation around us has ceased. Moreover, those experiencing the silence pose questions: Had the landmark ever been there? Had their ancestors not built something in that exact position? Where was it now? Where architecture uses line, texture, material, scale, and volume to articulate negative and positive space, the *dis-articulation* of space is the removal of these elements. The significance of the removal is witnessed through the silencing of the conversation and the dis-articulation of architecture.

Identicide

The history of warfare has shown how victors demonstrate a devalourization of the cultural property of the vanquished. Before the rules of warfare were commonly accepted, war was unregulated and the actions of warring parties unlimited (Jote 1994:25). The "destruction, plunder and seizure of cultural objects is a practice common in ancient and modern wars", and despite the international policies created to protect cultural property in times of war, looting, pillaging, and acquiring 'spoils of war' is still a common practice.

The term 'spoils' is derived from the Latin *spolium*, which once meant the hide stripped from an animal, and later the arms or armour stripped from an enemy. It is an ancient term referring to something not ruined, but valuable, and this eventually was used to refer to anything stripped from a country after its defeat - the 'spoils of war' (Greenfield in Simpson 1997:34). If cultural objects were immovable, for example, large

architectural elements or massive bronze doors too heavy to transport, they were usually burned, toppled or defeated. The effects of identicide through devalourization is described by Jote:

> Displacement of cultural property against the will of the owners causes what may be called spiritual damage. Separation of cultural items from their natural environment either under coercive circumstances such as war, or colonial occupation, or through smuggling, may inflict spiritual damage upon the cultural property and cause great emotional suffering for the owners (Jote 1994:19).

It is as if the victors have always been aware that they are able to strike a blow against their enemy by treating the sacred as the profane, or rather, profaning the sacred. Although we are aware of modern examples of cultural warfare, significant cultural property has been under attack ever since the beginning of war.

However, identicide is the conscious intent to destroy the physical manifestations of a society in order to destroy cultural identity and to erase signs of previous existence. In light of recent systematic attacks upon significant cultural properties during conflict, the strategy of identicide emerges as a commonly employed element in modern warfare. Although not officially identified as doctrine, identicide appears throughout military history, and is an accepted strategy within some military circles.[2]

We have the ability to load place with value, so to, can we un-load value from place. Creating wastelands devoid of identity is the quickest way to remove continuity

[2] There are those who vehemently refuse to accept that formal regular forces use identicide in their approach to warfare. They believe that only irregular forces entertain such strategies. Yet countries with regular armies, some having signed the Geneva and Hague Conventions, have employed identicide throughout this century. For example, the US used the strategy of identicide in the Korean War by destroying villages and sacred temples of no military importance; the British in the Boer War destroyed the material elements of culture such as farms and homes; and the Japanese used it against the Chinese in Nanking by waging war against the culture of "honour" of the people, raping and defiling women, children, and sacred material elements.

and orientation from a community because un-loaded place is devoid of meaning. "Without minimizing the scale of human suffering during conflict, attempts to destroy architecture, to annihilate place, (...) is criminal warfare and cultural genocide" (Adams 1993: 390).

Identicide differs from *domicide* (Porteus 1988, 1989, 1998), *memoricide* (Wilkes 1992), and *topocide*, because it is specific to conflict. It is used as a strategy of warfare as a form of cultural *genocide*, and as part of *ethnocide*, whereas domicide is the deliberate killing of home, memoricide the deliberate killing or erasing of memory, and topocide the killing of place - none of which are specific to war. Although these other methods of killing and erasing of human constructs may occur in times of war, identicide is specific to conflicts in which there is a strategy to destroy the identity of "other" individuals, communities, peoples, and nations. Identicide is an aspect of genocide, which is the mass extermination of human beings, especially of a particular race or nation.

More often, significant cultural places are destroyed not because they are caught in the cross-fire, but because they are intentionally hit. Cultural casualties of war are not "accidental occurrences of hostilities. It has been one of the main objectives of (...) war to destroy (...) identity. You can do this in a number of ways: you take peoples' lives; you can humiliate them, rape them, expel them from their homes; and you can destroy the physical and historical identity of a place" (Dodds 1998:52). Anything of shared importance is fair game. The effective key to this strategy is its intentionality. "When you dynamite mosques, plant impacts in minarets, this is not part of the exigency of war, it is about the destruction of identity" (Kaiser in Dodds 1998: 49). Taking spoils of war,

burning libraries, archives, museums, and toppling famous architectural features has been an act of war through the ages:

> The Kings of Babylon, Elam and Assyria, for instance, founded museums in which to place their spoils of war. The Romans took countless cultural treasured fomr the countries they had conquered in order to embellish their capital. Later, the Huns of Attila pillaged Western Europe in the 5th century, Genghis Khan's Mongols did the same in China and Central Asia, while the Crusaders sacked Constantinople (Joti 1994:26).

Such ancient examples of identicide may seem more violent and aggressive than modern instances, but the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the Napoleonic wars (1792-1815), colonial wars in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, and the two World Wars, have inflicted deadly blows on cultural identity.[3] The more recent conflicts in Afghanistan, Northern Ireland, and Bosnia are particularly good examples of the reign of terror against cultural property and the use of identicide.[4]

The transfer of works of art from vanquisher to victor is as old as warfare itself (Nicholas in Simpson 1997:39) and the main characteristic of ancient war was that it

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[3] According to Joti, the destruction and transfers of cultural treasures were condemned publicly during parts of the Napolieonic conquests, the Crimean War, some colonial wars, and the two World Wars. Yet the protection and preservation of such items during armed conflict still had to await the early years of the twentieth century (Jote 1994:26).

[4] In April 1997, the UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor urged the people of Afghanistan to safeguard their cultural heritage, following press reports that Taleban leaders intended to destroy the 2,000-year-old Buddhist statues in central Bamyan Province. The Taleban's top front-line commander Mullah Abdul Wahed argued that "these statues are not Islamic and we have to destroy them" (http://www.unesco.org/opi/eng/unescopress/97-61e.htm 1997) Again, on 2 July 1998, Protestant arsonists set fire to ten Catholic churches in Northern Ireland - three of which were completed destroyed. One of the churches was 200-year-old St. James' Church in Aldergrove west of Belfast. Cited as "sectarian madness" by Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, and as "criminal [acts] and disgraceful" by Rev. Ian Paisley - who is the leader of his own anti-Catholic church, both warring factions agreed absurdity of targeting culturally significant civilian sites. (Toronto Star. "Churches Torched in Northern Ireland. 3 July 1998. A16). Sixteen mosques and eleven Roman Catholic churches and monasteries were destroyed in Banja Luka, Bosnia, (most systematically dynamited and bulldozed) though there was no actual fighting in the city, which was under Serb national control throughout the war. The destruction made historical reconstruction impossible. According to Dodds, "a national newspaper quoted Bosnia Serb officials as saying that the levelled site [of the Pasina mosque] would make 'an excellent parking lot'" (1998:48). These purposeful acts to remove the architectural symbols of cultural groups, in order to erase existence, are acts of identicide.

permitted victorious combatants to pillage libraries, works of art, and public buildings. This permissible behaviour made such objects targets of appropriation as trophies of conquest accompanying a failure to acknowledge their cultural sacred value (Jote 1994:25). Although the targeting of strategic military points, such as munitions factories, transportation routes, and communication lines, is still an effective war tactic, there seems to be an increased awareness of the psychological impact identicide can have on civilian life. Perhaps this increase in use of the strategy is due to the increasing recognition of the significance of cultural heritage as a source of information, knowledge, identity and continuity. As well, the destruction of cultural property has increased our awareness of our responsibility to preserve heritage as intact as possible for succeeding generations (Jote 1994:19).

It has been established that the destruction of important identity places causes disassociation and discontinuity, which overwhelms the victims affected by the destruction of their places. Examples of this abound in the two World Wars. The Netherlands, Belgium, France, Russia, and the Ukraine were all affected by acts of identicide. In August 1914, the library of the University of Louvain in Belgium was destroyed by fire. It was an architectural masterpiece and repository of ancient archives from the early Middle Ages to the modern era. Also, the cathedral of Reims, the crowning place for all the kings of France, was severely damaged in a bombing raid. Both buildings had been specifically targeted because they were cultural and spiritual symbols of Belgium and France. By destroying these sacred sites, Germany hoped to destroy the spirit of both nations (Kaye in Simpson 1997:100). During the progress of World War I, destructive technologies became more advanced than ever before, conceivably causing an

increase in the frequency and visibility of the act of identicide. As well, a strong international media network was able to spirit the evidence around the world to educate, inform, and create opposition against these destructive acts.

War strategy has centred around eliminating people, and there is a trend to achieving this goal by destroying their architecture and land (Adams 1993:389). Systematic attempts to erase culture during conflict continues to be a significant tool in modern warfare to achieve these ends. The wars are against the places people act out their daily lives: "mosques, churches, synagogues, markets, museums, libraries, cafes, in short, the places where people gather to live out their collective life, have been the focus of bitter attacks...if we remove the architecture that sustains the people in a community, the people themselves will die" (Adams 1993: 389).

Heritage Threats

With the loss of the material manifestations of collective life, cultural identity is altered. Gillis states that "the core meaning of an individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity" (Gillis 1994: 3). Ripples in daily continuity cause disorientation, and the systematic removal of familiarity breeds chaos. When charged places are defiled or destroyed, the stability and comfort of daily living is lost, and disorientation prevails, because stability and comfort are supported through repetition, pattern, and experience. Charged places refer to those which are loaded with meaning, either naturally occurring, or socially constructed. As well, when civic structures are removed, so the laws and rules of society seem to disappear. Communities can experience chaos when the familiar worlds are replaced with unfamiliar ones. The

survival of architecture and urban life are important to the survival of people, and the strategy of identicide targets the elements, which bond people to their identity and collective memory.

Claims to one's past are incited by the destruction or endangering of that particular past, especially the symbols and signs that create it. Even the possibility of threat can incite a group to go to great lengths to preserve something from the past. Elements of architecture, oral and written history, landscapes, industry, and the symbols which represent them, are violently protected by those claiming identity through their existence. Heritage offers identification, and "beleaguered by loss and change, we keep our bearings only by clinging to [these] remnants of stability" (Lowenthal 1996:6):

> The growing worth of heritage aggravates conflicts over whose it is, what it means, and how to use it. Heritage builds collective pride and purpose, but in so doing stresses distinctions between us and them. Heritage inflame[s] enmity, notably when our unique legacy seems at risk (Lowenthal 1996:248).

In times of war, members of communities are scattered, lost, and killed. Group identity is dissolved because the boundaries of identity - symbols - are strategically destroyed, often accompanied with much suffering. This dissolution is a key element in the strategic goals of identicide – it weakens the enemy from the grassroots level but can impact on a regional and national scale. This century has seen the exodus of millions of people from their homelands to those strange to them and Lowenthal believes that massive migration sharpens nostalgia and threatened states zealously guard the heritage felt to embody enduring communal identity (1996:9).

Reconstructing Place and Identity

As Connerton states, "all beginnings contain an element of recollection [and] this is particularly so when a social group makes a concerted effort to begin with a wholly new start" (Connerton 1989:6). We must be equipped with the skills to fix, reconstruct, and memorialize places after they have been interfered with, altered, or destroyed as a result of identicide. Connerton actively pursues this debate,

> For a moment, the moment of beginning, it is as if the beginners had abolished the sequence of temporality itself and were thrown out of the continuity of the temporal order. Indeed the actors often register their sense of this fact by inaugurating a new calendar. But the absolutely new is inconceivable. It is not just that is very difficult to begin with a wholly new start, that too many old loyalties and habits inhibit the substitution of a novel enterprise for an old and established one. More fundamentally, it is that in all modes of experience we always base our particular experiences of a prior context in order to ensure that they are intelligible at all; that prior to any single experience, our mind is already predisposed with a framework of outlines, of typical shapes of experienced objects. To perceive an object or act upon it is to locate it within this system of expectations. The world of the percipient, defined in terms of temporal experience, is an organized body of expectations based on recollection (Connerton 1989:6).

Decisions must be made when reclaiming history; there are parts that are determined essential for reclamation, but other elements which may be purposefully forgotten in order to erase an old regime or way of living. Again, Connerton debates this theory,

> Those who adhere most resolutely to the principles of the new regime and those who have suffered most severely at the hands of the old regime want not only revenge for particular wrongs and a rectification of particular iniquities. The settlement they seek is one in which the continuing struggle between the new order and the old will be definitively terminated (...) (Connerton 1989:7).

It is through the process of collective remembering that humans can revive cultural identity, and rebuilding post-war societies, especially those affected by identicide,

is somewhat dependent upon the collective memory of the remaining pre-war population. Rebuilding becomes a rite for the people; an enactment of identity through collective memory. They are the ones who share a collective memory of 'before' and who carry a collective vision and dreams of their ancestors into a new future. The Nazis sacked historic Warsaw to cripple the will of the Poles, who quickly rebuilt the medieval centre exactly as it had been; "it was our duty to resuscitate it", explained the conservation chief. "We did not want a new city ... We wanted the Warsaw of our day and that of the future to continue the ancient tradition" (Cibrowski 1964:48).

This "claim [of] continuity" (Connerton 1989: 45) references a sequence of historical events and identity is constantly re-established, re-constructed, and re-lived through it. Connerton believes that "to remember is to make the past actual (...) and what is remembered is the historical narrative of a community" (Connerton 1989: 46). The power of identity lies in the re-telling of the story, and this is only possible when places are reconstructed. In post-war communities there is a need to reconstitute the built environment of past political and national ideologies to re-establish an identity in the absence of one. By selecting and preserving destroyed symbols, places, and landscapes representative of cultural identity, strength is offered to re-creation of identity.

Borislav Curic, the leader of the architectural association in post-war Sarajevo, believes that there is a need to reclaim that which has been lost, even in the face of poor post-war living conditions. He also believes that humans have an intrinsic need to reclaim cultural heritage in order to reclaim displaced identity. Perhaps, those concentrating on rebuilding the basic necessities for living do not see cultural renewal as a post-war priority, but "Curic is convinced of the need to press on with it: 'You have to renew your

cultural heritage - that is what you are'" (Harris 1994:11). The human will to rebuild their war-torn societies stems from a will to rebuild oneself, and expressing identity in space does this.

Re-establishing Continuity

People begin rebuilding what they recognize as familiar and comfortable, thereby re-establishing continuity of daily life. Identity manifests itself in place-making activities, such as ritual, prayer time, and meals, and the familiar places where these activities are acted out are what add continuity to daily life. It is a simple process, but one that is often overlooked in post-war reconstruction activities. The dilemma faced, common to projects designed to rebuild historic works of architecture, is the choice intrinsic to reconstruction - that is, whether the project should return the building or city to its pre-war image (Herscher 1998). According to Herscher, there are special problems in the rebuilding of post-war architecture. When a community undergoes the ravages of war, its sense of identity alters. Physical elements, like buildings and bridges, take on different meanings after war, due to their destruction, damage, and their significance to new citizens. Objects of significance before the war may hold none afterwards because of drastically changed local demographics, new ideologies, and re-prioritization.

The indomitable human spirit is a significant factor in the physical reconstruction process. There seems to be a powerful human impulse to rebuild and reclaim, as if to say to the enemy "we are still here". The past validates present attitudes and actions by affirming their resemblance to former ones - historical precedent legitimates what exists today. The human need to validate and strengthen a sense of identity is reinforced by

resurrecting symbols from the past. Examples of 'practicing the past' are everywhere. The people of Warsaw displayed a strong will to reconstruct their beloved city – even after five long years of suffering inflicted by Nazi occupation. After the radical destruction by the Nazis, a city plan was introduced which implemented the best pre-war elements to rebuild the identity of Warsaw. Planners and designers actively sought the images of the past to reconstruct the future city and to provide a temporal and spatial continuity for the new city. Funded by the Soviets, new images and ideologies appeared in the cityscape of Warsaw. Soviet symbols and signs began to replace the old regime of pre-war Warsaw and removed all signs of Nazi occupation.[5]

Similarly, after the World War II Allied bombing of the Baroque Frauenkirche in Dresden, there was a movement to reconstruct the cathedral and make the city symbol whole once again. According to Isaacs, religious structures which survive periods of social transformation, often serve as place-specific symbols of image and collective identity. The reconstruction of the 18th century Frauenkirche represents a collective effort to re-establish a lost image from the past, in an effort to move into the future (Isaacs 1997). The cathedral was one of the greatest Renaissance churches ever built and the support for its restoration is still strong and serves as a testimony of its importance as a symbol of identity for the people of Dresden, regardless of their religious affiliation.

When place is destroyed, there is a distinct weakening of cultural continuity, which effects identity. Identicide activates this process and can be seen in the examples of

[5] Non-local interests are issues in funding post-war reconciliation and reconstruction projects. In post-war Warsaw, a soviet-scape was the result of the soviet-funded reconstruction of the city. As well, the de-nazification of Europe after WWII - the removal of civic structures, place-names, art - was identicide. Since 1989, an active de-sovietization of Russia has taken place with the removal of statues of Lenin and Stalin and other civic structures which defined the ethos of the soviet-scape, again an example of identicide.

