

Crisis management: Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina

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[2] STEVEN BURG a PAUL SHOUP. *Ethnic conflict and international intervention: the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1990-1993*. Pbk. ed. Armonk: Sharpe, 1997. ISBN 978-156-3243-097.

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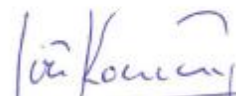
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ABSTRAKT

Cílem mé bakalářské práce je zmapování občanské války na území Bosny a Hercegoviny se zaměřením na mezinárodní intervenci uplatňující preventivní diplomacii a krizový management v průběhu konfliktu. Část teoretická se zabývá vysvětlením všeobecných pojmů ve vztahu k tématu, jimiž jsou krize, konflikt a krizový management, a to zejména z pohledu mezinárodních aspektů. Na základě zkoumání historického vývoje i současného stavu v zemi jsou v praktické části identifikována rizika ohrožující budoucí vývoj Bosny a Hercegoviny, kdy je za pomoci skórovací metody vyhodnocena jejich důležitost a dále jsou pro rozbor zvoleny dvě metody analýzy konfliktu, kde jsou popsány a rozebrány hlavní příčiny konfliktu a vztahy mezi klíčovými aktéry. Na základě provedených analýz jsou doporučeny návrhy pro krizový management mezinárodního společenství pro zkoumanou oblast.

Klíčová slova: krizový management, mezinárodní intervence, konflikt, náboženství, entita

ABSTRACT

The aim of my bachelor thesis is to map the civil war on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina with focus on the international intervention in the conflict, during which preventive diplomacy and crisis management were applied. The theoretical part of my thesis explains general terms related to the topic, i.e. crisis, conflict and crisis management, notably from an international perspective. The risks endangering the future development of Bosnia and Herzegovina are identified in the practical part, using the results of the research into the historical development as well as the present-day situation in the country. The risk scoring method is used to evaluate the significance of the risks. Further, two conflict analysis methods are selected to describe and analyze the main causes of the conflict and the relations between the main actors. On the grounds of the performed analyses, proposals for international crisis management in the area in question were made.

Keywords: crisis management, international intervention, conflict, religion, entity

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I hereby declare that the print version of my Bachelor's thesis and the electronic version of my thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical.

Motto:

Difficulties strengthen the mind, as labor does the body.

Seneca

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INTRODUCTION

After the end of the Second World War, a relatively long period of peace of the modern history came up. The inhabitants of Europe were placated by feelings of quiet and safety, they did not in the slightest admit the possibility of conflict emergence on the European continent. In the last decade of the 20th century, however, their peace and quiet was disturbed. The war broke out just round the corner. For more than three and a half years, newspapers and other mass media presented news about the bloody conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war, whose intensity and goriness stood for the largest armed conflict in Europe after the end of the Second World War, claimed tens of thousands of casualties, hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave their homes. The effort to assert state sovereignty, which occurred after the break-up of the former Yugoslav federation, incited an explosion of nationalistically motivated conflicts between the individual entities.

Bosnia and Herzegovina may be one of the strangest state forms in the present-day Europe. After the devastating war, the situation became more stable thanks to the ratification of the Dayton Agreement. Nevertheless, the present-day state form, established on a nationalist principle, resembles an unwritten federation comprising two, or more precisely three, entities, rather than a centralized state. Each entity has a completely different religion as well as language and writing system. Even so is this forcibly established multinational and multi-confessional state form able to function, seemingly without any problems. This is why I find this topic very interesting, even fascinating. While different ethnic groups in other parts of the world fight against each other, the ethnic groups in question are able to live next to each other within one state and use the same state symbols. This course of study is, in my opinion, very topical and that is why I decided to analyze it not only from the international aspect. It was the international community that had a significant influence not only on the outbreak of the conflict itself, but also on its course and on its termination. The best evidence is the fact that the country is up to the present time led by the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, who is elected by the International Council on the grounds of the Dayton Agreement. Therefore, the main aim of my bachelor thesis is not only to analyze the international intervention and the use of crisis management in the period in question, but also to examine the main causes of the conflict and the relations between the main actors in the conflict.

Each historical period brought about a significant shift in the character of the relations between the Bosnian nations. The practical part deals with the relations between the local nations in historical perspective and it also discusses a nationalist conflict of several years' duration and the course of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina itself. As for the methods used for writing up the thesis, I selected historical resources and contemporary periodicals research as well as discussions with experts in the examined field. The thesis also uses conflict analysis and risk analysis methods to outline the relations between the main and less important actors in the conflict and analyze the situation in greater detail.

The thesis discusses Bosnia and Herzegovina's chance to preserve its sovereignty in the international political conditions of the 21st century; it draws attention to possible present-day risks and, last but not least, it suggests the steps that could be taken within crisis management, or, more precisely what the international community should work at and which issues should be dealt with.

I. THEORY

1 CRISIS

Each individual or community perceives and evaluates crises differently. The time when the afflicted individuals live and the place where they live as well as the events taking place at the time of the crisis play an important role in this process. The longer the crisis lasts, the less interest it provokes. The fact that the crisis takes place at a seemingly distant place, may delude the individual or community into thinking that they cannot be afflicted by it. Different kinds of crises may be viewed from different perspectives. Most people and public figures tend to think in the short term. It is, however, necessary to think in the long term as the events which are surrounding us and which we are not willing to become involved in can burden future generations. The unwillingness to address oneself to problematic issues which are perceived as inconvenient can later prove to be dangerous. Things are not always called by their proper names in today's world, especially unpleasant things or events, which brings about crisis situations. It is, therefore, necessary to acquaint oneself with the notion of crisis as well as with its importance. The notion of crisis as well as its importance is dealt with in this chapter.