Coventry, Warsaw, and Sarajevo. In all examples, identity was deliberately attacked to weaken group cohesion, continuity, and stability. Place is affected by the altering of memory, landscape and culture and this in turn alters identity, which must be actively reclaimed or reconstructed.

What is drawn from the past is significant to solving present issues. "Our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems, so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present" (Halbwachs 1992:34). Collective memory sustained by a collective history is the essential ingredient of cultural continuity in the reconstruction process.

Chapter Four

PROTECTION OF SITES OF IDENTITY

> The spectacle of man's destructive fury against himself and his achievements lies spread before us (Ernest T. DeWald in LaFarge 1946:1).

The development of cultural property protection has stemmed from war-time protection policy. However, legislation such as the Geneva and Hague Conventions have been unable to offer reliable protection and violent acts against world heritage have endured. Faith in international protection policies is reduced when there are repetitive instances of vengeful acts, perpetrated by signatories, against cultural sites protected under such policies. Failure to fulfil the responsibility of protecting cultural property will erase our links with the past, and also deprive future generations of a great source of information , knowledge and identity (Jote 1994:19). This chapter is divided into the policies derived from war-time protection and the subsequent evolution of cultural property protection in times of peace. Although the scope of this study is too narrow to analyse the shortfalls of protection policy, and the multitude of examples where policy has failed to protect world heritage, some shortfalls will be exposed to highlight the need for more effective policy. Lastly, substantial theory and policy surround the reconstruction initiatives of war-torn societies. These are examined to show the internal and external efforts involved in reconstruction when cultural property is not protected during war-time and societies are forced to begin again.

War-Time Protection

Concerns surrounding the vagaries of war have been documented throughout history, and the concerns of two thousand years ago are the same as today. "Cultural cannibalism" is one of the vagaries of war and Jote quotes an ancient philosopher, "it is a sign of an infuriated mind to destroy those things, which if destroyed, do not weaken the enemy nor bring gain to the one who destroys them. Such things are temples, colonnades, statues and the like... trust that future conquerors will learn from these reflections not to plunder the cities they bring into subjection and not to take advantage of the distress of other peoples to adorn their homelands" (1994:44). It seems as if the practice of cultural cannibalism has continued through the ages, and even our modern policies which protect precious property are not safe. Our modern intentions are to preserve, protect, and often, to save such cultural properties during wartime. Jote describes the outdated practice of cultural warfare "cultural objects constitute no direct military objectives and the modern law of armed conflict excludes such objects, their destruction as a result of war remains basically an outdated practice belonging to ancient societies" (1994:25). This war practice continues in today's world, and hence, the need for legislation to stop it.

Although there are accounts of ancient philosophers and lawyers expounding the destructive vice of collecting war spoils, legal protection was not developed until 1864, with the **Lieber Code**. The Code was a result of experience during the American Civil War and was the first national set of rules in the field, which eventually served in drafting a series of military rules in Europe (Joti 1994:46). The Code concerns itself with the protection of cultural heritage such as works of art, libraries, scientific collections,

precious instruments. Its significance lies in its protection of places of heritage even when they are contained in fortified places during besieging and bombardment (Jote 1994:47).[1]

In 1874, **The Brussels Declaration** was adopted by the Conference of European Countries. It was a non-binding instrument, which, similar to the Code, contained provisions pertinent to the protection of cultural property in wartime (Jote 1994:48).[2] This document built upon the protection of specific elements of cultural property, especially establishments devoted to religion, charity, arts and sciences. It also includes the persecution of belligerents by authorities.

The Hague Conventions were the first major global documents adopted to regulate the conduct of belligerents towards cultural property. The first Hague Conference of 29 July 1899 discussed various conventions, and adopted the **Convention on Laws and Customs of War on Land** (Convention II). Building on the preceding documents, Convention II contains regulations specific to the protection of cultural heritage (Jote 1994:49), and Article 25 reads:

> The property of the communes, that of religious, charitable, and educational institutions, and those of art and science, even when State property, shall be treated as private property. All seizure of, and destruction of, or intentional damage done to such institutions, to historical monuments, works of art of science, is prohibited, and should be made the subject of proceedings.

The 1907 Conference at the Hague adopted ten new Conventions, and **Laws and Customs of Land Warfare** (Convention IV) contained more specific provisions concerning the protection of cultural property in wartime (Jote 1994:49). The rules of warfare were refined and this section prohibited attacks or bombardment of undefended

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[1] Jote refers us to the Text of the Leiber Code in Instructions for the Government of Armies in the Field, 1863 - Field Maual (FM), 27-10, 1956; Shinder, D. & Toman, J. 1988. **Laws of Armed Conflict: Collections of Conventions, Regulations, and Other Documents.** 3.

towns, villages, dwellings, as well as actions to spare buildings dedicated to public ownership, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, and hospitals (Jote 1994:49). This then led to the development of Convention IX of the same conference concerning **Bombardment by Naval Forces**, which focused on the marking of cultural property with special signs to insure its protection in times of war. It detailed the importance of cultural property as well as legally condemning the forbidden action of destroying such property. All documentation, to this date, provided protection of cultural property in wartime, but the primary objectives of the policies were to protect human lives. Jote states: "The prohibition of pillage, destruction, seizure of property, bombardment of undefended sites and the sparing of buildings devoted to religion, art science, and historical monuments were largely a secondary objective of these documents" (Jote 1994:51).

Still, the adopted conventions did not serve the interests of those involved in their inception during World War I. The good intentions of the legislation were not respected by signatories:

> Although the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 played an important role in later efforts to adopt a global legal instrument for the protection of cultural heritage against the hazards of war, they failed to prevent comprehensive damage and destruction during World War I. The inapplicability and the violations of the Hague rules increased the need for effort to enact laws that would effectively apply in wartime (Jote 1994:51).

The next movement towards the protection of cultural property during wartime was the **Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments** (Roerich Pact) on 15 April, 1935. Again, it outlined a more specific, timely,

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[2] Jote refers us to The Brussels Declaration of 1874, in 65 BFSP. 1907. 1 AJIL, Supplement 96. 1110.

and refined set of rules to protect cultural property. The Roerich Pact outlined wartime respect of cultural property and the persons engaged in its protection, the adoption of national legislation that guarantees protection, the adoption of a special emblem to identify cultural institutions, and the registration or preparation of a list of protected cultural institutions (Jote 1994:52). In the inter-war years, the International Museums Office submitted a Draft International Convention for the Protection of Historical Buildings and Works of Art in Time of War to the League of Nations in 1938. Unfortunately, it was never adopted due to the outbreak of World War II. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 were the only legal policies protecting world heritage during the war. "This was the most important legal document protecting cultural property in wartime until 1954, when **the Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict** was adopted" (Jote 1994:53).

The Hague Convention

The Convention, signed on 14 May 1954, was the cumulative response to the effects of two world wars and the ravages of the Nazi regime in Europe. A need arose to make official the protection of shared world heritage in war time, and the Hague Convention met this challenge. It provides a strong framework for global preservation of world heritage and the protection of cultural property.[3]

The Convention makes protection a universal undertaking and it defines the term "cultural property", irrespective of public or private, movable or immovable, belonging to civilized or uncivilized nations, as:

> a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history,

[3] The information on the Hague Convention was extracted from the Hague Convention web site at http://www.icomos.org/hague/HagueChap1.html 1994).

> whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above;
>
> b) buildings whose main effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property defined in (a), such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property defined (a);
>
> c) centres containing an large amount of cultural property as defined in (a) and (b), to be known as "centres containing monuments".

In Articles 2-4, the Convention puts forward regulations regarding protection, safeguarding, and respect for cultural properties.

> 1. The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect cultural property situated within their own territory as well as with the territory of other High Contracting Parties by refraining from any use of the property and its immediate surroundings or of the appliances in use for *its protection for purposes which are likely to expose it to destruction or damage in the event of armed conflict; and by refraining from any act of hostility directed against such property.*[4]
>
> 2. The obligation mentioned may be waived only in cases where military necessity imperatively requires such a waiver.
>
> 3. *The High Contracting Parties further undertake to prohibit, prevent and, if necessary, put a stop to any form of* theft, pillage, or misappropriation of, and any acts of vandalism directed against cultural property (...).

The Convention stresses the obligation, which each country has towards protecting and enforcing the protection of cultural property during armed conflict. It provides fair regulations for all parties involved in conflict of any nature, and uses phrases like "shall

[4] I have provided emphasis concerning specific measures of protection of cultural property. They appear in italics in the excerpts of Hague Covention articles.

refrain from", "may not evade the obligation of", and "co-operation". Interestingly, there are provisions for times of peace in Article 7,

> 1. The High Contracting parties undertake to introduce in times of peace into their military regulations or instructions such provisions as may ensure observance of the present Convention, and *to foster in the members of their armed forces a spirit of respect for the culture and cultural property of all peoples.*
>
> 2. The High Contracting Parties undertake to plan or establish in peacetime, within their armed forces, *services or specialist personnel whose purpose will be to secure respect for cultural property* and to co-operate with the civilian authorities responsible for safeguarding it.

And again, in Article 25,

> The High Contracting Parties undertake, in time of peace as in time of armed conflict, to disseminate the test of the present Convention and the Regulations for its execution as widely as possible in their respective countries. They undertake, in particular, *to include the study thereof in their programmes of military and, if possible, civilian training, so that its principles are made known to the whole population*, especially the armed forces and personnel engaged in the protection of cultural property.

The Convention offers special protections to cultural property in the event of armed conflict in Article 9. There are provisions for moving and storing movable items caught in military strategic areas and those caught in the cross-fire. Special protection can be offered by the Convention if the cultural property is entered into the "International Register of Cultural Property under Special Protection".[5] Although there are no provisions of *how* protection was to be ensured, or *how* safeguarding and immunity were to be enforced, the Convention was focused upon creating important and formal rules to match the humane rules of warfare set out in the Geneva Convention.

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[5] Article 9 Immunity of Cultural Property under Special Protection: The High Contracting Parties undertake to ensure the immunity of cultural property under special protection by refraining, from time of entry in the

The Convention, as a general guideline for the international protection of cultural heritage, provides one regulation concerning sanctions in Article 28,

> The High Contracting Parties undertake to take, within the framework of their ordinary criminal jurisdiction, all necessary steps to prosecute and impose penal or disciplinary sanctions upon those persons, of whatever nationality, who commit or order to be committed, a breach of the present Convention.

The signatories were to act as custodians of cultural heritage. They were obligated to ensure the futures of their country's cultural property, as well as that of their neighbours and their enemies. Yet, the international conventions[6] were not respected by some of the signatories. Dodds explains,

> The Geneva and Hague conventions were conceived to protect during time of war not only prisoners, the wounded, and civilians, but also property, cultural institutions, and sacred sites. Yugoslavia and, later, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia had signed the conventions, which were binding on all parties in the conflict, yet there was a callous disregard for their principles during the hostilities (Dodds 1998:48).

There exist no international legal obligations or repercussions upon breach of the regulations set out in the Convention, such as fines or black-listing. Signatories have repeatedly broken Convention rules and have been able to cast blame for the destruction of cultural property elsewhere. This has been the case since the inception date of the Convention. In fact, the purposeful destruction of cultural property is so difficult to monitor and document during times of conflict, and as blame can be re-directed to other participating parties, that there have been no charges laid on perpetrators. Perhaps

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International Register, from any act of hostility directed against such property and, (...) from any use of such property or its surroundings for military purposes.

[6] One must question the usefulness of international state agreements when the combatants are not states but sub-national or sub-state actors. As experienced during the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1989, new countries were formed and new boundaries drawn in unprecedented haste. None of the new countries were signatories and if conflict had arisen and cultural damage the result, who would have been responsible, the

cultural destruction persists in modern warfare because there are no repercussions for breaching the agreement. According to Sells, "genocide is a crime under international law which [Convention signatories] undertake to prevent and to punish" (Sells in Rengger 1996:D12), but continues, "the condemnations of genocide are high and noble. But actions taken to back them up have been conspicuous by their absence" (1996:D12). Jote echoes this point,

> [A history of] legal documents have demonstrated that the cultural property of nations, which constitutes a common heritage of mankind, has been the subject of destruction by different forms of armed conflicts, and despite many international efforts to regulate their protection, the unhappy situation of damage and destruction continues (Jote 1994:105).

Clearly, conventions are created, resolutions are signed, and policy is passed, but what of the enforcement of the regulations, legal ramifications against those who breach rules, and punishment for those found guilty? A solution has yet to be found.

Peacetime Protection

Throughout the past fifty years, there has been an active attempt to preserve cultural property and an authentic concern of its universal importance which stemmed from wartime ravaging. Humans invest much effort and emotion into the creation, revelation, and commemoration of place, and also form measures to protect these societal creations. For fear of alteration or destruction, and armed with the knowledge that physical environment cues societal behaviour and beliefs, societies have attempted to mitigate destructive forces such as natural disasters, war and conflict, environmental security issues, and evolving political, religious, and ethnic power. The impact of war on places of identity has spurred a global heritage protection movement.

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old regime - the Soviet Union - or the new? The validity of international agreements become questionable

The League of Nations adopted international legal measures as a result of the destruction of cultural property during World War I. The protection mandate established by the League of Nations was taken over by UNESCO in April 1946 due to the demand for a specialized agency focused wholly on the protection of world heritage (Joti 1994:194). UNESCO expanded the scope of activities of the League of Nations to include safeguarding cultural heritage under different circumstances against theft, vandalism, and illicit trafficking in peacetime (Jote 1994:194). "UNESCO is so fare responsible for the adoption of three conventions and ten recommendations concerning the protection of cultural protection under different circumstances. Two of the conventions, those of 1970 and 1972, are concerned with peacetime protection while the Hague Convention generally deals with protection in times of armed conflict" (Jote 1994:195). The following table shows the development of UNESCO protection policies, as well as subsequent UNIDOIT and NATO policies. (Figure 1).[7]

The concept of *world heritage* was born from the belief that heritage is, somehow, important because it forms a physical link to the past and future. Heritage is what people inherit from yesterday to live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. An evolution from national heritage to global heritage has become important. Cultural and natural heritage act as collective human touchstones, points of reference, and identity (www.unesco.org/whc/2gift.htm 1996).

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at this point.

[7] This information is drawn from http://wwwtufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/cultural.html 1997 and http://www/unesco.org/general.eng/legal/clheritage/index.html 1996.

Figure 1.

AFFILIATION	DATE	TOPIC
UNESCO	1956	Archaeological Excavation
UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendation Concerning International Competitions in Architecture and Town Planning (1956)	Architecture
UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites (1962)	Landscapes
UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendations on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1964)	Cultural Property (export and import of)
UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works (1968)	Cultural Property (endangered)
UNESCO	Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (14 November 1970)	Cultural Property (export and import of)
UNESCO	Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (16 November 1972)	Heritage (cultural and natural)
UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (1976)	Historic Areas
UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the International Exchange of Cultural Property (1976)	Cultural Property (exchange of)
UNESCO	Convention on the Protections of the Archaeological, Historical, and Artistic Heritage of the American Nations - Convention of San Salvador (16 June 1976)	Cultural Property (of American Nations)
UNESCO	UNESCO Recommendation for the Protection of Moveable Cultural Property (1978)	Cultural Property (moveable)
UNESCO	2 November 1993	Cultural Property (return of)
UNESCO	2 November 1993	Heritage (underwater)
Unidroit	24 June 1995	Cultural Property (illegal export of)
NATO	18-21 June 1996	Heritage (wartime)

Cultural heritage refers to monuments, groups of buildings and sites with historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value. *Natural heritage* refers to outstanding physical, biological, and geological formations, habitats of threatened species of animals and plants and areas with scientific, conservation or aesthetic value. The idea of creating an international movement for protecting such sites emerged after the acts of 1899 and 1907 and as a result of the devastation caused by World War I in the early 1920's. It was developed from the merging of two separate movements: the first focusing on dangers to cultural sites, and the other dealing with the conservation of nature. The first formal organizations to form were based on conservation of cultural property. The World Conservation Union (IUCN), was established in 1948 and has more than 850 members (www.unesco.org/whc/whoswho.htm 1998). It is an international, non-governmental organization (NGO), which offers expertise to international conservation agencies.

In 1956, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) was established. It is an intergovernmental body which provides expert advice on conserving cultural sites, as well as training in restoration techniques. It is an active partner in the World Heritage Information Network. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) was founded in 1965 after the adoption of the Charter of Venice, in order to promote the doctrine and the techniques of conservation. ICOMOS provides expert evaluations of cultural properties proposed for preservation and protection, as well as with comparative studies, technical assistance and reports on the state of conservation of inscribed properties. ICOMOS is one of the main

partners in the World Heritage Information Network. (www.unesco.org/whc/whoswho.htm 1998).

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) seeks to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. The World Heritage List (WHL) was formed for such a purpose (www.unesco.org/whc/1mission.htm 1996).[8] It represents the organization of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, created and was accepted by UNESCO in 1970. A ratified Convention was then accepted in 1972. UNESCO endeavours to encourage countries to sign the 1972 Convention to ensure the protection of their natural and cultural heritage. It focuses its efforts on promoting heritage sites, international co-operation in conservation, providing technical assistance and professional training, and to provide emergency assistance for World Heritage sites in immediate danger (www.unesco.org/whc/1mission.htm 1996). As well, it is the umbrella organization which provides the framework for the other organizations mentioned above.

To date, 146 countries have signed the Convention to protect sites from national conflict, the ravages of time, and natural disaster. One hundred and twenty countries have sites on the WHL, there are 582 different properties listed, and 23 of these sites are listed on the World Heritage List in Danger (WHLD). The Convention defines the kind of natural or cultural sites which can be considered for inscription on the WHL, and sets out the duties of States Parties in identifying potential sites and their role in protecting and preserving them. By signing the Convention, each country pledges to conserve not only

[8] The following information is taken from <http://www.unesco.org/whc> because of the uniformity and consistency of information on UNESCO's web site.

the World Heritage sites situated on its territory, but also to protect its national heritage. The signatories contribute financial and intellectual resources to protect World Heritage sites.

The application for a site to be inscribed on the WHL must be generated internally from the sponsoring country. UNESCO makes no recommendations for listings. The application must include a plan detailing how the site is managed and protected and why the site is of natural and/or cultural significance to humanity. The World Heritage Committee (WHC) consists of 21 representatives who meet annually to examine the nominations. Two advisory bodies, ICOMOS and IUCN, help the Committee in their decision making, and provide expertise in history, sociology, archaeology, and anthropology. The IUCN advises the WHC on the selection of natural heritage sites and through its world wide network of specialists and report to the WHC on the state of conservation of listed sites. ICCROM provides advice on architectural restoration.

The Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC) was established in 1993 to develop a sense of solidarity and a co-operative relationship between World Heritage cities, particularly in view of the implementation of the Convention. The organization facilitates an exchange of knowledge, management techniques, and financial resources for the purpose of protecting monuments and sites. It is based on the idea that sites within populated cities endure pressures of a different nature and may require a more dynamic style of management (www.unesco.org/whc/whoswho.htm 1998).

OWHC and the International Council of Museums (ICOM) also support the World Heritage Committee. In urgent cases, such as outbreak of war, the Committee will make the listing itself without having received a formal request

(www.unesco.org/whc/4conves.htm 1996). The list is maintained through the World Heritage Centre, which has close working ties with the Cultural Heritage Division of UNESCO.

The World Heritage Fund receives its income from compulsory contributions from States Parties - amounting to 1% of their UNESCO dues - and voluntary contributions. US$3 million is received per annum and priority is given to threatened sites, including those listed as World Heritage in Danger (www.unesco.org/whc/6funding.htm 1996).

What UNESCO cannot do is enforce the protection it offers to World Heritage sites. Problems arise when cultural agendas influence decision making, and some places achieve World Heritage List status, while some do not, and are lost to the effects of war, nature, and time.[9] Even though humans are able to create safety precautions against the alteration and destruction of special places, not all places are considered valuable or significant, and are lost.

The effects, which emerge from the destruction of cultural property during times of war, create the praxis of identicide. Forty years after the Hague Convention, a group of international experts gathered in Stockholm for a meeting on **Information as an Instrument for Protection against War Damages to the Cultural Heritage** (The

[9] The World Heritage List offered protection to the medieval city of Dubrovnik in the former Yugoslavia and the site was inscribed onto the list in 1979, years before the conflict. Despite its fame and importance on a local and global level, the old quarter of the city was targeted and mostly destroyed during the war, with no protection offered to it. International outcry and generous donor countries funded the reconstruction efforts and the city was returned to its former architectural glory. Each building, road, market, and ancient wall was pieced together to recreate the destroyed city. Some deem the 'new' medieval city as inauthentic and illegitimate i.e. it's no longer the 'real thing' and should not be included in the annals of universal culture. The question of legitimacy arises in many instances with the World Heritage Committee and, often, questionable authenticity is a deciding factor of inclusion onto the list. Perhaps Dubrovnik is an example of an inauthentic city symbolizing the 'real thing' that was once valued and

Resolution), to create a resolution to be accepted by UNESCO. Aware of the recent atrocities in Bosnia and Rwanda, this group made an appeal regarding the intentions behind the destruction of cultural property. The following selected points are excerpts of The Resolution presented to UNESCO on June 10 1994 (http://www.unesco.org/general/eng/...e/1994-information-resolution.html 1994).

The group recognized that deliberate targeting and destruction of important monuments and collections have become increasingly frequent in both national and international conflicts; and observed that this is a part of the increase of ethnic, racial and religious controversies in many parts of the world. They also recalled the principle of the Hague Convention that damage to cultural property belonging to any people affects all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world. The group expressed its conviction that the deliberate destruction of the cultural heritage is but one part of a strategy of domination through destruction of self-esteem by torture, rape, expulsion, and extinction of its members. Furthermore, the destruction of historic records, monuments, and memories serves the purpose of suppressing evidence that the threatened people were ever living in the area. It recommends that deliberate war damage to places of identity be condemned as war crimes according to the Hague Convention. When these crimes are carried out in the extreme - as in former Yugoslavia - they must be deemed to be a specific form of genocide. The panel of experts clamed that aggression against people and its heritage are equal parts of the same strategy: to eliminate a race or a group of people.

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revered as a part of our shared world heritage. Thankfully, its inauthenticity is not an issue with the Committee. The site is now listed under Croatia, instead of Yugoslavia, the original sponsor country.

Unlike the Hague Convention, The Resolution provides solutions to regulate the actions of military forces and reserves the right for these monitoring networks to intervene on the behalf of the Hague Convention. It was suggested that experts be appointed with the specific task of surveillance of possible damage to cultural heritage. These should work in conflict areas as part of UN peace-keeping forces as well as parts of missions from disaster aid agencies. It is of utmost importance that all UN military personnel be trained on the content of the conventions.

Interestingly, the experts involved in the creation of The Resolution provided insight into the reservations held by some nations of registering their cultural property. The group concluded that to register a site is tantamount to targeting it. The identification of special property may lead to its eventual destruction. The resolution goes on to explain the importance of registering significant sites.

The meeting participants observed that few countries have registered their most precious cultural property under the protection of the Hague Convention. The experts viewed this trend as a sign that the awareness of potential threats to this heritage needs to be increased. A need was identified for the increase in effective national networks in order to guarantee that strategic decisions are taken with a view to safeguard heritage and promote communications with international organizations. The group perceived that if they could place the education and responsibility of the protection of cultural property upon the biggest stabilizing force in the world, more would be accomplished in a shorter time frame. It was suggested that UN peace-keeping forces be included in the task of protecting cultural heritage and UNESCO had an important role in the facilitation of this new part. As well, it was suggested that UNESCO be used to facilitate the education of

UN member states and their military personnel on the obligations of the Hague Convention and the World Heritage Convention.

Chapter Five

Reconstruction of Sites of Identity

When war-time protection and cultural property protection policies are disabled or ignored in times of conflict, post-war reconciliation initiatives are crucial to the recovery of war-torn societies. Currently, there is an "imbalance between short-term, *hard*, physical reconstruction measures and *soft*, long-term civil society programmes" in post-war societies (Pugh 1998:1). This section will examine the reconstruction policies and processes of war-torn societies and the process of merging the two reconstruction methods.

Post-conflict reconstruction methods are applied to post-conflict communities, also referred to as *war-torn societies.* A war-torn society implies that "the existing political structures are weak or lack legitimacy, that the limited infrastructure previously in place has been largely destroyed, and that the population remains in a general state of instability" (Fagen 1994: 24). War-torn or post-war communities have been devastated in such a way that the civil structure has been dis-articulated. Fagen explores war-torn society reconstruction and denotes the dispersion of families, fragmentation of regional networks like transportation and communication, widespread distrust of political authority, and weakness of remaining social institutions, to be the dis-articulation of civil society. Following from this, Fagen's dis-articulation of civil space can be applied to the physicality of society through the removal of social articulation. Once this has occurred, some form of reconstruction follows, in order to socially articulate society once again.

War-torn communities have unique characteristics because they have undergone some form of dis-articulation. Although similar to victims of natural disaster, post-war communities are affected in other ways. The people must survive - sometimes for years - without proper nutrition or food for their families. Some citizens are killed and many men must leave their homes to fight in the war. The women, children, and elderly are left at home to protect villages, crops, and other economies. Often, a strong distrust of local governments and military regimes is born. Towns and cities are targeted with intent during conflict, unlike the effects of natural disasters.

Reconstruction

What is *reconstruction*? It is not *relief*, or *development*, and must not be confused with *rehabilitation*. Relief is the assistance given to those in special need or difficulty, development is the industrialization or economic advancement of a country or area, and lastly, rehabilitation is the restoration to effectiveness or normal life through training (Canadian Oxford Dictionary 1998). Reconstruction encompasses economic, political and social factors, according to the accepted definitions, and, each factor is set apart from one another.

Physical post-war reconstruction falls under *reconciliation*. Reconciliation is the movement towards harmonization or agreement between warring factions, marginalized groups, government, and external stablilizing forces in war-torn societies, through the implementation of social programs and training, provided by NGO's, governmental agencies, and military peacekeepers[1].

[1] One may question the feasibility of creating harmonization between warring factions through the mere implementation of social programs.

According to the World Bank (WB), "reconstruction involves a proactive program of physical and social rebuilding, which attempts to address and rectify the underlying causes of recent conflict and to create the foundations for sustainable stability and development" (http:www.worldbank.org/html/estdr/faq/faqf98-76.htm 1998). More than this, though, is the "transition from conflict to relative peace" in areas rife with problems, for example, fractured governments, large refugee flows, and vengeful acts motivated by racial, ethnic and religious tensions (Pugh 1998:1).

Post-war reconstruction involves the following co-ordinated efforts: peacebuilding, peacemaking, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, post-war reconstruction, humanitarian intervention, humanitarian cease-fires, humane intervention and democratic[2] development. Each requires a different time-line, and this is often where local and non-local agendas collide (Pugh 1998:21). Kenneth Bush continues by adding that the vocabulary and definitions vary between different global actors, sometimes as honest misunderstandings, but often as the result of "political jostling of institutional actors to stake out roles for themselves in an atmosphere of decreased resources and changing mandates" (1995:6). All actors in the international arena are vying for scarce resources and there is purposeful ambiguity surrounding responsibilities and resulting territories and there is an absence of policy to link shared mandates or common objectives.

Bush (1995) defines the tasks involved with different aspects of peace-nurturing. The mechanisms towards political reconstruction are democratic development initiatives,

[2] Democratic development does not refer to political democracy, but a relatively fair and equitable process of development defined by the inclusion of different societal groups, not just those in positions of power, for example.

election, human rights, and judicial projects; towards economic reconstruction are social-economic development financing, loans, employment training, scholarships, and infrastructural development projects; and lastly towards social reconstruction, the mechanisms are nurturing grass-roots organizations, confidence building measures, education for mutual understanding, exchanges, media projects, cultivation of super-ordinate goals, inter-group projects, and co-operative projects. There is no overlap of objectives or the tools used to reach goals according to Bush's design (1995:11).

Institutions like the WB put a heavy emphasis upon re-establishing economic productivity in war-torn communities and advises that assistance in war-torn societies must concentrate "on re-creating the conditions that will allow the private sector and institutions of civil society to resume commercial and productive activities" (Pugh 1998:3). Economic stability is necessary for communities to regain the resources necessary to implement many of their internal reconstruction programs. As well, the ability to resume work provides a sense of worth in persons affected by the ravages of conflict. This is especially apparent in the female work force, which is often the majority of the population in war-torn societies.

The current process is a policy-driven reconstruction effort which aims to move war-torn societies towards a state of reconciliation. Generally, the primary objectives and phases during the facilitation of post-war reconstruction are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. (Source: Creative Associates International 1998)

PRIORITY	OBJECTIVE
1	Political reform and rehabilitation
2	Creation of an atmosphere of basic security
3	Redefinition of relationships between political authority and citizens
4	Reconstruction of infrastructure
5	Redefinition of relationships among ethnic and social groups
6	Rebuilding/reforming of society, polity, and economy

The general objectives shown in Figure 2 are the methods used to create a sense of stability in post-war landscapes which affected the people living in these communities. Despite the incredible toll taken on communities during conflicts, post-war survivors are yet able to move forward to create new community structures and programs, which suit their immediate and long-term goals. Indeed, reconstruction efforts in these communities often serve to empower post-war citizens:

> When people share a sense of purpose, a feeling of empowerment, or awareness that they are agents of their own lives and futures, they can produce more and create a more satisfying community. [NGO staff] met several community people, involved at the village level (...) who identified a key [element] as 'fighting spirit'. In fact, a crisis can be the catalyst for extraordinary efforts by communities. Relief and development workers have often noted that people are more open to change and to considering new ways of doing things (Anderson and Woodrow 1989:12).

Through the passage of time and the gathering of experience, foreign aid workers, NGO's, GO's, and military groups have pieced together a working model of the components necessary to reach a more equitable or stabilized atmosphere in post-conflict societies. There are many areas of reconstruction in post-conflict communities - social, economic, political, educational, and religious - with few links between physical and social reconstruction efforts.

Physical reconstruction is directed at infrastructure developments, not places of identity. Social reconstruction and the repair of torn social fibres, as previously stated, is fought over by international institutions, NGO's, and national and local actors. Often, inter-NGO and military tensions occur because of jurisdiction disputes, territorial claims to implementing social programs, and misunderstandings of objectives in the post-war communities. According to Pugh, 'the humanitarian dimension of rehabilitation remains fragmented, circumstantial, and ad hoc' (Pugh 1998:4) and goes on to say '[this] dysfunction is reinforced (...) by state and NGO actors operating to produce macro-economic stability, whereas NGO projects are micro-level initiatives' (Pugh 1998:4).

Most NGO groups are actively promoting the link between emergency relief and increased sustained development built upon local capacities and initiatives (Fagen 1994:2). As well, the parties involved have similar mandates, which fall into at least one of the following categories shown in Figure 3. There is overlap, and as stated above, there is much ambiguity surrounding the responsibilities and territory of specific activities, actions, and mandates - both local, national, and international.

Figure 3. (Source: Fagen 1994:3).

ORGANIZATIONS	MANDATE
NGO, military	Organizational;
military	Military peacekeeping;
NGO	Developmental;
NGO, military, local	Man-made; natural; and emergency disaster relief;
NGO	Refugees and displaced persons;
NGO	Human rights;
NGO, military, local	Political transitions;
NGO, military, local	Local participants

Until this decade, policies put forward by the above groups were weighted heavily upon peace stabilization, yet there was little focus upon the period following the end of armed conflict. All international parties and national governments have a vested interest in post-conflict environments because of the security issues involved. War-torn societies may be apt to fall into a cycle of corrupt governments, dishonest military and police forces when an international stabilizing force ends its mandate and withdraws from the affected society, despite the good intentions of local participants in the reconciliation process. When the stabilizing forces withdraw, there are increased security risks involved with local and non-local actors in war-torn societies. These range from hate campaigns to abductions and killings, and there is a chance that the threat to survival may increase when the intensity of conflict decreases (Pugh 1998:9). Fagen describes the recipe for disaster after an external political mandate has ended:

> A war is ended. Troops agree to a cease-fire, followed by some form of demobilization, disarmament, and new or reformed military structures that depend on civilian leadership. Societies formerly armed and fighting cannot afford the economic and political costs of maintaining powerful and bloated military structures, and must demilitarize. Yet any transformation in military structures raises political tensions (Fagen 1994: 15).

According to Fagen, post-war societies must deal with reconciliation, development, reintegration, and security (Fagen 1994:3), and often, outside assistance is vital to realizing these goals. In some cases, local governments are not committed to the welfare of their citizens, have questionable legitimacy, and have weak operational capacities, therefore, stabilizing factors are necessary on the road towards reconstruction (Fagen 1994: 21). This usually comes in the form of UN peacekeepers, or some form of non-governmental organization whose volunteers become the cornerstones of the

affected communities, in fact, the stabilizing element. Yet, "there is an absence of strategic consistency in planning for rehabilitation which manifests in the lack of vision in the international system for dealing with collapsed states and the regeneration of communities" (Pugh 1998:5). The missing element in this policy equation is not the lack of consistency, but the imposed relationship between social and physical rehabilitation to economic output, believed by the donor institutions. They are, in fact, related to a level of dignity and self-worth in the citizens of war-torn societies. Perhaps instead of post-conflict GNP, "the solution lies in the promotion of public participation and self-sustaining capacity-building measures for local institutions and communities" (Pugh 1998:6).