The expression originates from the ancient Greek word *krino* which means to choose, to decide between two opposite variants or to measure. The present meaning of this expression was derived later, from the expression *krisis*, which was used to talk about a decisive moment or time, the decision itself or a predicament. Even though the expression *crisis* is very common nowadays and possible to encounter almost daily, it is not perceived by non-professional public unanimously and the expression itself is not always defined in the same way. [3]

The contemporary theory defines the concept of *crisis* in many ways – from general definitions to specific delimitations, as for example:

- the decisive moment, [5]
- a time of intense difficulty or danger when a difficult decision must be made, [6]
- a serious disruption of basic structures or disparity of elementary values and standards of a social system, [4]

Any subject can be afflicted by crisis and its size does not play any role at all. The crisis can impact on an individual, an organization, a society, a continent or the whole planet. It is not difficult to imagine an individual, an organization or a society hit by crisis,

and at the same time comprehend the process of resolving the crisis. On the other hand, global crisis and before all its consequences for humanity cannot be comprehended by non-professional public at all. The 1930s economic crisis was the first indication of global crisis which resulted in a worldwide war conflict. The present-day interconnection of the individual parts of world, not only by trade and information nets, but before all by finance and by power politics, can lead to widespread crises. In the 1970s, the mere aggravation of conditions on oil markets and making use of oil sources for asserting political and economic aims caused that global energetic crisis hit the whole world. A crisis can afflict any subject and that's why this phenomenon, its causes and solutions are a matter of concern for psychologists, sociologists, economists, political scientists, management experts and experts from many other fields. Each crisis has its anatomy and its evolutionary stages. The evolutionary dynamics is characterized by different factors influencing the crisis process, by the sequence of the crisis stages as well as by the speed of the crisis process. [3], [4]

1.1 Evolutionary Stages of Crisis

From the perspective of a subject afflicted by crisis it is possible to identify four elementary areas or evolutionary stages of crisis that are matters of concern for experts. [3]

Prodromal Crisis Stage

At this stage, the first signals of system's instability come up, the system is not operating properly. First imperfections appear, friction surfaces are obvious. The character of the first symptoms causes that the starting crisis may be overlooked and ignored. At the same time, the starting crisis can be spotted and its further process can be anticipated in advance or even stopped and the process can be diverted. The evincing symptoms can be divided into weak, strong and very strong. These signals serve as information about an upcoming crisis differentiable for experts educated in crisis management. The signals can't be evaluated precisely enough by experts who are not educated in crisis management or for members of non-professional public. If the information is not evaluated properly, the critical potential is rising and possibility of appropriate response is falling. [4]

Acute Crisis Stage

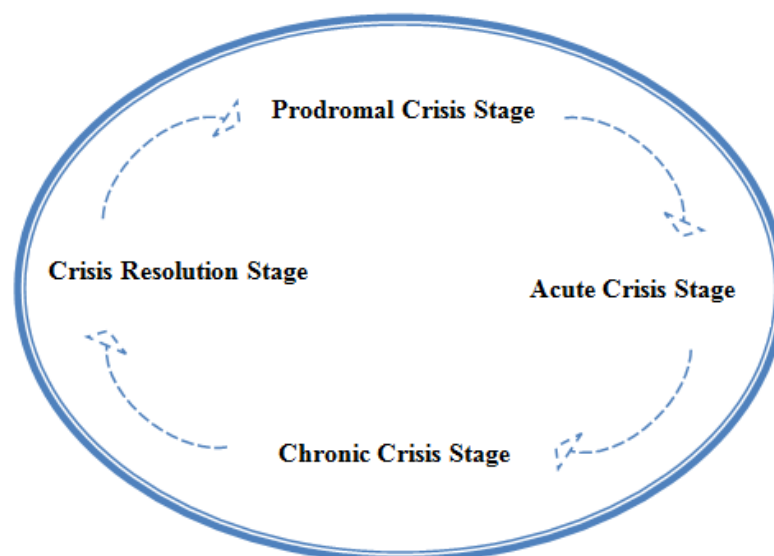
This stage commences at the moment when the difference between the interests of the subject and its external environment deepens so much that it is clearly obvious. As a result, the subject's interests are damaged and the subject's further existence is endangered. An immediate crisis intervention is necessary and all available means should be employed. The impact of such a disruption is not possible to divert without further consequences, certain damage has already been created. The degree of the crisis and its duration will depend on the effectiveness of crisis intervention measures and crisis reduction measures. Action is necessary at the acute crisis stage. There is no place for indecisiveness in crisis management. The aim is to reduce the scale of damage and to minimize the duration of this crisis stage. [4]

Chronic Crisis Stage

This stage arises in the case that the first attempt to resolve the crisis was not effective enough. The tension has been reduced and mitigated but the cause of the crisis or of the conflict was not correctly located and it was not sufficiently paralyzed. For that reason the crisis intensity is rising after its initial decrease. The crisis process can be indirect, it can take place in waves or even in different directions. [4]

Crisis Resolution Stage

At this stage, the system recovers and stabilizes its balance, i.e. stage of renovation is realized. [4]



Pict. 1- Sequence of the Crisis Stages [4]

1.2 Crisis Classification

Below there is one of the most common classifications of the concept of crisis based on the areas of its occurrence.

Personal crisis

Personal crisis is a state of a human being whose medical condition is considered as critical and can develop in two ways. Personal crisis can be caused by the individual's poor state of mental condition that might have been brought about by failure, depression, fatigue and other factors. However, the most significant impact on an individual's mental health has a loss of a life partner or a relative or a divorce experience. Further negative influences affecting an individual include the individual's long-term health problems, a social trauma which they witnessed or have been afflicted by or a loss of job. [3]

Crisis as a Consequence of a Natural Disaster or a Crash

Natural disasters or catastrophes have always existed, they often occur nowadays and it is necessary to take into account that they will occur more frequently and their impact will be more serious. In the last few years we have witnessed more frequent weather changes and floods. Earthquakes, storms, landslides, hailstorms, droughts and wildfires rank among natural disasters as well. There is a wide scale of theories relating to the occurrence of natural disasters. Some of them claim that natural disasters are partly brought about by soil cultivation, building activities on the Earth's surface as well as by the permanent destruction of wilderness areas. The epidemics which strike humans, animals or plants are also counted among natural disasters. The microorganisms which cause epidemics are already showing an ability to adapt to the changed conditions and some antibodies are losing their effectiveness. [3]