Reconstruction begins with "freedom of movement, agricultural activity, and the rebuilding of infrastructure, such as restoration of water, power, sanitation, refuse collection, medical clinics, schools, and emergency services" (Pugh 1998:14). Next, as economic activity is restored and civil rights established, there is an increase in citizen involvement in criminal and social violence, including acts of revenge, and according to Pugh, "insecurity through violence that dominates a situation whilst conflict is still occurring does not completely disappear when rehabilitation starts" (Pugh 1998:9). There are many factors to weigh before any type of reconstruction policy, international or local, is implemented in war-torn societies:

> Post-war political instabilities, the virtually inevitable outcome of protracted conflict, impede reconstruction at all levels. Rebuilding - or for the first time creating - democratic institutions, enhancing the mechanisms for local participation, and establishing effective accountability between government and governed are fundamental to successful reconstruction. While it is possible to deliver short-term relief through non-governmental channels, serious development projects and

> planning cannot be effectively implemented in the absence of legitimate political structures, honest officials, and co-ordinated efforts at the national and local levels. (...) It is first essential to settle local rivalries, establish the legitimacy of opposing political groups in government, and to settle scores peaceably (Fagen 1994: 21).

This fosters the development of post-war collective memory - remembering and forgetting - which then leads to the establishment of post-conflict community identity. When people realize that their visions are accepted, and their involvement encouraged, a sense of ownership is returned to them and trust is built in their local government, their police force, and their leaders, as Pugh puts it, "public participation in war-torn societies is able to catalyse political dialogue and strengthen the development of civil society" (1998:7). He believes that there is limited attention given to "soft programmes in current rehabilitation and regeneration policy at the international level, even though it has been proven to be a pivotal feature in long-term transformation of society. Local ownership - part of the soft, emotive practice - is the key" to simple and effective reconciliation of war-torn societies (Pugh 1998:22). Many donor institutions, which support economic productivity, fund quick-fix post-war initiatives, but this has proven to be an ineffective path towards reconciliation.

Clear opportunities exist to link hard and soft reconstruction efforts by enlisting local support for sustained rehabilitation in war-torn societies. Inherent problems exist when programs are unbalanced or solely economically driven, rather than balanced and internally driven programs which merge hard and soft reconstruction initiatives:

> War shattered states are typically ill-equipped to manage societal competition induced by a political and economic liberalization, not only because these states have a recent history of violence, but because they typically lack the institutional structures capable of peacefully resolving

> internal disputes. In these circumstances, efforts to transform war-shattered states into market democracies can serve to exacerbate rather than moderate societal conflicts (Paris in Pugh 1998: 28).

There is a natural order of social rehabilitation inherent to human nature. The need to participate builds self-worth, stabilizing mental, spiritual, and physical health. The Secretary-General introduced a soft 'people-centred' approach at the UN Rio Conference on Environmental Development in 1992. "In order to fulfil their potential, people must participate actively in formulating their own goals, and their voices must be heard in decision-making bodies as they seek to pursue their own most appropriate path to development" (Pugh 1998:23).

Public participation is open to all societal groups, even groups considered to be marginalized. If public participation is to be used as a resource for internal soft reconstruction initiatives, in which ways are people able to participate? And, to what extent does power lie in the hands of those participating? Pugh's theory provides five forms of local public participation shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. (Source: Pugh 1998:30)

LEVEL OF INVOLVMENT	ACTION
Information disclosure	People are informed ex post facto about matters that affect them, often on a need-to-know basis.
Public consultation	People are given a voice about issues where external actors have defined problems and processes, control analysis and have no obligation to take people's views into account.
Procedural participation	People are encouraged to engage in achieving project goals to reduce costs and comply with procedural requirements.
Interactive partnership	People participate with external actors from an early stage in project design, implementation and assessment.
Self-mobilization	People take initiatives independently of external actors who in turn facilitate the achievement of goals defined by local communities.

Local empowerment has the potential to transform societies. The simplest, and most cost-effective, long-term reconstruction process is to look internally and to include local actors to envision their own planning strategy. Most NGO and GO focus their attention on soft civil engineering. Of course, non-local resources can be tapped to facilitate, lead, and implement the internal strategy, but the creation of community is more effective if generated from within when it becomes an identity-driven reconstruction effort. According to Ledarach, communities can be encouraged to envision a new society and to choose which projects contribute to that vision (Ledarach in Pugh 1998:32).

Specific reconstruction questions must be asked prior to the implementation of reconstruction programs. According to Anderson and Woodrow (1989), people must be asked what their beliefs and motivations were before the conflict happened (collective memory) and how it affected them (past), how the conflict is affecting them now (present), and if they feel they have the ability to shape their lives (future). Strength or weaknesses in this realm can make a significant difference in a society's ability to rebuild or improve its material base or its social institutions (Anderson and Woodrow 1989:12). This search for understanding collective cultural identity is an important element in the success of future development and is illustrated in the following account of an NGO attempt at understanding the pulse of a war-torn community:

> Community development workers went to a village that was a possible site for project work. Instead of asking direct questions of villagers, they conducted a "silent survey". They sat in the village tea shops and other gathering places and listened to the villagers talk about their lives. After three days of doing this they met with the village council and presented an analysis of the major concerns of the village, asking for confirmation or correction of the findings. The village elders were so impressed with the

> insights of the community development workers (essentially how well they reflected the experience and concerns of the villagers) that they immediately approved a first project initiative (Anderson and Woodrow 1989:28).

This form of *capacity building* allows local and non-local actors to develop the remaining strengths in war-torn societies and to establish normality. Capacities are the strengths existing within a society on which future development can be built (Anderson and Woodrow 1989:10) and capacity building is the act of reducing vulnerabilities and increasing these capacities in affected communities. Most attempts at capacity building separate the re-building of the physical environment from the rebuilding of the social programs, and are quick-fix solutions rather than long-term reconciliation projects. A move from traditional peacekeeping towards informal, public relations assistance - peacebuilding - has been the UN trend of the 90's. There is now a broader definition of the interrelated activities of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping in order to address conflict prevention and resolution more accurately (Fagen 1994:9). "Contemporary peace accords, with provisions for security, nation-building and economic rehabilitation built into them, are far more comprehensive than traditional cease-fire arrangements" (Fagen 1994:9). In the past, dedicated actors, monetary assistance, and persistence have yielded disappointing results in peacebuilding and capacity building activities and there has been much criticism of the UN and its approach towards international assistance and intervention. It is noted that the structural and financial capacity of the UN is inadequate for the carrying out of the functions required of it (Fagen 1994: 11), in conflict situations, let alone, post-conflict situations.

There is continued separation between the reconstruction of the physical (hard) and the social (soft) elements in war-torn societies, although there is opportunity for partnership in the process. This is where long-term community reconciliation is able to merge with short-term reconstruction. As recently as the 3rd **International Security Forum** in October 1998, workshops debated the divergence of hard and soft reconstruction of war-torn societies. Appearing as opposing elements in war-torn societies, the hard reconstruction projects and the soft social programming projects are composed and orchestrated by different actors. Pugh defines soft reconstruction or social engineering as that which promotes change in civil, political, and demographic structures (elections, refugee returns), and civil development as that which emphasizes change in the way power relationships are expressed by the promotion of transparency and accountability, for example, in war-torn societies and in generating local civil society. The hard reconstruction or physical rebuilding is left to the military engineers, funded by donor countries, sometimes under the watchful eyes of local participants.

Confronting security issues, unstable governments, and lack of internal and external resources, how long does it take to reconstruct a community? It is important to communicate a realistic time-line projection of reconstruction in war-torn societies. Often the only people capable of projecting a realistic time period for the completion of reconstruction are those experts living within a war-torn community and it has been shown that humans are unable to function normally under circumstances that disrupt spatial organization and inhibit the continuity of daily life.

Only twenty years after the ravaging and reconstruction of Europe, the Allies and Nazis wrecked havoc on the continent again. Post-World War II Warsaw is a good

example of a reconstruction strategy implemented from start to finish, as well as a realistic time period entailed in a massive reconstruction effort of a modern city.[3] The overall strategy for repair and renewal is a phased program which first repairs infrastructure systems for distribution of electricity, water, gas, and sewage. The next phase is the human needs category, which includes hospitals, schools, and housing. Identity-driven reconstruction follows this category. Important cultural components are identified to be reconstructed, such as landmarks or significant architectural features. This is an internal process, not one external to the community like the first few phases of physical reconstruction. The following chapter will illustrate how this process was exemplified in Mostar after the Bosnia war to highlight the success of post-war reconstruction initiatives when hard and soft aspects of reconciliation are linked together.

[3] Warsaw was systematically razed by the Nazi regime over a 3 year period and the entire city collapsed. The reconstruction of Warsaw was primarily funded by the Soviets, who sent expertise and supplies to the devastated city. The reconstruction began by re-instating transportation lines into the inner city, as well as communication lines. A group of designers, led by an architect (who immediately became the head of the city) set out a master plan, which embodied a time-phased reconstruction plan. Slowly, the rubble was trucked out, bodies were recovered, and people returned to their ancient city, once alive with the ring of medieval bells and zig-zagging streets and markets. The identity of the city had been erased with the erasure of the elements, which created place. The art, the architecture, and the people were gone, but when the people began to return, the life force of the city was re-infused. Like the Mostarians, the Varsovians chose the old 'heart' of their city to represent their new city. Although destroyed in the war against the Nazis, the famous Old Market in the old quarter was reconstructed in exact fashion - it is said that there is no difference between the old and the new. The Mostarians chose to rebuild the Old Bridge in the old medieval quarter to represent their new city, and hopefully, this effort will bond the Mostarians, like it did the Varsovians, with their destroyed and altered past.

Chapter Six

CASE STUDY: THE BRIDGE OF MOSTAR

The Bridge of Mostar has great historical and cultural importance and symbolizes the beliefs of a community, and some say, of a people. As well, the Bridge was architecturally unique and has remained significant within a specific cultural history, which contributes to the collective memory of the local community. It was purposefully targeted and destroyed in the Bosnia conflict in 1993, sparking an international outcry against the perpetrators and the questioning of why something so important was removed from our collective heritage. As well, the decision to reconstruct it through local and non-local initiatives exhibits its importance to cultural identity, moving beyond geography and 'bridging' global communities.

Bridge Building

The city of Mostar has its roots in the Ottoman Empire, and was founded in 1468 as a Turkish strong point and outlying trade centre. Geographically, Mostar is the point of contact between the two parts of Herzegovina and it soon gained a large strategic and commercial importance for the Turks. It lies at the centre of a plateau surrounded by high rugged mountains. The name Mostar is derived from 'most', meaning bridge, and is first quoted in Turkish documents in 1475. The original bridge was a wooden suspension bridge, which linked each side of the Neretva river, but it often became unreliable and there was a need for a more secure structure to facilitate trade and commerce. As well, there was a military requirement to enable fast and efficient movement from shore to shore between the two defence towers in the old section of the town. The remains of the

wooden suspension bridge can still be seen on the left bank of the south side of the Old Bridge.

In 1557, a new bridge was commissioned by Sultan Sulejman the Magnificent. The commission was awarded to the most highly acclaimed architect of the time, Hajrudin, disciple of the famed Sultans architect Sinan. The new bridge, named Stari Most, was to be the longest stone span in the world. It was to incorporate the newest building techniques and style of Ottoman Baroque architecture, and would represent the renaissance of wisdom and knowledge sweeping across Europe at the time. A lighter mortar was required to span such a distance with stone. Legend has it that Hajrudin solved this problem by mixing egg whites with the cement to create a strong, seamless bond. As the bridge was being constructed, Hajrudin had his doubts about the engineering strength, and was afraid that his bridge would fall into the river. The architect fled from the town fearing that the removal of the scaffolding would cause the bridge to fall, and he never saw the completion of his masterpiece. The Bridge's mythic and factual history constitute its legendary significance within the Ottoman Empire.

The building of the new bridge lasted from 1557 to 1566, and when the scaffolding was removed, the bridge defied gravity, and remained perched in its designated place above the Neretva River. It was a narrow, ivory-coloured limestone structure, peaked in the middle, with steep inclines on both sides, 30 meters long and 20 meters high. The Bridge opened in 1566 and remained a symbol of unity for the town of Mostar for nearly half a millennium. It was declared the most beautiful of bridges in the world. (Figure 5).

Figure 5. The Old Bridge of Mostar (pre-1991).

Source: http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

The Ottoman empire grew stronger, and pushed south through the Balkans. There were wide ethnic and cultural movements and the Ottoman subjects sought membership with religious and ecclesiastical communities (Sofos 1996:253). This led to a national consciousness, which developed the standardization of languages and histories. This movement towards nationalistic thinking formed the South Slavs which later made up Greater Serbia in 1844. Eventually, *Yugoslavism* emerged to represent national unity in the Balkans, due in part to the similarities between Croatian and Serb language.[1]

Political common ground emerged between Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia as the Habsburg and Ottoman empires disintegrated throughout the nineteenth century. The multicultural autonomy of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was established in 1918. This arrangement did not succeed partially because of the occupation by the Axis powers during World War II and the animosity created between the different cultural groups. "Conflict came close to the Bridge of Mostar in World War II, when it bore the tanks of the Third Reich and the Wehrmacht filled the steps leading up to the Bridge with sand in order to create a ramp - or perhaps to protect the delicate stone steps of the Bridge" (Ozkan 1994:6). (Figure 6).

In response to the enforced Axis ideology (Nazi), a post-war communist order emerged under the leadershop of Josip Broz Tito who strove to bridge ethnic and political boundaries and to achieve hegemony between 1945 and 1980 (Sofos 1996:256).

For 427 years, the Bridge was the most celebrated symbol of Mostar. People came to witness the feat of engineering, to stroll on its arch, and to perch on the bridge to watch

[1] Please note that Croat and Serb languages are phonetically similar, but use different alphabets.

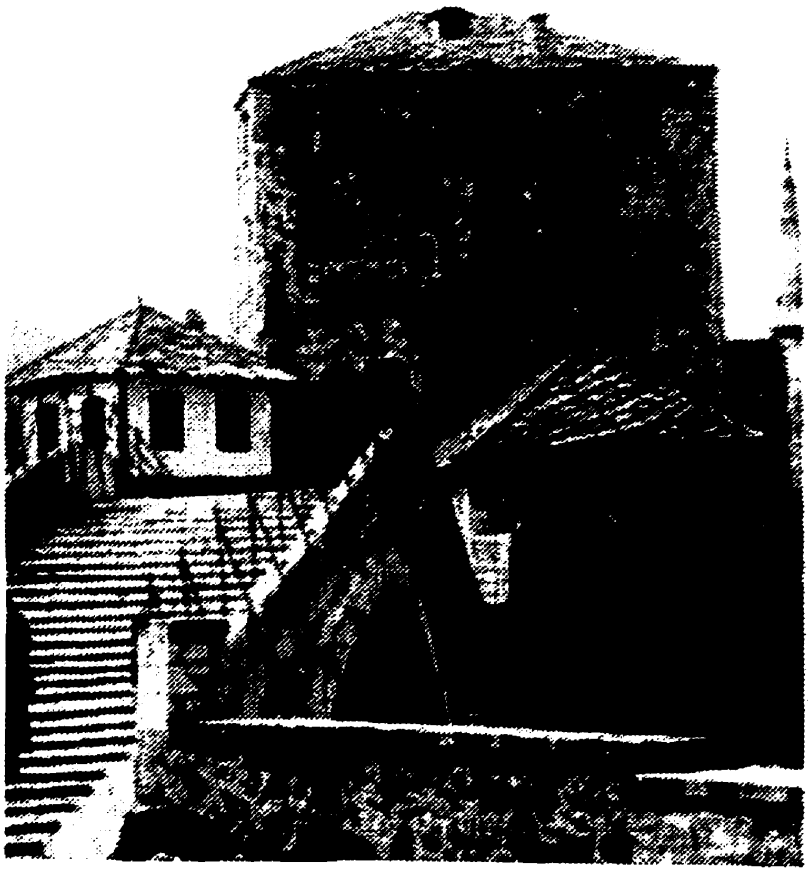

Figure 6. Detail of the surface of the Old Bridge of Mostar and the guard tower on the opposite shore (pre-1991).
Source: http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

the remarkable sunsets above the city. Every summer, the Bridge of Mostar hosted the local diving competition and young boys would test their courage, thrilling the tourists by leaping off of the bridge, into the Neretva River far below. The Bridge acted as a focal point for the community, and it was a perfect place from which to view the city. It was wide enough to accommodate foot travel and many locals would stroll along it on their evening walk. It is where people met to discuss their business, their lives, and their families. Poets wrote about it and compared the bridge to the new moon and to a rainbow (http://www.tyenet.com/kozlich/defend.htm), people were executed on it, and local muezzins called Muslims to prayer from the top of the arch. "The famous Ottoman traveller Evliya Celebi compared the bridge, thrown across the steep Neretva River canyon, to 'a rainbow arch soaring up to the skies'" (http://www.tyenet.com/kozlich/defend.htm). It became a place of romance, where teen-agers received their first kiss. The Bridge of Mostar resonated with rites of passage.

The Bridge of Mostar was much more than a bridge. It was considered to be one of the greatest historical monuments of the Balkans (http://www.tyenet.com /kozlich/defend.htm). "For (Mostarians), the Stari Most Bridge was as significant as the nave of Hagia Sophia, or the top of the Empire State Building, the approach to the Taj Mahal or the heights of Machu Pichu; its presence surpassed any function" (Ozkan 1994:5). The Bridge became a national symbol and its image was used on many series of stamps. (Figure 7). It was pictured on post-cards as early as the mid- 20th century and its fame was global - it was no longer a secret in the heart of the region, but a symbol of unity 'bridging' global communities. (Figure 8).

Figure 7. Bosnia-Herzegovina stamp depicting the Old Bridge of Mostar (early to mid- 20th century). Source: http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

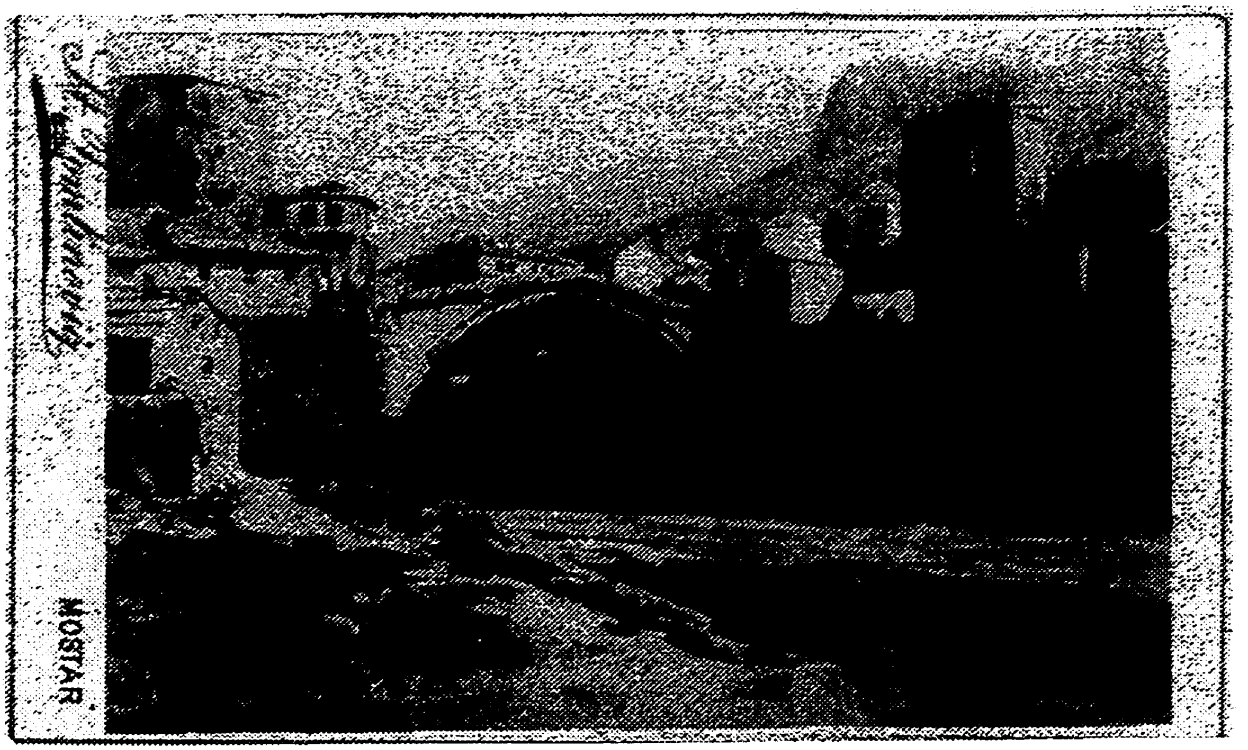

Figure 8. Famous scene of the sandy shore and the Old Bridge of Mostar on a postcard (mid-20th century). Source: http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

"Stari Most embodied the very concept of a bridge. It not only connected the two sides of a river bounded by steep cliffs, it also merged two neighbourhoods into a single town and brought two groups together to form one community" (Ozkan 1994:5). "It was as if the bridge had a life of its own, a soul given to it by all the people who had used it for 400 years" (Drakulic 1993:D2).

After Tito died in 1980, his state began to decline. At this point in the Balkan political history, strong nationalistic leaders began influencing specific ethnic populations and incited age-old rivalries, which Tito had successfully restrained. Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H) has a more multi-ethnic population than either Croatia or the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). In 1986, this was reflected in an international prize based on multi-cultural multi-ethnic roots. The city of Mostar was awarded the Aga Khan Award for the preservation of its historical Ottoman architecture - unique in all the world. Amir Pasic, a local architect, spearheaded the project in the early 80's and focused upon the historic restoration of the old town and famous Bridge of Mostar. The Bridge was not inscribed onto the WHL at this time.

Mostar grew and its geographical placement allowed for multiculturalism to flourish. The Bridge linked East and West, and was used by Croats, Serbs, Turks, Jews, Greeks, Albanians, Austrians, Hungarians, Catholics, Orthodox, Bogumils, Nazis, and Muslims since its inception date. The town of Mostar was the most multi-ethnic city in the region (http://www.tyenet.com/kozlich/defend.htm), due to its location on a major trade route and on a national border.

Bosnian Conflict

For centuries, the Balkans have consisted of a complex interaction of ethnicities and local warring factions. This study will provide some detail of the Bosnian conflict, which occurred from 1992 to 1995, to establish a context for the destruction of the Bridge of Mostar. Accounts of the complexities of the Yugoslavian war are best left to Kaplan (1993), Ignatieff (1993), Sells (1996), and Cohen (1998). Their works cover detailed elements of the political, ethnic, religious, and cultural motivations behind the war.

The historic multi-ethnic and religious divisions between Muslims and Christians are still active today and were the motivation behind this ethnic war. The conflict in Bosnia Herzegovina (B-H) began when Slovenia and Croatia seceded from the FRY, in 1990 and 1991 respectively, and the existing B-H government refused to belong to a federal Yugoslavia dominated by the Serbs. In February 1992, B-H held a referendum on independence. To the horror of the Serbs within B-H, 64% of the Croat and Muslim population voted in favour of secession. Four months later, B-H declared its independence from the Yugoslavian federation, and the international community recognized this separation. Internal conflict escalated to involve the two largest cities in B-H, Sarajevo and Mostar. (Figure 9).

The Serbs within B-H, not accepting non-Serb governance, created the self-declared Republika Srpska (RS) from the ethnically Serb areas of B-H in 1992. Ethnic Croats followed the Serb example and created Herceg-Bosna, and in fact, created a three-way war within B-H concentrated in Mostar. Fighting escalated between the Croats and

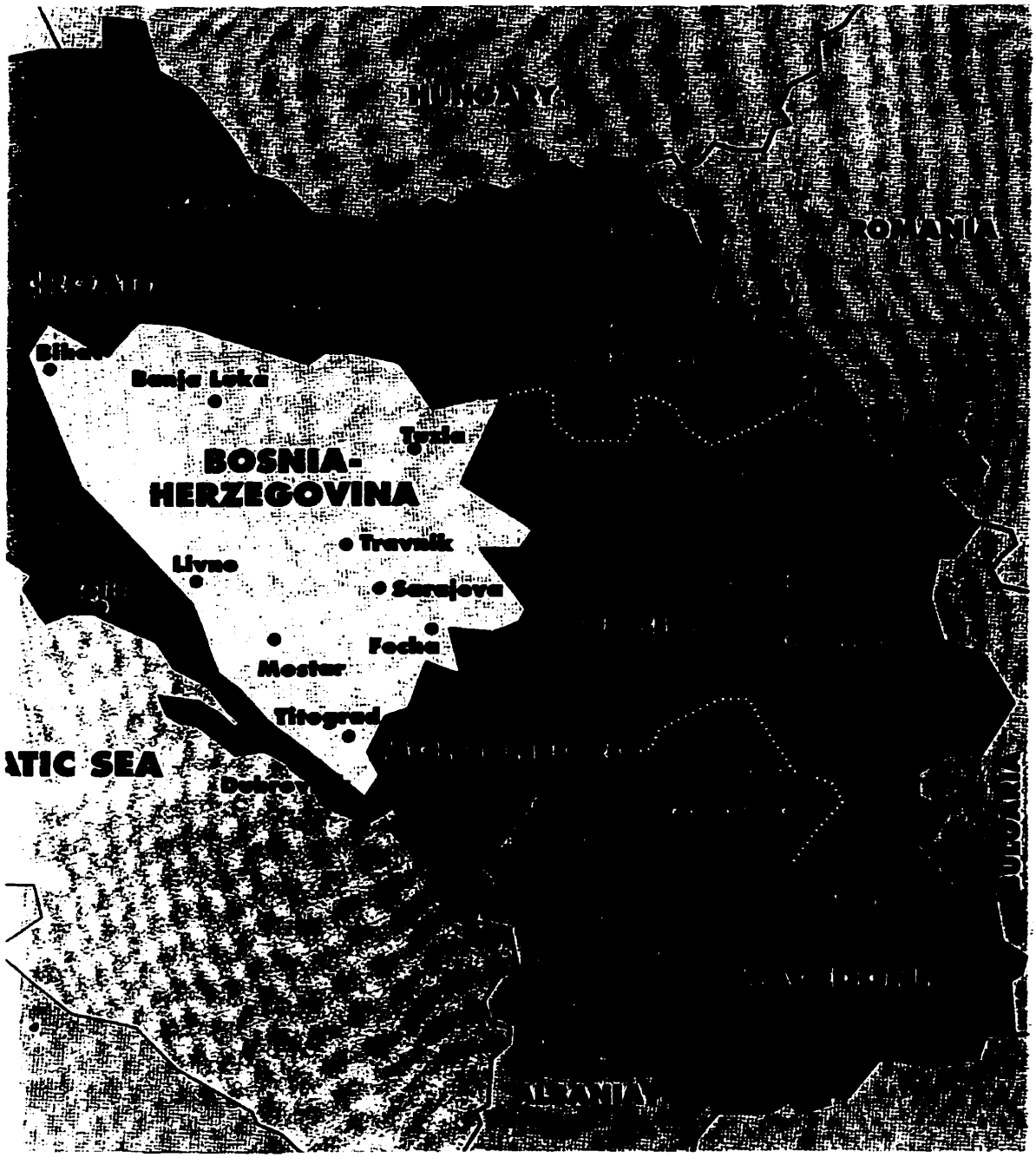

Figure 9. Map showing new borders and major cities in the former Yugoslavia.

Source: http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

the Muslims in Mostar, but they eventually united against the Bosnia Serbs, creating the "Federation of B-H". The worst of the ethnic cleansing in B-H occurred between 1992 and 1994, beginning in a non-strategic manner, but eventually became a strategy employed by all warring factions. The fighting was classified as internecine irregular warfare: mutually destructive conflict within a group most often enacted through mass slaughter and massacre (NDHQ 1998). Local forces and para-militaries randomly killed and drove ethnic minorities out of their own communities. Thousands of civilians were forced from their homes, fleeing for the borders to become refugees and displaced persons. The atrocities continued and the signatories of the Geneva Convention on crimes of war disregarded their responsibilities.

The city of Mostar was attacked and destroyed in the same manner as Sarajevo for the duration of the war. UN consultant expert Colin Kaiser was sent into the heart of the war to make recommendations concerning the protection of cultural property in Mostar in 1992. The European Council was concerned with the destruction by war of the cultural heritage of Croatia and Bosnia, and Kaiser identified the internal institutions which were able to offer protection. He also noted specific war protection measures and emergency measures focused specifically on the Bridge of Mostar. From his report, it is clear that there was knowledge that the Bridge would be purposefully targeted and destroyed: "The protection programme for the Old Bridge of Mostar must be fully implemented as soon as possible, and eventually improved (e.g.sandbagging)" (Kaiser 1992:51). The report was distributed to appropriate parties in Sarajevo, Mostar, and the new government of Herceg-Bosna. Despite the European Council's external attempts at identifying and protecting Mostar within the B-H conflict, efforts were to no avail.

Identicide: Destroying the Bridge

Every building was damaged or destroyed and nothing was left unaffected in Mostar. People moved away from the city and the 130,000 pre-war population was decimated to 40,000 after the war. Most industry was destroyed, machinery looted, communication and transportation lines were cut through the destruction of Mostar's seven bridges, the local airport, and the only highway out of the area. There was nothing left of the city that had received the Aga Khan Foundation Award for preservation and reconstruction less then five years before. There are accounts of specific buildings - especially houses of worship - being targeted and destroyed. Mostar had many famous architectural elements, which spanned a lengthy history, and this architectural heritage was a major target in the Bosnia hostilities (Ozkan 1994:6). Mostar had fourteen mosques and five mesdzids (minor mosques) before the war; all were destroyed (Micevic in Urbicide 1993:21):

> The attackers had very definite intentions. They understood the value of the buildings they were destroying and were especially ruthless in their attacks on those on the left bank, which they hoped to annex permanently. They also wanted to strip Mostar of the enduring landmarks of the past (Micevic in Urbicide 1993:21).

In April 1992, the Old Bridge was first attacked by Bosnia Serb forces. Just after the Bosnia war broke out, the Bridge withstood the shelling attacks during the first battle of Mostar. Then, in a turn of events, the original protectors of the Bridge, the Bosnia Croats, attacked the Bridge in May 1993, when they turned against their Muslim allies on the left bank. Their intent was to split the union of the two shores of Mostar - one shore would be Muslim and the other Croat after the link was removed.

Pasic, Kaiser, and others were intent on saving the images of the past, and when their city was attacked, they tried everything to fortify the Bridge against the onslaught. They knew the importance of the Bridge, and believed that "with all its beauty and grace, it was built to outlive people; it was an attempt to grasp eternity. Because it was the product of both individual creativity and collective experience, it transcended individual destiny. The bridge is all of us, forever" (Drakulic 1993). Without military or international assistance, they fortified the Bridge with scaffolding, tin, and old rubber tires, but their efforts were futile. (Figure 10). Despite the bridge's fame, despite it's importance, no assistance arrived, no force fought to stop the destruction. The Bridge of Stari-Most had "survived over 400 years of earthquakes, floods, and civil wars including a particularly violent conflict during World War II. But on November 9, 1993 - after months of heavy shelling by Croatian forces and despite frantic makeshift efforts to protect it - the historic bridge (...) collapsed into the Neretva River" (Ricasio 1995: 64). (Figure 11).

Private and Public Reaction

When the Bridge fell, both public and private reactions linked the sense of loss and the need to rebuild immediately. It seemed that the vengeful act against this significant target spurred people to react in ways not predicted. There was a clear sense of weakened identity amongst the post-conflict Mostar population, and the destruction of the Bridge became the key to the rebuilding of identity:

> When the bridge collapsed, it was a Tuesday morning, a pleasant sunny day (...). The bridge had been shelled since Monday afternoon. People who watched say it did not last long: At 10:30 a.m., it just fell (Drakulic 1993:D2).