Catastrophes brought about by human activities during energy and goods production have a similar character as natural disasters. As a result of these activities and consequent catastrophes, poisonous radioactive substances can get into the air, water and soil. These have negative and as a rule long-term impact on human and animal organisms and on plants. Among catastrophes brought about by humans rank wildfires, explosions of gases and other substances, plane crashes, tank ships accidents or disintegrations of energetic nets. [3]

Economic Crisis

We distinguish between macroeconomic and microeconomic crises. Macroeconomic crises were of concern to economists as early as 19th century. The main causes of crises were considered to consist in the disproportion between production and consumption which resulted in accumulation of unsalable goods. This, in return, made the employment of all capacities of production impossible. A rise in unemployment followed, together with a wages decrease and disappearance of weaker establishments. Among microeconomic crises rank before all events related to business companies. Contemporary theories describe crisis as a transition of a national economy from a recession to a depression stage. Macroeconomic crises, when they arise, become a subject of interest to mass media and they are remembered the longest. The global 1930 economic crisis became part of school curriculums. The least-known crisis nowadays is the one which emerged before the end of 2008 and it still has not reached its final stage. [3]

Social and Societal Crisis

Social and societal crises present a danger to existing social and societal forms. Even though a crisis arises in the area of one country, it can spread to territories of more countries thanks to globalization. A typical example are political and consequently social and societal changes in Central European and East European area at the turn of 1980s and 1990s and the subsequent political and economic transformation connected with crises atypical of the western world but typical of transitional periods. Social and societal crises within the boundaries of one country can be results of power games in one country and the subsequent revolution or coup d'état. In today's world such an event is no longer regarded as an isolated event. World powers tend to intervene from outside, either politically or with the use of military. The conflicts in former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan or Iraq can serve as good examples. The outcomes encompass international terrorism connected with arms trade, fissile material which is connected with activities of mafias, internal religious and cultural conflicts. This is all reflected negatively in the countries' economies, the imperilment of individuals' lives and uncertainty in their need fulfillment. At their December 2003 board meeting, EU Council accepted a security strategy called "A Secure Europe in a Better World". The document defines a common European approach to the EU security issues. It also describes European threats and suggests in which they should be jointly faced. Among the basic threats mentioned in the document rank terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, collapse

of state power and organized crime. Regional conflicts lead to extremism, terrorism and collapse of state power, which contributes to the increase in organized crime. Other frequent negative phenomena include bribery, abuse of power or abuse of weak institutions and absence of standard mechanisms for social responsibility, basic state functions are no longer performed. Social and societal crises often give rise to migrations of inhabitants of endangered territories, often accompanied by human smuggling, embargoes in foreign trade, property damage, embargoes and political blackmail connected with trade with raw materials and energies, economic sabotage. An emergency can directly jeopardize a state's sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as its political system and economy. Moreover, it can have a negative effect on the health, lives and property of majority of the state's population. In case that the institutions appointed to deal with the situation fail to prevent the consequences of the emergency from happening, we talk about a critical situation. [3]

2 CRISIS MANAGEMENT

The introductory chapter explains the notion of crisis, its history, the different kinds of crises, their evolutionary stages, speed, etc. The ability to resolve a crisis is crucial, which brings us to the crisis lifecycle, tools for solving crisis situations, which is the subject of crisis management. Crisis management is still presented in the context of emergency situations and crisis situations instead of being presented as part of everyday life. The following chapter describes the history of crisis management as well as the changes process which lead to the present-day form of crisis management.

2.1 The History and Development of Crisis Management

The term “crisis management” was first used at the time of the Caribbean Crisis in 1962. The main aim of president JFK’s working team, whose name was “crisis management”, was to mitigate the risks leading to mutual confrontation. Later the term became part of NATO terminology and crisis management was used to solve various crisis situations that arose between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization practically during the whole Cold War era. Another important event, which affected not only the development of crisis management itself, was the Brussels NATO summit in May 1989. The conclusions made there defined NATO aims and policies for the following era and presented a complete conception of arms control and disarmament. The year 1991 meant a breakthrough from the point of view of the further development of crisis management. The coalition was disbanded at a meeting of its top representatives. In November of the same year NATO released a new strategic conception and Declaration on Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation. The new role of NATO in the area of crisis management and maintaining peace logically led to a change in understanding the conception of crisis management. The process of managing crises does not relate only to military threats and risks any more. It also concerns a wide range of both dormant and real, military and non-military threats and perils. The breakdown of the bipolar world, the fall of the Iron Curtain in Europe and the change in the hierarchization of security threats and risks in the Euro-Atlantic area caused that at the beginning of the 1990s the expression crisis management spread outside the borders of military terminology and started to be used in other areas as well. It became a universal term for denominating a process connected with controlling crisis situations of natural, anthropogenic, social societal, economic or business corporate character. [4]

2.2 Contemporary Conception of Crisis Management

After the meaning of the expression crisis management was broadened so much, it became so well-known and frequent that it used its original meaning. There are tens of definitions related to this term. NATO defines crisis management as a process of controlling a crisis in the broad sense of the word, based on three elements mutually supporting themselves: dialogue, cooperation and maintaining the ability to face any crisis. The defense department regards crisis management as means for managing armed forces in critical situations or as an element of the wartime structure of the chain of command. From the international perspective, it is a tool for solving international crises with the help of organizations, technology, power and means of international crisis management. It is regarded as management of a certain conflict or armed conflict within states, between two states or within a group of states performed by an international association led by an important internationally political institution, like for example the UN, NATO, the OSCE, the EU, etc. [4]

A universal definition of crisis management by Antušák and Kopecký [4] has the following form: crisis management refers to a complex set of approaches, opinions, experiences, recommendations, methods and measures. Executives and crisis managers use them to perform specific activities. The activities can be divided according to phases of crisis management:

Prevention – the root causes of critical situations are minimized,

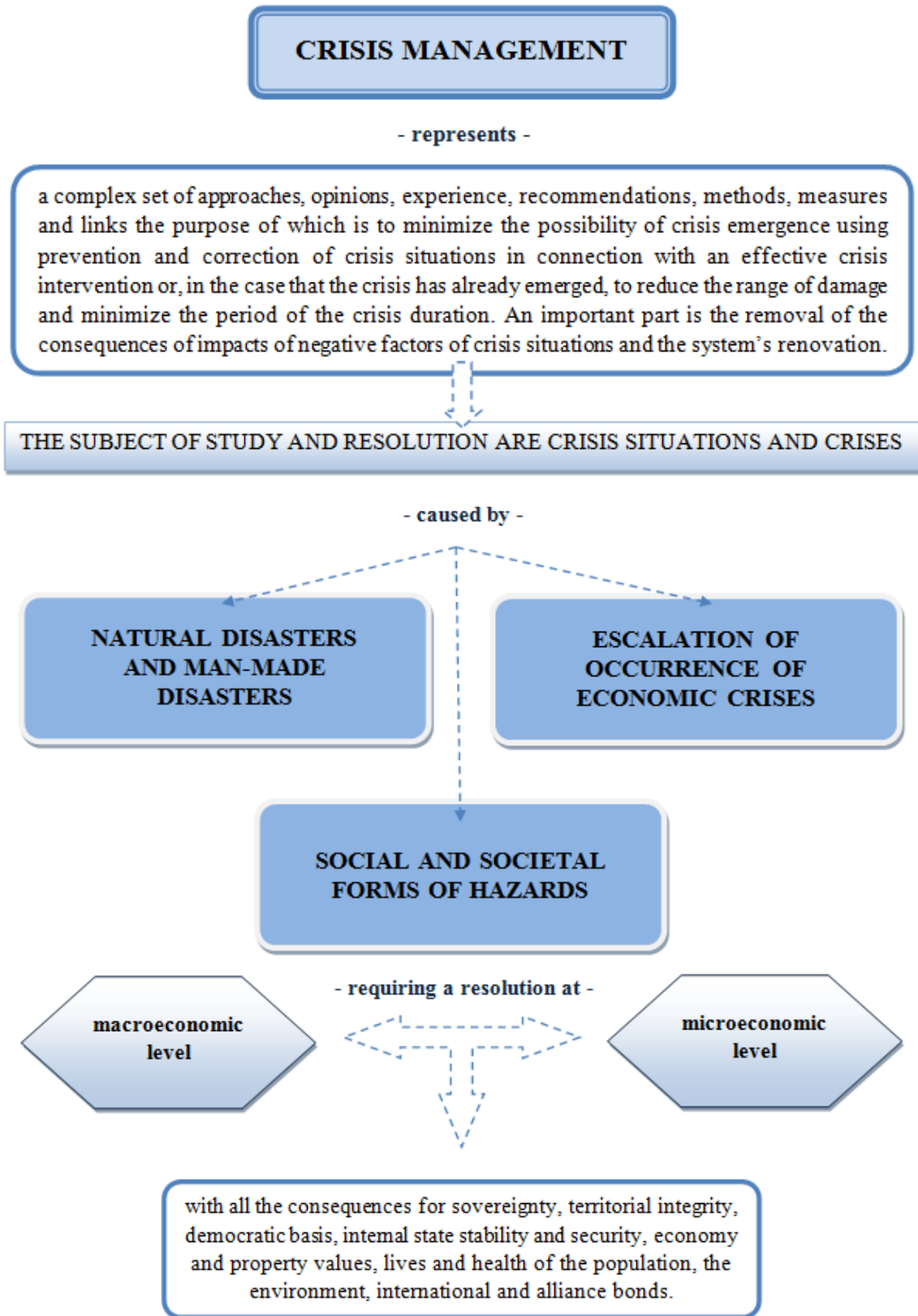
Correction – the activities to be performed at critical situations are prepared,

Anti-crisis Intervention or Contraction – emergence and escalation is prevented,

Reduction – the root causes of the situations and their negative impact is reduced,

Renovation – consequences of the influence of negative factors are removed.

Crisis management is the art of eliminating threats and risks with the aim of having a greater influence on one's own fate. From a practical standpoint, it represents a model of management with changed competences and with the possibility to use a wider range of resources in comparison with the range, availability and competences of the resources which are used for managing common situations. [4]



Pict. 2 - The Objectives of Crisis Management [4]

2.3 International Aspects of Crisis Management

At the beginning of the 21st century it is often beyond the capabilities of one state to solve the various critical situations and problems which humanity is facing. The world nowadays needs more than national states so that organization of the world peace can be managed, global prosperity encouraged, the newest scientific and technological inventions spread and ways to solve widespread crises and conflicts of natural, anthropogenic, social and societal character looked for. The world nowadays needs supranational institutions which will be sufficiently authoritative, respected and equipped with appropriate powers and that will be subsidized by the necessary means and available powers, capable to realize operations of preventative diplomacy and peace reconciliation of conflicts, operations focused on peace preservation and building, etc., i.e. crisis management domains, where national or local means are insufficient. Among such organizations are the United Nations Organization (UN), the Northatlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union (EU). [19]

2.3.1 The United Nations

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization, an organization of international crisis management which aims to maintain international peace and security, to resolve critical situations and crises of worldwide character, to develop friendly relationships between nations and on the principles of equality and self-determination of nations as well as to realize international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian cooperation. The UN is a colossal network of organizations covering a large spectrum of structures, functions, commissions, competences and jurisdictions. This organization arose on 24 October 1945, when the UN charter, signed on 6 July 1945 at the constituent conference in San Francisco, took effect. There were 51 founding members, at present the UN has 191 members. The official languages are: English, Arabic, Chinese, French, Russian and Spanish. The member states are obligated to meet the obligations arising from the UN Charter, to solve international conflicts in a peaceful way, not to use power or threaten with power and versatilely support the UN. The UN must not interfere in the internal affairs of the member states. Their main bodies are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the UN Secretariat. The main organs have their sea in New York City, with the exception of the International Law Court, which has its seat in Hague (Netherlands).