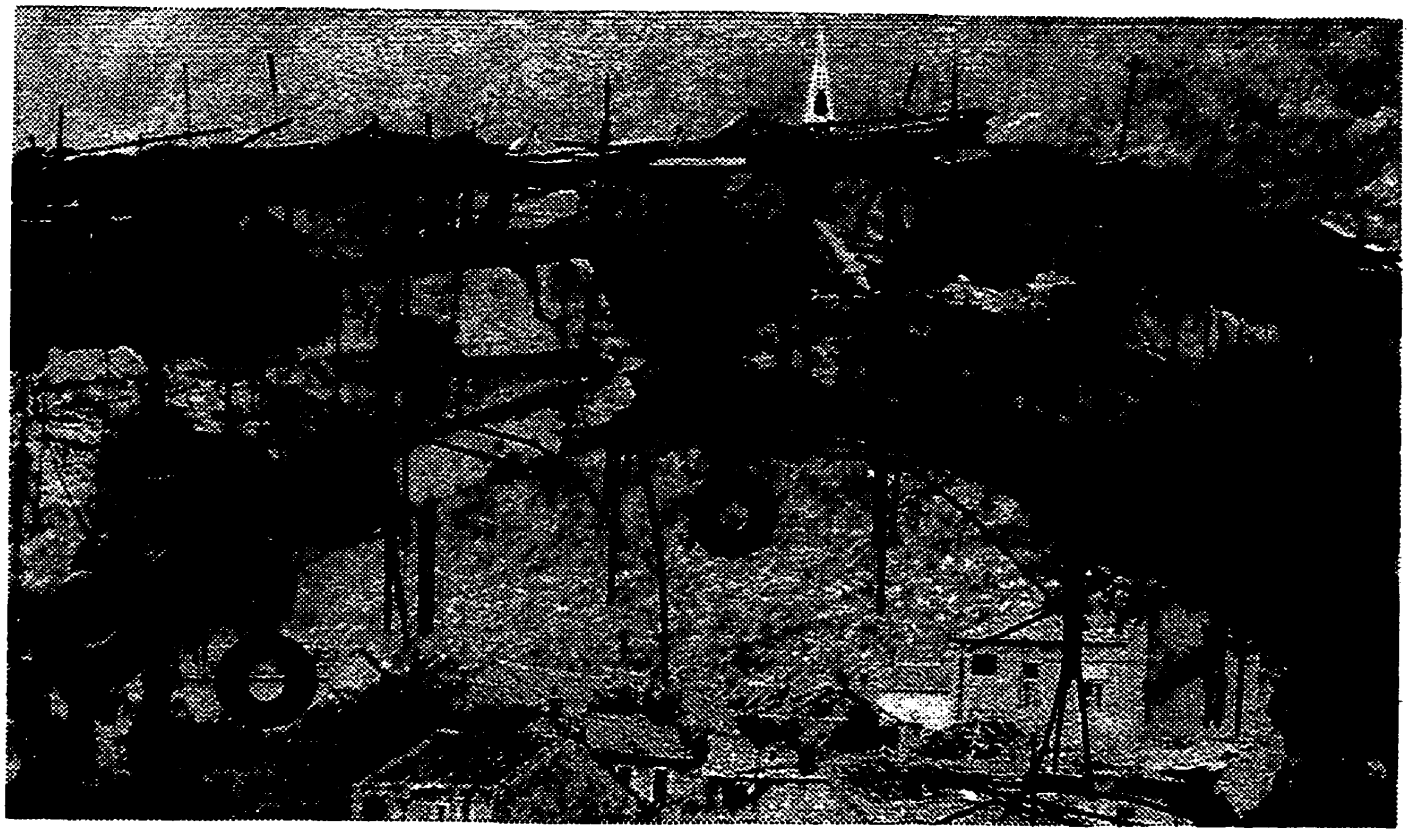

Figure 10. Attempts to protect the Old Bridge of Mostar in November 1993.

Source:http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

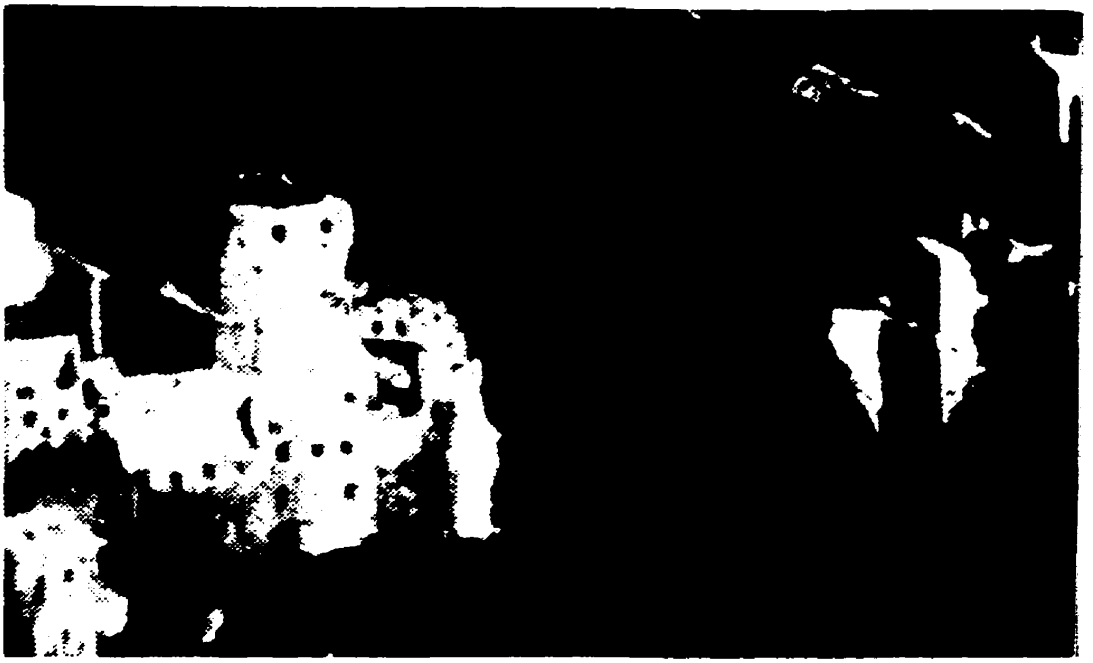

Figure 11. The gap over the Neretva River after the Old Bridge was destroyed on 9 November 1993. Source:http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

Dodds reports that the Bosnian Croat Militia called in engineering specialists to view the Bridge and to recommend which stones should be targeted to most quickly eliminate the footbridge (Dodds 1998:1). This ritualistic act of destruction demonstrated the purposeful elimination of a non-military target of great cultural importance. Reports recall the event in an eerie fashion. They tell of the Bridge, after being shelled by a tank at point-blank range, plunging into the green waters of the Neretva, and militiamen cheering and dancing on the shores, "firing their guns in the air, celebrating the destruction of a span that had come to symbolize the idea of a multicultural Bosnia" (Dodds 1998:1). Bosnian Croat forces sought to explain their attacks on the Bridge "by arguing that it was a legitimate military target used to spirit supplies from the Croat-held left bank to the right" (Williams 1993:B5).

There has always been 'intentionality' in warfare. It must be planned and executed with precision and forethought. Identicide is fuelled by xenophobia and the intention to erase cultural existence. Examples abound of this strategy of warfare, but the Bosnia conflict is a particularly clear illustration of how purposeful the perpetrators were in their attempts to annihilate cultural identity by striking non-military targets in the landscape. Excuses supplied by the warring factions detailing that libraries, museums, galleries, universities, and houses of worship just "got in the way" and were merely exigencies of war, are ridiculous.[2] Cultural property in B-H and the Bridge of Mostar were not caught in the cross-fire.

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[2] The Bosnia war against cultural property was in the international spotlight in 1991, after the Serbs bombed the World Heritage site of Dubrovnik in Croatia. This ancient Renaissance trading city was left in ruins and the nine baroque palaces were destroyed by fire. Testimonials abound. "Many of these building and monuments were not merely destroyed in the fighting, but were systematically and deliberately

Cultural leaders on both sides of the conflict were horrified at the tactics employed to destroy collective cultural heritage. Bosnian Culture Minister Nikola Kovac, "a Serb who has hung his hopes on preserving an ethnically mixed Bosnia," recognized the Serbian strategy of identicide at work in the systematic destruction of mosques.[3] "Often these mosques are centuries-old and repositories of great artistic treasures. By dynamiting then, Serbian forces [wanted] to erase their mute testimony that Bosnia is a place where muslims and Christians lived together in harmony" (Daniszewski 1993:A4).[4]

This Bridge was one of the most famous casualties of the Bosnian war and had been a target since the beginning of the conflict, between the warring factions of the Bosnia Croats in the western part of Mostar and the Muslims who occupied the eastern section of the city. "Stari Most was a symbol of the link that had once existed between cultures in the former Yugoslavia and its physical destruction was also the destruction of a powerful metaphor." (Ricasio 1995: 64) Although human suffering was intense during this time, the destruction of the Bridge of Mostar caused local and international grief.

When the Bridge was destroyed, the people who rallied around it were left with a hole in space and time. One author tries to picture what it must have been like:

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targeted. This is clearly a corollary to an ethnic cleansing campaign that negates the right of a people to exist because of their cultural heritage" (Daniszewski 1993:A4).

[3] Architect Borislav Curic coined the term "urbicide" in reflection of the destruction of cultural sites in Sarajevo. As well, a group of 300 architects in Sarajevo's Association of Architects began the documentation and reporting of destroyed cultural sites; a project called "warchitecture".

[4] Intentional destruction can also be seen in Sarajevo, where 75% of buildings from the Ottoman period and 67% of Austro-Hungarian buildings were damaged or destroyed (Harris 1994:11),[4] including the bombing of the National Library. The entire building was gutted, and only one-fifth of its 2.5 million books were salvageable (Daniszewski 1993:A4). This great loss of cultural property affects the identity of people by affecting everything, from the promise of future education to the remembering of archival history. The former Yugoslavia is now a wasteland devoid of identity.

> I try to image the sound of the Old Bridge falling down. A bridge like that doesn't just disappear; its collapse must have sounded like a swift, powerful earthquake, the kind that people in Mostar haven never heard before. Or maybe it sounded like an old tree splitting in two - a hollow crack followed by a long silence. Whatever the sound, the river swallowed it as a single morsel. A while later, it was as if the bridge had never existed (Drakulic 1993:D2).

The Bridge was a history-mark and provided continuity from past to present to future. It also filled space: its physicality referenced the two sides of the Neretva as important components of the collective identity of the Mostarians. When the Bridge fell into the river, a void was created which had never been there before. This sight had not been seen in five hundred years. When space is altered, or dis-articulated, it is as if the noun or verb has been omitted from a sentence - resulting in a non-sensical statement. An act of elision has occurred. This is highlighted by the disappearance of the Old Bridge into the Neretva. A common element in the community, experienced by a multitude of generations, woven into the fabric of existence, architecturally imprinted in space between the east and west banks of Mostar, and articulated by physical material, the elimination of the bridge from the 'conversation' of Mostar can be likened to a slur. The Neretva River did not hesitate on its course when the Bridge fell, and this may have disturbed those in Mostar, for how could the river not care as they cared? The existence of the Bridge was passed over and there was no proof that it had once spanned the River, with no promise that it would appear again. Perhaps the people of Mostar had to blink hard when they did not see the Old Bridge straddling the shores, perhaps they had to look twice for something they were not sure they had seen before. Had the Bridge ever been there at all? Where was its blood? Its tears? Why had the River continued on its path, not

contesting her death, or spitting her pieces onto the shore as proof of her passing? A place of identity had suddenly been broken.

A rift was also created in the psychic terrain of the community and Drakulic tries to imagine this void:

> Only the sheer logic of the place, a feeling that a bridge belongs there, over the river between two halves of a medieval town, tells us that something is missing (1993:D2).

When the Bridge went missing, memories were ignited in people's minds. Their memories of the meaning of the Bridge became more real in the remembering process; they recalled the charm and grace in its elegant span, and their grief was real. Never before had it not been with the people of Mostar, and in their remembering, the Bridge lived. The tears poured forth, even from those de-sensitized by previous atrocities (Drakulic 1993:D2), and in their dis-unity, became united in their "grief over the loss of a cultural treasure that symbolized what were once thought to be unbreakable bonds between Christian and Muslim, East and West" (Williams 1993:B5).[5] Cultural figures from both sides were enraged at the act of barbarism against the symbol of a multi-ethnic Bosnia. Their grief seemingly transcended the acts of barbarism against human victims throughout the war. Federico Mayor, the director general of the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, who had been vying for the inclusion of the Bridge on the "World Heritage List in Danger" at the time, stated, "the perpetrators of this disgraceful act are trying to eradicate the history of a country and its people" (Williams 1993:B5).

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[5] It is interesting to note that the Bridge of Mostar was destroyed because it represented a mult-iethnic Bosnia State, and almost every other example of identicide in Bosnia was to break up homogeneous communities by targeting their houses of worship. More than 1,200 mosques, 300 Catholic churches, 100

Bosnian media coverage detailed the destruction of the bridge, and even the state-run TV Serbia, which refused to cover the dozens of incidents in which Bosnia Serb forces dynamited centuries-old mosques, provided complete coverage (Williams 1993:B5). All sides abhored the thought of the historical Bridge being blown out of existence. Even the Zagreb government, which had funded and supplied the Bosnian Croats, "expressed revulsion at the attack on Stari Most" (Williams 1993:B5). "It is a tragic loss for everyone, not just the Muslims but for the Croats who live there as well", said Dino Milinovic, an officer with the cultural preservation office of Croatia's Education Ministry.

A story loses its oral power if it is not actively repeated. Tales and exploits from the distant past inspire feelings of bravery, honour and pride in the telling and also in the listening. As time passes, details are lost and tales become generalized. The passing of time tends to leave the bad behind, and brings forward the good. The perpetrators may believe that with the destruction of the Bridge, history could be erased. However, the Mostarians observing the attack believed that the ancient stories of oppression of the Ottomans and Habsburgs had long ago lost their importance in motivating any local struggles. The history had actually become romanticized in the telling, and was accepted by Christians and Muslims alike as shared heritage. The ancestors of the oppressed did not actively blame the ancestors of the oppressors for their place in life. The folklore was remembered, but bitterness and regret held no power in the history of Mostar. A local resident recalls his reaction to the power of history in modern Mostar. "Because that was

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Orthodox churches, and a number of synagogues were destroyed during the Bosnia conflict (Dodds 1998:50). All buildings were destroyed in the old section of Mostar.

four centuries ago, because the Ottomans are no longer part of our life with Stari Most. They are in history, like an old story. Since them, there have been the Austro-Hungarians, and almost half a century of Communism. Muslims, Christians, it didn't matter to us before this war. All that time we have been here, with the Bridge, the symbol of our city, of all of us together" (Dodds 1998:50).

The elimination of the Bridge became an important factor in the ethnic separatism fomenting the war. Dodds states that of the 130,000 pre-war inhabitants of Mostar - consisting of 34% Muslim, 33% Croat, and 19% Serb - only 40,000 are living in the post-war city (Dodds 1998:50). As well, the demographics have further altered to include at least 30,000 refugees from outlying areas, but essentially, the ethnic divisions have remained the same (Dodds 1998:50). The geographical split between east and west, before never considered 'separate', each now have their own currency; license plates, and educational system.

A shaky rope bridge was erected by UN forces and serves as a temporary crossing (Ricasio 1994:64), as if symbolic of the cultures shaky sense of identity. As Dodds points out, "an ethnically separate environment is becoming further entrenched with each passing moment" (1998:50). An implied unity amongst those grieving for the loss of places of identity, despite their ethnic, political, or ideological affiliations, was observed; and this shared emotion will be the only force empowering the rebuilding of the Bridge.

Media coverage of the event ran on non-local television stations, newspapers, radio, and other printed media sources as well. International journalists adopted the Bridge as the symbol of the entire Bosnian conflict, using photos and descriptions to personify the Bridge as a casualty of the vagaries of war. The Bridge became even more

charged than it was before its end, intensified by local grief, as well as international shock. The Bridge became a symbol of the war, and in its destruction, strengthened the identity of those believing in her purpose - the continuation of a multi-ethnic Bosnia. This community of grieving people extended beyond the borders of B-H to the rest of the world. The news of the destruction spread world wide and transcended international ethnic, political, and ideological borders. The response was remarkable.

There are some experts who believe that the emotional response to the destruction of an inanimate object is a disturbing sign of indifference to human suffering (Williams 1993:B5). "The Mostar bombing has sparked another round of debate over whether the world is more interested in preserving stones or people" (Diplomat in Williams 1993:B5). In another account of the destruction of the Bridge, author Slavenka Drakulic recollects a newspaper publication which showed a graphic photo of a woman, a victim of violence, with her throat slit from ear to ear. Drakulic remembers the inaudible societal response to the photo in comparison to the response to the destruction of the Bridge. The author questions herself, "Why do I feel more pain looking at the image of the destroyed Bridge than the image of the woman?" (Drakulic 1993) Perhaps the answer is that people expect to die, but architecture is forever. Drakulic says it best, "we count on our lives ending. The destruction of a monument to civilization is something else" (1993).

Bridge Reconstruction

The Bosnian war ended with a cease fire imposed by the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995. Internal and external communities were created immediately after the destruction to facilitate the huge reconstruction effort. Internal public participation

provided much of the expertise, skills, and sheer energy. Local professionals met to discuss the reconstruction of their city by using the Bridge as a symbol of hope. Non-local professionals, experts, donors, and organziations banded together to offer support to the vision. All groups were intent on the realization of the reconstruction of the Bridge of Mostar. A new layer of meaning was added to the cultural identity represented by the Bridge, especially for those who believed in its symbolic power. Paic believed that "without this bridge, Mostar no longer exists" (Pasic in Dodds 1998:49). It seemed as if the participation of post-war Mostarians, feeling a sense of loss and searching for their identity, were able to draw upon their internal strengths by identifying hard and soft reconstruction links.

The first steps were to agree upon necessary action. When the Bridge was destroyed, a chapter in the collective memory of the people was erased. Collective identity encompasses and incorporates individual identity, and when identity is challenged in some way, there is a natural reaction to protect the elements, which constitute it. Perhaps this collective need to re-establish national identity superseded the individual need and this is why Mostar's reconstruction efforts have been deliberate an attempt at reconstructing collective identity. "The destruction of the material expression of a culture's heritage annihilates the carriers of cultural, and for the most part, national identity" (Maroevic 1995: 28). Further, the conflict in the former Yugoslavia was motivated by something wholly different - identicide, as shown in the following excerpt regarding the domination of culture:

> Those who started this war of conquest were determined to achieve ethnic purity in the conquered territories. For the invaders, it was not enough to 'cleanse' the local populations, they also wanted to remove all traces of

> the population's presence. Those who seized land in Croatia sought to impose onto it their own culture, symbols and values - place-names as well as buildings - as evidence of their domination (Maroevic 1995: 27).

Undeniably, the war in the former Yugoslavia was a "cultural war because it involved a deliberate and systematic destruction of the nation's heritage, and it was an ideological war, in which cultural monuments were deliberately targeted because of their particular national and symbolic value" (Maroevic 1995: 27). *Identity-driven hyper-involvement* with the landscape may incite further conflict.[6]

The story of reconstruction begins internally, with one man. After leaving Mostar when a bomb exploded in his apartment courtyard where his children had been playing minutes before (Dodds 1998:51), Amir Pasic travelled widely to expound the atrocities of the Bosnian war and to garner support for the revival of Mostar. Pasic's sense of identity was deeply imbedded in Mostar. Somewhat of a visionary, this architect became a visiting scholar at Harvard University through the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, and continued his search for support. While he was at Harvard, the Bridge of Mostar was destroyed.

While some were paralyzed by this turn of events, Pasic chose to act. He sent invitations to more than 500 architects, city planners, and humanitarian organizations for an inauguration of a reconstructed Mostar to be held on September 15, 2004, at 5:00 P.M. (Dodds 1998:51). He is quoted as saying, "I wanted people to know that it would really happen" (Dodds 1998:51). Officially called Mostar 2004, his project's prime directive is to steer the masterplan for the reconstruction of the city of Mostar using the

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[6] I refer to hyper-involvement with the physical environment as intense over-involvement. This occurs in places, which invoke passions - those steeped in historic meaning and cultural importance. Verging on

Bridge to symbolize the heart of the city. Pasic envisioned the project as a think-tank of experts, meeting once every year for ten years (1994 to 2004), to plan, discuss, and put into action the means for reconstruction. The group has held five meetings to date, each taking place in Istanbul, Turkey.[7] Funding, logistics, preservation, protection, conservation, politics, ideology, and ethnic relations are deliberated upon. The main goal, according to Pasic, is to recreate Mostar, "not as a Disneyland for tourists, [but a place that] integrates economy with physical beauty, (...) a place that still represents all citizens" (Dodds 1998:53).

This process highlights Anderson's and Woodrow's (1989) work on empowerment and shared community purpose. By putting into reality the future reconstruction date, he made everyone involved in the collective community of the Bridge aware that they could share in the vision and be agents of their own lives and the future of post-war Mostar. Pasic's 'fighting spirit' came alive and the destruction of the Bridge was the catalyst for his, and others, extraordinary efforts. Both hard and soft reconstruction objectives were met with the vision of the recreation of Mostar.

After Pasic's first step towards the realization of a common dream, some international players sought to lend support. On 10 March 1994, the Director-General of UNESCO launched an appeal for the Bridge's reconstruction. Next, a project aimed at safeguarding the old town of Mostar was prepared with the financial backing of Italy. This was presented to the local authorities to be included in the city's new urban regulations (http://www.unesco.org/drg/drgtext/ops/stari_most.htm). From the beginning,

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reverence, hyper-involvement shows itself as passion, fervour, and attachment. When places invoke such emotions, there is a particularly strong instinct to protect such places.

grants were awarded from the Turkish government, and later from other agencies. UNESCO has developed a large-scale project with the World Bank to reconstruct the Mostar Bridge based on the safeguarding plan. According to UNESCO, the project is the first stage of a plan aimed at restoring the cultural heritage of the old town and for restoring peace to the area; in fact, the restoration of the Bridge will be used to forward the local reconciliation plan envisioned internally and externally (http://www.unesco.org/drg/drgtext/ops/stari_ most.htm). UNESCO believes that "cultural heritage plays a crucial role and should not be underestimated in the reconciliation process, because it federates communities and gives hope" (http://www.unesco.org/drg/drgtext/ops/bosnia.htm).

Dayton Peace Accords

Much of the initial planning work done on the Bridge was completed before the war ended. Finally, in 1995, the war ended with an internationally-imposed cease-fire. A long-term bottom-up approach to reconciliation was the mandate of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (GFAP), also referred to as the Dayton Peace Accords. GFAP had two objectives: stop the war and stablilize the country. The international intervention and aftermath of the Bosnia conflict is presented to further understand the process involved in protecting cultural property.

GFAP was initialed by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in Dayton, Ohio on 21 November, 1995. Representatives of the Contact Group nations, comprising of the

[7] The Mostar 2004 Workshop Reports/ Research for Islamic History, Art, and Culture. Istanbul, Turkey, can be obtained through the ICCROM Library in Rome, Italy (et@iccrom.org).

United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, as well as the European Union Special Negotiator witnessed the agreement. The agreement was eventually signed in Paris on 14 December, 1995.

In general terms, Dayton provided a comprehensive framework within which to build peace in B-H and the signatories, above all, were required to recognize each others' sovereign equality and to settle future disputes by peaceful means. A major commitment of the parties involved was:

> to improve compliance with provisions that affect the daily life of persons. Basic human rights, in particular freedom of movement, freedom of association, and the right of resettlement must be honoured fully. Encouragement of tolerance, respect for rights of others, respect for private property, and the suppression of violence against persons are major tasks (http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/peace/docs/daytoncompl.html 1996:1).

Dayton included ten annexes beyond the general framework for peace. The ten sections and their objectives are shown in Figure 12.

An important factor in the recovery of B-H to its multi-ethnic pre-war demographics is the slow return of displaced persons across political and ethnic borders caused by the ethnic cleansing. Moreover, because ethnically pure areas and zones were the goal of the warring factions, the demographics of post-war B-H have become relatively homogenous. This is particularly difficult in areas such as Mostar, once multi-ethnic, which is now relatively homogenous and pre-war cultural identities are split not shared.

Due to Dayton, an internationally-enforced end came to the hostilities and NATO peacekeeping forces, first the Implementation Force (IFOR) then the Stabilization Force

(SFOR) were employed in the former Yugoslavia, with a stabilization mandate until June 1998. One of the main goals of Dayton was to return refugees and displaced persons to their pre-war homes. According to NDHQ, this has proven to be unsuccessful for a few reasons. First, the displaced persons no longer have homes in their pre-war communities, and often, their old homes are occupied by other ethnic groups. Second, displaced persons no longer feel as if they belong to their pre-war communities because all the symbols of their sense of 'belonging' have been erased.

War changes community objectives and priorities, and international policy can foster this change. The signatories implemented an entire section into Dayton to enhance the protection offered to cultural sites. This is the culmination of war-time protection of places of identity, and the global movement to protect cultural property. **Annex 8 Commission to Preserve National Monuments** reflects the importance of the preservation and protection of elements of cultural importance in the minds of those who brokered this peace deal and also their importance in the reconciliation of post-war communities.

Annex 8 is composed of five members, three of which are appointed by the Director-General of UNESCO. This close tie with UNESCO reflects the international community's respect offered to the new Commission. Any party or any concerned person in B-H may submit a petition for the designation of property as a National Monument. Each petition must include all the relevant information concerning the property, including its specific location, the current owner, current condition of property, the cost and source of funds for any necessary repairs, any known proposed use, and the basis for designation as a National Monument.

Figure 12. (Source: http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/peace/docs/daytonsum.html)

ANNEX	TITLE	DESCRIPTION
Annex 1-A	Military Aspects	Cease-fire, withdrawal of foreign combatants, withdrawal of heavy weapons, creation of IFOR, sharing of intelligence, release and transfer of prisoners
Annex 1-B	Regional Stabilization	Negotiations, imports of heavy weaponry, imposed limits on military holdings
Annex 2	Inter-entity Boundary	Line between FRY and Bosnia Serb Republic, reunification of Sarajevo, solution of other boundary disputes
Annex 3	Elections	Democratic elections, right to vote of refugees and displaced persons, eligibility issues
Annex 4	Constitution	Adoption of new constitution, sovereignty, central bank, government, military co-ordination
Annex 5	Arbitration	Resolution of disputes
Annex 6	Human Rights	International law, creation of Commission, Ombudsman, monitoring of ongoing situation
Annex 7	Refugees and Displaced Persons	Right to return home, creation of Commission, freedom of movement
Annex 8	Commission to Preserve National Monuments	Creation of Commission, designation, protection
Annex 9	Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations	Transportation, joint public facilities, utilities, postal services
Annex 10	Civilian Implementation	Designation of a High Representative, creation of Joint Civilian Commission
Annex 11	UN International Police Task Force	Creation of IPTF, Commissioner, reporting of human rights violations

Again, Dayton makes a significant link between cultural property and war-time protection, which implies the need because of the evolved war praxis of identicide. "When the Commission issues a decision designating property as a National Monument, the Entity in whose territory the property is situated shall make every effort to take appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative, and financial measures necessary for the protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the property, as well as refraining from taking any deliberate measures that might damage the property" (http://www1.edu/humanrts/peace.docs/daytonannex8.html 1996:3).

Similar to the definition set out in the Hague Convention, a national monument is eligible according to Annex 8, if it is "movable or immovable property of great importance to a group of people with common cultural, historic, religious or ethnic heritage, such as monuments of architecture, art or history; archaeology sites; groups of buildings; as well as cemeteries" (http://www1.edu/humanrts/peace. docs/daytonannex8. html 1996:3). The Republic of B-H, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Republika Srpska undersigned this framework for the preservation of national monuments.

As well as local visionaries and non-local organizations, Dayton has proven to be helpful in fostering respect for cultural heritage, thereby lending peripheral support to the reclaiming of cultural heritage lost in the war. Annex 8 has established important cultural sites intended for protection. This Commission is raising awareness of the importance to conserve and protect cultural heritage, in order to preserve the past.

Globalization of the Local

After Dayton, it has taken nearly four years to mobilize efforts to begin the costly reconstruction project of the Bridge of Mostar, which has been estimated at US$5 million (Dodds 1998:53). The Turkish government donated US$1 million to the project, which local Muslim officials were to use for the recreation of the ancient Ottoman architectural treasure.[8] A NATO-led engineering team lifted the first five tons of Mostar's symbolic Old Bridge from the Neretva River in August 1997. Hungarian military divers, with assistance from American advisors, located all the stones and removed them from the river with a special hoist-and-storage platform built onto the more accessible east shore. (Figure 13).

The first stone was raised in September 1997 and a subsequent 456 ivory-coloured limestone blocks were located on the river bottom. Experts of the Hungarian Bridge Building Company (Hidepito Rt.) are studying the blocks to determine how they can be used for the reconstruction of the bridge (http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm). Approximately 60% of the blocks can be re-used in the new bridge, but the challenge lies in how to "assemble a pile of 16th century-old rocks into a bridge again. Experts say that the usable stone will guarantee the bridge's continuity, but workers will need more than old stones; they will need old workmanship as well" (http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/defend.htm). The problem arises then of technology, sufficient funds, and the replication of the original Bridge.

[8] Tempers flared at this action as well. Local Croats and Serbs did not want the project to be funded by the rich Muslims, which would perhaps, solidify Muslim power in Mostar. There was an urgent need for non-partisan funding and a master plan of reconstruction, which would reflect this neutrality.

When the first block was lifted, a multi-ethnic ceremony was held to commemorate the reconstruction of the Bridge of Mostar. According to reports, the Croat-led extremists and hard-liners boycotted the ceremony on 29 September 1997, "which was supposed to have been a step toward reconciliation of the ethnically divided Balkans" (http:222.tyenet.com/kozlich/hot.htm 1997). (Figure 14). Clearly, the Bridge, in its absence, has come to mean something different. Each ethnic group has an understanding of the symbolism of the reconstructed Bridge. The Bosnian Croats, in the extreme, see the recreation of their war target as a powerful and perhaps frightening symbol of the rebirth of multi-ethnicity and a resurgence of Muslim domination in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the Bridge took on this meaning, it would mean the end of local acceptance of ethnic separatism on the poorer Croat side. The Bosnia Serbs, although the original perpetrators of the attack on the Bridge, support the rebuilding, not by assisting a link between east and west, but because it would increase their public popularity in comparison to the Bosnia Croats. Their support would actually assist in ethnic separatism. The Muslims of Mostar are motivated by different reasons. They believe that the "Bridge's destruction was an attack on their history and an effort to eradicate traces of their existence" and the rebuilding of such would emphasize a shared history and symbolize the multicultural life that existed in pre-war Bosnia. (http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich.hot.htm 1997). An integrated Bosnia is to what extremists are opposed.

Figure 13. The platform built by NATO to help in the recovery of bridge stones from the bottom of the Neretva River. The temporary rope bridge can be seen above the platform. Source:http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

The ambassadors of some European countries and Alija Izetbegovic, the Muslim member of Bosnia's joint presidency[9] attended the ceremony held on the shore of the Neretva. The first-stone ceremony allowed all three groups to express their beliefs of the reconstruction project. Izetbegovic said, "This is not only a holiday for Mostar and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also for all civilized people. This is a bridge between two worlds - the East and the West" (http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich.hot.htm 1997). Tensions arose when one international official threatened to punish the boycotting Bosnia Croats if they did not put to rest their vision of a divided city (http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich.hot.htm 1997). Attendance was not mandatory and there will be no punishment laid upon the absent. However, the boycotting was felt by all those in attendance. Would it be possible for the reconstructed Bridge to be targeted again by those who are threatened by her existence?

According to some, a multi-ethnic Mostar will need more help than the rebuilding of the Bridge. Moreover, a large effort must go into the project before it can be completed and there is a possibility of placing too much emphasis on a single community feature. Some ask, "will the rebuilding of the Bridge be an empty gesture?" (Dodds 1998:53). There are those who condemn the rebuilding of the Bridge as a waste of precious funds. According to Reiff, quoted by Dodds, "a rebuilt Bridge at Mostar would only be a checkpoint between Croatian- and Bosnia-controlled parts of the city. It would be a bridge to nowhere." (Dodds 1998:53) This emptiness is echoed in comments by some locals. "The bridge should be rebuilt, yes, and I would like to think that things

[9] The government and its constitution were formulated in Dayton. The presidency is a tripartite, represented by one Bosnia Croat president, one Bosnia Serb president, and one Bosnia Muslim president - each equally representing the objectives of the new Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Figure 14. The retrieval of the first stones of the Old Bridge was surrounded in ceremony, celebrated by Mostarians and the international community supporting the reconstruction project (1997). Source:http:www.tyenet.com/kozlich/restore.htm

would be as they were before the war. But you know, there is a limit to what that will repair." (Dodds 1998:53) These sentiments are shared by some, but the majority of those involved in the war, and who lived in pre-war Mostar, are of the mindset that a reconstructed Bridge will reconstruct identity. Pasic says it passionately: "if we are moved by destruction, how can we not be affected by reconstruction? (Pasic in Dodds 1998:53).

The reconstruction schedule is another issue which is involving the residents of Mostar. Those who support the Bridge project are not sure when the best time would be for its unveiling. In a 1994 poll of the eastern residents of Mostar, there was an indication that the Bridge should be the final element in the reconstruction of the city. Mostly Muslim, those polled felt that the Bridge should come to symbolize a resurrection of the will to move forward but to also commemorate the past - of conquest, conflict, and death. One citizen said, "for shame, for mourning," that is why it should be last (Dodds 1998:53), but the rebuilding of a destroyed monument is not simple. And whether first or last in the reconstruction phase, it is dependent upon technology and funding. but it is not simple to reconstruct a city, or its symbols, after a war (Herscher 1998).

Professionals, intellectuals, historic organziations, and the wealthy fled the city, and the population dropped drastically. Those that experienced the bridge as children, and who had swam in her shadow, may have been killed or displaced during the war. Perhaps those involved in its reconstruction should "consider the relationship between the Bridge and its new public" (Herscher 1998).[10] There may not be many remaining

[10] Herscher continues, "Mostar is a good example of a Bosnian city that was transformed architecturally and socially by war. Before the war, Muslims and Croats were almost equal in population in Mostar. During the 1993-94 Croat-Muslim war, however, Mostar was split; East Mostar, the site of the Old City on

who know of its significance. However, the Old Bridge was something different. It was famous before the war, and its fame superseded national and international borders before, during, and after the conflict.