The effectiveness of UN in the field of crisis management primarily depends on building partnership between governments, groups of civil society, private sector and, first of all, between people. One of the basic missions of the UN and the crucial part of its mandate has been preserving international peace and security; first of all by way of conflict prevention. After the end of the Cold War, significant changes occurred in the character of international conflicts and in the international crisis management's reactions to them. The UN, as an organ of international crisis management, had to take into consideration the changes of the essence of the threats to the peace and security in the 1990s, when a transition from international conflicts to conflicts within the individual states occurred. The UN disposes of various coercive means by which the organization tries to reach this goal. The strategy of conflict prevention takes into account gradation of these means – from sanctions, preventive diplomacy, preventive deployment of peacekeeping forces, preventive disarmament to military intervention. Throughout its existence, the UN has been called up many times to prevent the escalation of conflicts into wars, to persuade the disunited sides to solve their conflicts by negotiations, not by force, to restore peace in places where a war conflict has occurred. The main means of realization have always been peace operations. A decision about the initiation of a peace operation requires the accomplishment of three basic conditions: an approval of the operations from the country concerned; the approval has to be widely supported by an international association and the member states have to be willing to send out volunteers. A part of the approval of the Security Council is a determination of financing the operation, i.e. on a voluntary basis or on compulsory basis, i.e. as an expenditure in accordance with the standards of the UN Charter. The task of the Secretary-General is to choose the operation's Force Commander and to ask the member states to provide military units, police or civilian personnel, supplies, equipment, and to arrange transport. UN operations have numerous components: diplomatic and political, humanitarian-legislative, civilian-administrative, electoral, repatriation, rehabilitation, civilian police, international civilian personnel and their services in the battlefield, and the military component. The UN does not dispose of their own military units; therefore, all the necessary military personnel, technical equipment and logistical support have to be provided by the member countries.

[19]

2.3.2 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) essential mission is to safeguard the freedom and security of all its members using political and military means in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter. As one of the organizations of international crisis management, NATO strives to create a rightful and permanent peace order in the Euroatlantic space, based on the common values of democracy, human rights and state based on justice and integrity. The main working principle of the alliance is the principle of the common commitment to mutual cooperation between sovereign states, based on the indivisibility of the security of their members. Solidarity within the alliance guarantees that no member state will have to rely on their own means only while solving the basic security tasks. This, of course, does not mean that the individual member states are freed from their commitments to solve military and non-military crises. The Northatlantic Treaty from April 1949, which is the legal basis of the alliance, was established on the basis of Article 51 of the UN Charter. This article recognizes the inherent right of an independent state for individual or collective defense. In order to achieve mutual cooperation within the coalition, NATO devotes maximum attention and effort to the most effective arrangement of armed forces, systemic transformation and technical modernization of the army. NATO standardization, which represents a significant action readiness instrument of all the alliance. NATO is an intergovernmental organization in which the individual member states input means necessary for securing the organization's everyday operation and the necessary equipment for consultations, decision making and the consequent realization of the arranged conceptions and activities. The financial means of NATO are basically reserved for those expenditures which reflect the interests of all the member states. The general rule is that the member states only finance the expenditures of those NATO structures in which they participate. [19]

The process of crisis containment which NATO faces is based on three elements which mutually support each other: dialogue, internal cooperation of all the member countries and maintaining the ability of collective defense. The scenario of the operation of NATO crisis management is based on five basic activities of crisis management, i.e. on monitoring of situation, identification of crisis situation, determination of variants and formulation of plans, withdrawal and peace establishment. Political aspects for engaging the Alliance in peace operations were established in 1992, when it declared its readiness to participate

in peace operations in former Yugoslavia, pursuant to the commission set by the Security Council. NATO terminology uses the term 'peace support operations' to label peace operations. This common expression includes three basic types of peace operations: peace-keeping operations, conflict prevention missions and humanitarian missions.

Peace-keeping operations are perceived as observation missions and are divided into three categories. They are interpreted as classical operations, the main task of which is observe and report. A characteristic element is the use of observers which fulfill basic tasks, e.g. surveillance of the basic demarcation line, monitoring of ceasefire denial cases or human rights observance, etc. Another category includes interposition force, which are aimed to isolate opposition military forces and secure space for negotiations. The forces usually operate in separation zone. The last category of peace-keeping operations are transition assistance missions. Such missions have character of civil wars. A typical element of these operations is cooperation with humanitarian and administrative organs and with non-governmental organizations.

Conflict prevention missions are based on the use of the element of preventive deployment, which refers to preventive placement and employment of military units. They are deployed with the aim to prevent confrontation in the places where conflicts could potentially exist or where they are about to arise.

Humanitarian missions are perceived as missions which form an alliance of civilian and military components, operating in alongside with each other in areas of conflicts, where it is necessary solve refugees issues, human rights observance, to restore and secure catering, accommodations, etc. for the inhabitants of the afflicted areas. Humanitarian missions also include a wide spectrum of cooperation between governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions under the auspices of the UN, but also for other organizations. [19]

2.3.3 The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), as one of other international crisis management organizations, comprises 55 member states. OSCE is basically open, transregional and functionally focused on the activities of 'softer spectrum' of crisis management. It provides a complex frame for co-operation in the field of human rights, basic freedoms, democracy, state of law, security and economic co-operation. However, OSCE is most importantly an organ of preventive diplomacy.

The organization's main tasks include: security dialogue, human rights monitoring, arms control, disarmament, and confidence-building measures. Primarily, the main task of the OSCE is to solve specific problems in the individual regions and in the areas of disturbances, the containment of which is the main effort of long-term OSCE missions, which act pursuant to the commission set by the UN Security Council. Such missions in the countries or in the regions help build democratic institutions and the state of law, they monitor human rights observance, especially the rights of minorities, they provide consulting during the founding civil societies, etc. The wide scope of activities and the heterogeneous membership represent a strength and a weakness of the OSCE at the same time. The main decision-making principle is a general agreement or unanimity. Each of the member states disposes of veto power; therefore, they are entitled to cancel an adopted resolution, which significantly restricts the OSCE's ability of action.

Missions and primarily long-term missions in the field are therefore one of the basic tools which the OSCE uses to fulfill its tasks, especially the main one – to be an organ of preventive diplomacy. The operation of long-term missions is administered according to their mandate, which is a brief description of the issues in their competence. The aim of all the operations is help to resolve conflicts, to inform the OSCE states, which are involved in them, about the current situation and oversee the co-operation between the individual states. [19]

2.3.4 The European Union

Even though the European Union (EU) is not an organization of international crisis management in the true sense of the word, it has a significant role at crisis containment, first of all at the containment of the crises of non-military character. The European Union is an association of European democratic states, linked by principles of freedom, state based on freedom and integrity as well as respect to human rights, which decided to cooperate and gradually integrate into a supranational structure, expedient of all countries involved. The European Union currently consists of three pillars. The first one are closely integrated original associations – European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC). Communities employ different policies, organs of supranational character and community law that is super ordinate to the national law. The foundation of these Associations is a common market without internal borders. The second pillar of the EU is formed by the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) which functions

as a tool for asserting a uniform policy in international affairs and security. The realization of CFSP enables the EU to become an international crisis management institution. The third pillar is co-operation between jurisdiction and internal affairs. The whole structure is based on the balance between supranational and national element. The highest organ that is entitled to make all the main decisions, determines the organization's political orientation and that approves all legislative is the Council of the European Union or possibly the Council's equivalent on the national level – the European Council – which consists of state and government representatives. The proposals, which the EC decides about, are not put forward by the member states but by the European Commission (EC), which is a supranational organ, not subject to any state power. Another important EU institution is EU – the European Parliament, whose members are elected in direct vote and are obligated to co-decide about legal acts in most fields. The main institutions further include the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), whose binding law interpretations enable the EU to function at troublous times and the legislation of which is one of the main sources of the common law. Since the foundation of the Euro, the European Central Bank also belongs to the main EU institutions. [19]

3 CONFLICT

A conflict is, in essence, one of the factors constituting a crisis. Curiously enough, not even in today's civilized and developed world has humanity learned from history. Despite the large number of conflicts and consequent crises that have already taken place throughout history, we can still encounter new conflicts all over the world. They are arising, taking place or persisting. The so-called smoldering conflicts can represent a huge potential risk. Among the persisting conflicts also rank the ones that are seemingly resolved but still persisting. Some conflicts are marginalized but should be resolved with priority. On the other hand, some of the events which are now standing in the centre of attention do not deserve so much attention and effort. The perception of threat, or actual occurrence of conflict, is necessary for the initiation of conflict prevention or management measures, and hence it is essential to address the concept of conflict before exploring how to prevent and manage such occurrences. The case study of this thesis is the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina who had total escalation in the form of conflict, so it is important to define conflicts as such and describes its developmental stages.

3.1 Definition of Conflict

A conflict has generally been defined as a situation in which two or more parties strive to acquire the same scarce resources at the same time. The resources are not only economic in nature but also conflicts involving economic orientation, human security, environment, historical issues, etc. Conflicts and the opponent's intentions often are defined according to subjective perceptions. There could be an abundance of space for agreement in a conflict, but if the parties perceive the conflict as being impossible to resolve or the opponent to be untrustworthy this might not help in resolving the conflict. The normative disputes are also left out of the rational definitions. These disputes involve religion, values and beliefs and do not always have a military outcome. Due to many reasons of those disputes conflict can be defined as perceived differences in issue positions between two or more parties at the same moment in time. [8]

Another definition by Wallensteen and Sollenberg [9] offers other point of view for defining armed conflict and has the following form: An armed conflict is a contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of at least one is a government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths. Subsets of armed conflicts are defined as follows:

Minor Armed Conflict – At least 25 battle-related deaths per year and fewer than 1.000 battle-related deaths during the course of the conflict.

Intermediate Armed Conflict – at least 25 battle-related deaths per year and an accumulated total of at least 1.000 deaths, but fewer than per year.

War – with more than 1.000 battle-related deaths during any given year.

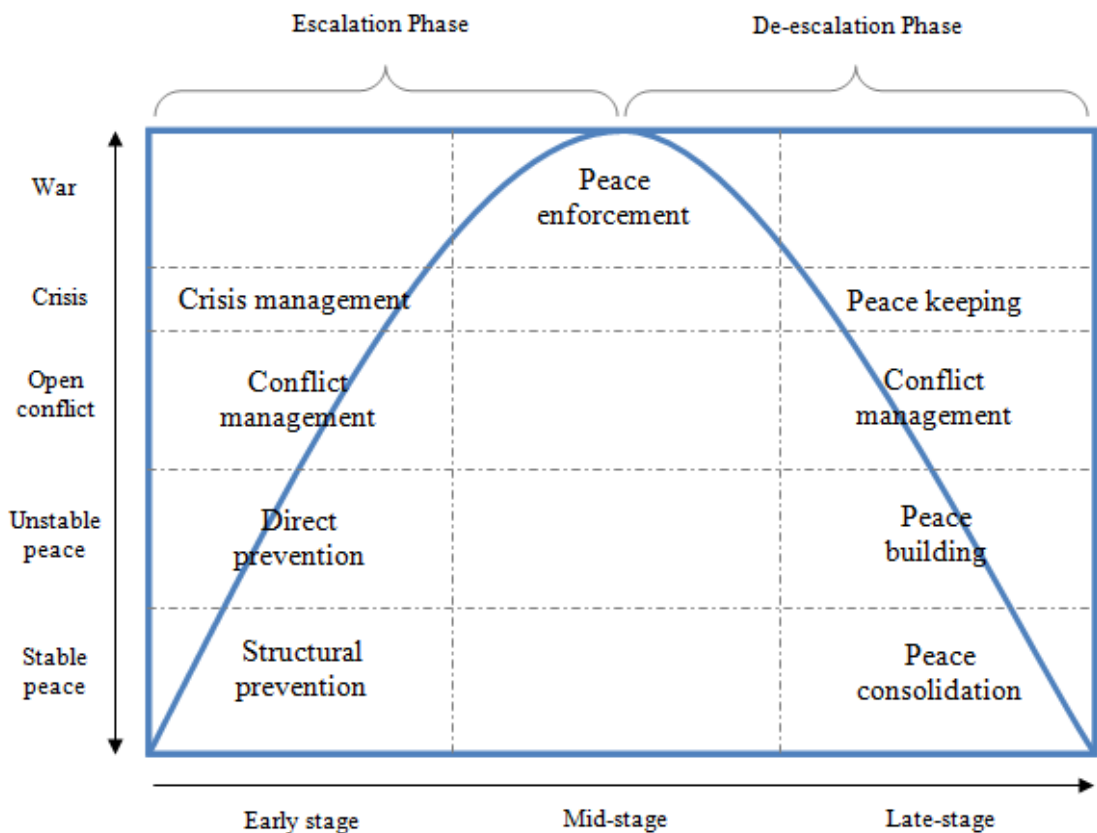
Together the last two categories are referred to as major armed conflict. [9]