UNESCO adopted a new strategy in 1995 to facilitate the reconciliation process in Bosnia that would contribute to conflict prevention and post-conflict peace-building. It came on the eve of the end of war in Bosnia and sought to solve, through policy initiatives, the great problem of consensus peace-building in post-war communities. Bosnia is a unique case. According to the UNESCO reconciliation document, in order for UNESCO to support any peace-nurturing activities in Bosnia, there must be "genuine national consensus" within the country (http:www.unesco.org/webworld/com_media/bastxt/en/conflict.htm 1995). It goes on to argue, "that implies a considerable effort to sensitize the main actors in civil society, (...) it does not just mean rebuilding the institutions destroyed during the conflict; it means doing so in such a way that the foundations of a democratic, pluralist, and participatory society are laid at the same time" (http:www.unesco.org/webworld/com_media/bastxt/en/conflict.htm 1995). The former Yugoslavia was not a developing country before the war. Pre-war Bosnia had a good record of human rights, a strong educational system, and a certain level of democratic governance. It had a strong international economic presence in importing and

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the Neretva River, became Muslim territory; while West Mostar, largely developed after World War II, became Croatian. The population of both parts of the city changed radically as people were expelled from one side to the other, fled the city, or took refuge in Mostar from outlying towns and villages. Thus, the changes in Mostar produced no only ethnically homogenous populations, but also ones drawn from scattered geographical areas. The common element of these populations is no longer a shared relationship to a particular place. It is instead a relationship to a particular ethnic group. For this reason, the architectural heritage of Mostar no longer represents the city's entire population but rather that of a single ethnic group. The East's isolation from the West makes the rebuilding of the city, especially the old bridge, difficult." (Hersher 1998) Herscher's solution, which I am in full agreeance with, is for all involved parties to work together to restore the bridge - only then will ground be shared again in the face of separation.

exporting; and had even hosted the Olympics in Sarajevo not long before the war broke out. The former Yugoslavia was a developed country - in no need of the initiatives set out by the UNESCO mandate on post-war development issues. Post-war reconstruction efforts in Bosnia must be different than the process of reconstructing Haiti or Rwanda, for example, where peace-nurturing is in full swing and civil engineering is being practised.[11]

The support for reconstruction strengthens as time passes. New groups have formed, individuals are lending expertise, and the international media have kept a strong focus on post-war Bosnia. The reconstruction efforts are being completed, and the Bridge of Mostar will see a new dawn. On 19 November 1998, the International Committee of Experts appointed by UNESCO to set scientific standards for the reconstruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar held its inaugural session in Mostar. It consists of ten experts, national and international representatives, committed to the historical and cultural integrity of reconstruction and restoration activities (http://www.unesco.org/drg/mostar/news.htm 1998). According to UNESCOPRESS, the Mayor of Mostar, Ivan Prskalo, and the Vice Mayor, Safet Orucevic were in attendance and delivered a powerful message to the national and international community regarding the symbolic vision of rebuilding the Bridge. The Mayor was quoted, "This will not be

[11] At this point, I must mention that external actors treat architecturally-based and non-architecturally based societies differently. It is my observance that militaries do so especially. A country such as Rwanda, which is relatively non-architecturally based, partially due to climate, is not treated the same way as an architecturally-based society, such as the former Yugoslavia. Westerners are biased towards the importance of monuments to civilization - architectural feats - which do not appear in countries like Rwanda. In fact, external actors believe that non-architecturally based societies do not have a sense of place, because they do not articulate space with defined architectural elements. Non-architectural societies, viewed as primitive because they do not express place in a similar spatial framework, do create places, and the destruction of these places is equally important as the destruction of place in architecturally-based

Ivan's bridge, or Safet's bridge, it will be the bridge of all the citizens of Mostar" (http://www.unesco.org/drg/mostar/news.htm 1998). "The inauguration ceremony ended with a visit to the site of the Old Bridge and as a symbolic gesture of co-operation, Mayor Prskalo and Vice-Mayor Orucevic met and shook hands half-way across the temporary footbridge" (http://www.unesco.org/drg/mostar/news.htm 1998). UNESCO's vision also included a cultural event on the reconstruction of the Stari Most at the Headquarters in Paris. Continual support extended into the future serves to create reality around the project; in fact, expressing that the event will happen.

UNESCO has been particularly helpful in facilitating an educational experience amidst the ruinous city of Mostar. The Preservation Plan of the historical centre of Mostar, initiated by UNESCO in a comprehensive effort with the WB, and financed by Italian authorities, is one of the largest projects underway. There is a monthly newsletter containing progress reports for the interest of the numerous contributors to the project, as well as for all those interested in the cultural heritage of B-H.[12] The Preservation Plan created a general framework for safeguarding Mostar's historical centre (especially from increased vandalism and acts of ethnic hatred), to facilitate the implementation of specific restoration projects of monuments, design a new approach to urban planning in post-war Mostar. To include the training of local young architects and urban planners. To date, this project has met its preliminary objectives and created significant professional bonds with young architects, engineers, and planners from all over the world.

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societies. Although some traditional societies do not place importance on architecture, such as Japan, we cannot dismiss identity-driven reconstruction in non-architecturally-based societies.

The Mostar 2004 initiative is similar to the Stari Mostar Foundation program, inaugurated on 2 July 1998 - five years after the destruction of the old bridge. It engages to unite 'friends' of Mostar from all over the world, and serves to re-articulate the Bridge by forging a new layer of meaning by its reconstruction. The Foundation hopes to create a 'bridge' of peace, which will represent trust between citizens, to span not only the river, but the people of B-H. The first objective of the group is to work with other involved parties to secure funding to assist in the project. It hopes to send a clarion call for help in the reconciliation efforts, and to create a unique bond between the people of Mostar, B-H, and citizens of other countries throughout the world. "The participation of people and countries in the restoration of the Old Bridge will represent a symbol of support of our country, not only as a symbol of B-H, but as the renewal of trust and reconciliation among the people of our country." (http://www.cob.net.ba/Stari_Mostar/old_mostar.html 1997) Their mission is clear. This bridge-building group seeks to rebuild the physical Bridge, but also to bridge different cultures, in B-H and throughout the world; in fact, forging a collective future. The Foundation of Stari Mostar realizes the value of power this symbol in affecting community identity.

Amir Pasic has acted as architect advisor to the UNESCO group, as well as to the Stari Mostar Foundation. The intentions to reconstruct identity may be good, but tensions may flare when special agendas of involved parties are behind the reconstruction of specific symbols. Experts predicted that with the destruction of the Bridge, there would be groups vying for its reconstruction for political, ethnic, and

[12] The newsletter also contains general information on Mostar cultural heritage - it can be ordered on-line from a.dumitrescu@unesco.org

ideological reasons. This has occurred in Mostar. The Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Serbs were interested in redeeming their war actions by funding the Bridge to mitigate against international media hostility, and perhaps garner inter-Bosnia political support. For, as already stated, the Bridge is more than a bridge. It has the ability to become the vehicle towards redemption and acceptance in a world of pointing fingers. As well, whichever ethnic group supplies funding, they also supply cultural identity to the patina of identities layered onto the Bridge, and perhaps, claim the 'new' bridge as their own.

If the Bridge was funded solely by Bosnia Serbs, the link between the Muslim side and Croatian side would be a Serb riparian edge; if funded by the Muslims, it would be sited as an Ottoman bridge once again; and if funded by the Croats, it would become a wall between the Muslim and Croat banks. "The Croatian authorities are reported to have engaged their own architects and engineers to work on the project and it seems likely that a monument fought over in war will see conflict of interest in peacetime" (Harris 1994:11) Pasic presented the Foundation with a solution for this problem. His financing plan proposed that no single group will fund the reconstruction of the bridge. Dodds quotes Pasic,

> Instead, work will be financed by multiple donors who in order to participate must also contribute to the cost of reconstructing a destroyed or damaged structure in the old town. "The cutting and placing of the keystones of the bridge itself, will be funded by the people of Mostar. We will do this because it is our city, our bridge (Dodds 1998:53).

The completion of the project will be finalized within the next five years with the continuation of public participation, dedicated experts like Pasic, and the internal need to reclaim identity.

Chapter Seven

CONCLUSION

This thesis has demonstrated three themes: 1) the importance of place, identity, and identicide, 2) the protection policies designed to prevent or mitigate the exigencies of war, and 3) post-war reconstruction methods. The case study illustrates all three themes, and presents three outcomes of this thesis.

First, it has been shown that cultural property is significant to identity and the destruction of which secures a blow against community spirit. In times of war, the act of destroying cultural property - identicide - creates a sense of discontinuity and disassociation, leading to a weakening of collective identity. This warfare tactic is outdated, yet it continues. Measures have been created to mitigate the effects of destroying cultural property in times of war.

The use of identicide as a strategy of warfare is a form of cultural genocide. The destruction of specific elements of culture are not "accidental occurrences of hostilities. It has been one of the main objectives of the war to destroy Bosnia identity. It has been argued that this can be done in a number of ways: "you take peoples' lives; you can humiliate them, rape them, expel them from their homes; and you can destroy the physical and historical identity of a place" (Dodds 1998:48). With the loss of the physical manifestations of collective life, so too does cultural identity disappear. Ripples in daily continuity cause disorientation, and the systematic removal of familiarity breeds chaos. The survival of architecture and urban life are important to the survival of people,

and the strategy of identicide targets the elements which bond people to their identity and collective memory.

Second, wartime protection policies of cultural property have not been successful since their international implementation in 1899. Signatories of legally binding conventions have shown themselves to be belligerents and have never been prosecuted, yet, destruction of cultural heritage is deemed as a war crime. Hence, the use of identicide continues because there are no weighty punishments laid upon belligerents.

Important architecture, history, and archives are most often the elements which have been destroyed, lost, or stolen in the event of war, and it is exactly these elements which once represented the beliefs, ideals, and ideologies of the communities from which they came. In the wake of war, communities affected by the destruction of their cultural property must recall collective memory to reclaim lost identity. The elements representing cultural identity are difficult to replace or rebuild - some are beyond value - yet protection policies are unable to perform what they were designed to do.

Third, haste, poor planning, and territoriality are common features in post-conflict decision-making, which leads to poorly orchestrated projects. There is little thought given to the reconstruction of community identity through hard and soft projects; projects which foster orientation and association through establishing continuity. Linking hard and soft reconstruction efforts does not require increased foreign aid, increased stabilizing military forces, or increased efforts by UNESCO. It does mean an inquiry into the current methodology of reconstruction and communication between the groups involved. Priorities set by economy-driven donor institutions, like the International Monetary Fund and the WB, fall short of addressing social issues inherent in war-torn

societies and cater to external interests, not to internal needs. Places of identity are usually the last things to be funded in any post-war reconciliation project.

This case study has served to illustrate the importance of places - and one public place - to a corresponding sense of cultural identity. When the Bridge of Mostar was built, it linked one shore to the other and served as a trade and a commerce passage for the Ottoman Empire. The Bridge wound its way through the ages, being used, abused, loved, protected, and fortified. It was owned by no one and was used by the public and officials equally. It had no military or economic importance, however the Bridge became a symbol of unity of the people of Mostar. Its destruction left the people of Mostar, and many in the international community, with a feeling of loss, for they did not protect the Bridge well enough. International policy could not protect it and this had effects, both internally and externally. Groups were formed, meetings struck, experts advised, and soon the post-war city was moving forward again. Despite opposition, insecurities, and internal tensions the leaders supported the vision of rebuilding the Baroque architecture of the Bridge of Stari Most.

The rebuilding of the Bridge is intended as the first step in reconciliation of post-war Mostar. This is unique in general reconstruction terms, because the Bridge is the most expensive and lengthy area of reconstruction in Mostar. Yet, the experts hope that when the people see the reconstruction project under way, their trust will be restored in the government and in their neighbours, and the funding and extra time will be worth the effort.

The Bridge was a powerful symbol before the war and people grieved at its destruction, so they must be affected by the reconstruction of this great masterpiece. In

fact, this is what is happening now. With the raising of the first set of stones from the river bottom, the hopes of the people of Mostar have been raised as well. More people are trusting the efforts, because they are witnessing the project.

From the case study, a new methodology arises that considers the people affected by political decision-makers and the physical manifestations of the new environment being built around these people. Questions are raised concerning who the current decision-makers and designers are, and to what ends specific elements of community are being reconstructed, and for whom. This need for a coherent focus on transitions from conflict to relative peace is necessary because most intervention serves varied interests, different policies are employed, and there is limited agreement on priorities (Pugh 1998:3).

As well, this case study shows that when the "profane war tool of identicide" is used against civilian populations, the reconstruction of significant places becomes a salient factor in the reconciliation process. The integration of hard and soft reconstruction practices now emerges as a new methodology in post-war reconstruction. This methodology is significant to the Canadian Forces peacekeeping initiatives due to the current atmosphere of budget cuts and downsizing. A unique niche now appears for Canada's soft power initiatives through this simple and cost effective approach to post-war reconstruction. In this way, this thesis contributes to the efforts of war studies by providing a rationale for a soft power approach to post-war reconstruction.

In the case of Mostar, warring factions were spurred on by flared ethnic tensions. If the cause of the conflict was ethnic identity, how then is the solution to be the reconstruction of destroyed identity? The entire conflict was embroiled with issues of

ethnic identity, but a distinction must be made between the cause of the conflict and the solution for long-term reconciliation. Identity is socially constructed and those that chose the elements of the past to separate ethnicities and incite hatred did so with intent and purpose. Likewise, to reconstruct cultural identity, the same theory of social construction must apply. Those wishing to reconstruct cultural identity must chose elements - in this case, physical elements - from the past which represent a shared cultural heritage. In Mostar, the Bridge has been the physical element chosen to represent collectivity.

Lastly, the case study crystalizes Cox's assertion that one of the lessons learned in post-conflict Bosnia "is that following such a bitter conflict, physical reintegration of the population may not be the first step on the path to ethnic reconciliation" (1998:30). Creating a more normalized living environment with a stabilized sense of identity and daily continuity is the first step, and the town of Mostar is an example of a war-torn society with a vision to recreate pre-war identity. This vision to rebuild the Bridge has become a shared bond for citizens in their daily lives; creating a common purpose amongst those who consider themselves to be part of the area's historic landscape.

The Mostarians have the strong symbol of the Bridge as a reminder of pre-war life, and this has facilitated a quick recovery process by bridging internal and external communities. Amir Pasic enhanced this process by acting as an internal catalyst towards reconstruction by communicating to the world his purpose. The creation of organizations and the international participation in the rebuilding of the Old Bridge has never before been witnessed. Even the international efforts to repair the World Heritage City of Dubrovnik were not supported so extensively. What is the reason behind the Bridge's symbolic power? The answer lies in its symbolic representation of a monument to

civilization. Its revival becomes the revival of cultural heritage. This one symbol, a victim of war, has called forth global action and encapsulates the collective innocence, lost through war. It is a symbol, which speaks to our souls, and in turn, gathers a global heart beat in its resurrection.

The effects of the identicide on Mostar were spirited across the world. The international community shared in the destruction of cultural heritage in the war. One of the ways the incident was relayed world-wide was through the Internet. As well, the information highway has enabled individuals and groups to link their support faster than ever before. One web search will call up a myriad of interested parties and the web has created a fast link to information and people involved in the reconstruction of Mostar. Personal web sites appeared during and after the war, which acted as educational clarion calls to garner international support. Some of the web site creators are individuals who have ancestral roots in the former Yugoslavia, and some have merely been travellers in that part of the world, yet they found the destruction of the Bridge to be a travesty and needed to communicate this to those who would listen.

The photographic catalogue available on the web is extraordinary and serves to document the acts of identicide that occurred in the former Yugoslavia. Those who had access to technology during the war were able to send photographic evidence across the world; again to inform and educate. The power of the Bridge extended into this virtual world of communication and it came to symbolize unity amongst users.

A new layer of symbolism is laid upon the new Bridge through the intentions to reconstruct it. The addition of the new Bridge replacing the old bridge enhances cultural identity with thicker symbolism. Over the five years since its destruction, the Bridge has

continued to strengthen bonds, build community, contribute to reconciliation, and most of all, lend a sense of identity to those supporting, or opposing, its rebuilding. The Bridge has helped people to meet half-way in their attempt to 'bridge' ethnicities, it has bridged the geographical gap between two points and two peoples, and, like a ghost, it has remained physically articulated in the minds of Mostarians. Identicide forged the immortality of the Bridge because the people will not let it remain destroyed, for that would represent their own community destruction. Deep memories were provoked by the Bridge's disappearance, which caused an increase in the power of this charged space; it has become virtually invincible, even if the vision is not actualized. This new symbolism is layered onto the Bridge with every passing day, and with the reconstruction of the vision, identigenesis is achieved.

EPILOGUE

Finally, the conflict subsided and the people began to return to Mostar, to their home. But it was if it was not their home - for great damage had been done to the mosques, churches, art, and buildings. The Bridge of Mostar had fallen, and the heart of the city had fallen with it.

The people grieved for their fallen angel, but did not give up hope in her resurrection. The Bridge had a strong hold on the memory of the people. She was supposed to have outlived the people, she represented all of them - the bridge commemorated their past and their future.

In their desperation, life was created in Mostar. A shared vision, passion, and invincible will led these peaceful warriors towards a new identity. The teams were formed, the money donated, and the engineers set to work. They found her pieces in the emerald depths of the river, and raised them to the surface. The stones were sorted and numbered. So precious were her parts that not one was left behind.

The rebuilding of the Bridge held remarkable significance for Mostarians and to the global community that believed in the bridge's symbolic power. Mostarians wanted to reclaim their past and future; they needed to reconstruct the Bridge to reconstruct who they were. She was the message their ancestors had left for them, and the message they must pass on to their descendants - for she represented their identity.

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