3.2 The Life Cycles of a Conflict

A conflict is not a static situation, but a dynamic one - the intensity level changes over a conflict's life cycle. An understanding of the conflict cycle is essential for an understanding of how, where and when to apply different strategies and measures of conflict prevention and management. Conflicts tend to be described as cyclical in regard to their intensity levels, that is escalating from relative stability and peace into crisis and war, thereafter deescalating into relative peace. It was agreed by empirical research in conflict patterns that these cycles are reoccurring. Most models of the life cycle of a conflict are divided into both the escalation and de-escalation phases and in many cases the conflict model has take the form of a U, or an upside-down U. The division into phases, and the cyclical perception of conflict, has also become the starting point for research on conflict prevention, management and resolution. In principle, conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict resolution are regarded as applicable in different phases of a conflict. In sum, conflict prevention measures are designed for the early phases, before a conflict has become open. Management measures are applied in later phases when a conflict is manifest, but before violence has occurred. Conflict resolution could on the other hand, be applied in the de-escalation phase after a violent conflict has occurred.

The model of the life-cycle of conflicts presented below includes both the conflict process itself and possible prevention, management and resolution measures. This conflict cycle is presented in the form of an upside-down U-curve, illustrating a conflict cycle in its most simplified form, i.e. the rise from stable peace to war and the de-escalation to stable peace. The presented model is an ideal and simplified model of the conflict cycle, an analytical construction developed to simplify analysis and is not always in line with the empirical

reality. The curve is divided into five levels of conflict intensity: stable peace, unstable peace, open conflict, crisis and war. [8]



Pict. 3 - The Conflict Cycle [8]

Stable peace – situation where tension between the parties is low and there exists different forms of connections and cooperation between them, often including economic and environmental cooperation, as well as cooperation within other non-sensitive issue areas.

Unstable peace – during a period of unstable peace, tension has increased. This is a situation where, although the existing negative peace, the tension between the parties is so high that peace no longer seems guaranteed.

Open conflict – when the conflict is defined and the parties have taken measures to deal with it, even if militarized options are not adopted.

Crisis phase – the risk of war is imminent and militarized options are the preferable or likely option. There may be sporadic violence between the parties at this stage, but there is no regular open violence.

War phase – there is widespread and intense violence. [8]

In the de-escalation phase the pattern is reversed, moving from war to crisis, through open conflict and unstable peace to finally reach a situation of stable peace. The life-cycle is together divided into eight prevention, management and resolution measures:

Conflict prevention – it is applied before the conflict has become open and violent to prevent a conflict from emerging in the first place or to prevent a conflict from re-escalating in post-conflict phase. Conflict prevention measures are effective at the levels of stable and unstable peace before a conflict has become manifest. It is important to differentiate between structural and direct preventive measures but the border between them is unclear and aspects of the two are often overlapping.

Structural prevention – structural preventive measures often aim at specific groups or issues such as economic development, political participation or cultural autonomy. If structural preventive measures are implemented at an early stage, including both the building of institutions and development of trust and longer-term cooperation, they decrease the perceived need to, and hence risk of, escalating a potential conflict becomes the more specific measures it requires. At the same time, structural measures are losing importance as a probable strategy.

Direct prevention – in the unstable phase, the direct preventive measures are directed at issues with a shorter term goal to reduce tension and create trust between the actors. Direct preventive measures can, for example, be formal or informal workshops dealing with the possible conflict issues. They can also aim at creating openness in certain fields in rescue operations. Other examples include sanctions, coercive diplomacy, the dispatch of special envoys and problem-solving workshops.

Conflict management – does involve tactics that are enforced when violent conflict is deemed likely, but before a situation escalates into war. Conflict management can be enforced as soon as the conflict has been identified by the actors, as an effort to reduce tension and prevent further escalation. Direct measures, such as reduction of military forces, third party intervention, informal and formal communication, can be designed to handle the conflict and reverse destructive behavior into constructive. The measures are often bilateral however multilateral forums, such as the UN, are increasingly being used.

Crisis management – does involve tactics that are enforced when violent conflict is imminent, but before a situation escalates into war. Crisis management is employed

in the short time frame before a war is to erupt, when the conflict escalates rapidly and the time for management measures is limited. This period is characterized by a scarcity of time and other resources to address the conflict, as well as inadequate information. Crisis management entails more drastic measures than conflict management and aims at containing the outbreak of militarized conflicts with all available means. Examples of such measures include third party intervention by actors such as NATO or the UN.

Peace enforcement – during the stage of war, neither prevention nor management is possible. To enforce peace military means are used as the primary tool, even if political, economic and social tools are used simultaneously to decrease the opponent's willingness and capability to fight.

Peace keeping – if the militarization of a conflict is temporarily controlled, either through a peace treaty or a cease fire, it may be possible to reverse the positions of the actors and make them adopt more constructive behavior. Initially, the focus is on separating the actors and preventing further mistakably or deliberate escalation.

Peace building – when the conflict has deescalate further a phase of peace building follows, which gives room for more long-term measures.

Peace consolidation – finally, if the peace building efforts meet with success, the conflict moves to the peace consolidation phase where the aim is to make actors more cooperative and create an inclusive peace for all involved parties. [8]

4 THE AIM AND USED METHODOLOGY

This chapter determines the basic aim of the thesis and presents the methodology. For achieving the set aim, different sources related to the historical development and to the examined period of Bosnia and Herzegovina were used. Further, the methods used for composing the practical part of the thesis are described.

4.1 Aim determination

The aim of my bachelor thesis is to examine the main causes of the conflict and the relation between the main actors in the conflict and further examine the international intervention as well as the use of crisis management within the examined period and to evaluate the present-day situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and propose further steps of crisis management with focus on the area in question.

4.2 Characteristics of Methods Used in the Thesis

The information used for writing up the thesis is based on research methods, more precisely on historical resources research as well as on discussions with experts in the examined field. The thesis also uses conflict analysis and risk analysis method. Conflict analysis methods are represented by The Conflict Map. This tool is used to give a first conflict overview. It serves to clarify relationships between actors, to visualize the conflict theme and issues and reflect on the "power" of various actors. Further, the Conflict Tree method is applied, which visualizes the interaction between structural, manifest and dynamic factors. The roots symbolize structural "static" factors. The trunk represents the manifest issues, linking structural factors with the dynamic factors. The leaves moving in the wind represent the dynamic factors. An example of risk analysis methods used for creating the thesis is Risk scoring method with risk map. This method is used to perform risk analysis and determine risk assessment which enables a relatively easy risk assessment. The Risk scoring method was used for determining the possible future risks in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Conflict Map

Similar to a geographic map that simplifies terrain so that it can be summarized on one page, a conflict map simplifies a conflict, and serves to clarify relationships between actors, to visualize the conflict theme and issues and reflect on the "power" of various actors. Conflict map is used to represent the conflict on one sheet of paper,

to give a first conflict overview. It represents a specific view point of a specific conflict situation, at a specific moment in time, similar to a photograph.

The Conflict Tree

The conflict tree is a visualizing and sorting tool. The tree visualizes the interaction between structural, manifest and dynamic factors. The roots symbolize structural “static” factors. The trunk represents the manifest issues, linking structural factors with the dynamic factors. The leaves moving in the wind represent the dynamic factors.

Risk Scoring Method with Risk Map

Risk scoring method is used to perform risk analyses and determine risk assessment. It enables a relatively easy risk assessment, including the evaluation of the so-called risks which cannot be numerically calculated.

II. ANALYSIS

5 CONFLICT FORMATION

The reason for the long-term and continuing complicated situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) are the heretofore exacerbated relations between the local nations. Nevertheless, the ambiguous and often completely opposing historiographical explications of Bosnian history meant a big problem, too. Numerous deeply rooted legends and myths about BiH still exist in historiography. The different interpretations of the past have always been a source of passionate discussions and differences of opinion, which presented itself during the Bosnian-Herzegovinian conflict. The majority of negotiations between the representatives of the disunited parties at that time began by elaborated explications of the 'historical rights' of the individual national communities to Bosnia and Herzegovina or their parts. In the course of centuries, numerous state and political changes occurred as well as changes in the religious structure of the population of the individual regions and also extensive ethnical migrations caused by example by later invasion of Ottoman Turks. Gradually, three basic approaches to Bosnian history, strongly predetermined by nationality, formed. They were the Serbian, the Croatian and the Muslim stream. Each historical phase brought a significant transition in the character of relations between Bosnian nations and influenced the form of Bosnian statehood. Hence, it is very important to analyze Bosnian history in more detail from the aspect of the state, national and political development before the examination and description of the conflict itself.

5.1 Nation Formation and State Development

The oldest reference to Bosnia dates back from the mid-10th century. Approximately at the same time Christianity spread to Europe. In the 14th century Bosnia became independent as a state, the trade was flourishing and the culture was at its prime. At the time of medieval state the local inhabitants became temporarily aware of a common state citizenship even though they belonged to different religious groups. The period sources refer to the inhabitants of Bosnia as Bosnians. The inhabitants of the neighbouring states and countries were perceived in this way, too. The turn of the 14th and 15th centuries witnessed a short boom of the country. After that, however, the country fell into decline. This was caused by its unfavourable geographical location among versatile power influences. On the political map of Balkan at that time, the medieval kingdom of Bosnia disposed of a relatively important position, which was, however, not too stable. The country faded in power twice because of its own weakness, which was brought about

by insufficiently strengthened central state power and the disunity of ecclesiastical structures. First of all, however, the decline was caused by the country's unfortunate location between two powerful neighbours fighting against each other, Hungary and Turkey. The fall of the medieval kingdom of Bosnia in the second half of the 15th century was caused by a Turkish invasion. The following more than four hundred years' lasting dominion of Ottoman Empire fundamentally marked the development of this country and changed its demographic and religious character. It was in the interest of the inhabitants to immediately make up for the decrease in the population. The devastated and deserted areas were populated by the inhabitants from the south western part of the Balkans, mainly from today's area of Serbia, Albania and Macedonia and from the northern part of Greece. Together with them Orthodox monks were arriving in the country, which helped strengthen the position of Orthodox religion in the country. After the expansion of Turks, however, Islam was introduced in the country and took deep roots there. Islamisation of Bosnia proceeded very quickly. In 1580 an independent Ottoman province - Bosnia Vilayet - was founded and Sarajevo was established its capital in 1638.

The division of people into different religious groups was considered a natural thing in Ottoman Empire even though the relations between the individual confessions were not idyllic. The proponents of Islam on the one hand tolerated different religious confessions of Christians and Jews; on the other hand, they required an absolute political and social submission from them. As of the end of the 17th century, however, Islam was gradually pushed out of the country in connection with Austrian-Hungarian wars. These fierce wars between Turkey and Austria were waged for the whole of the 18th century. Bosnian Muslims were tenaciously defending the north western borders of the Sultan Empire and even managed to win twice. On global scale, nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire was losing its fight with Christian powers. After the peace treaty was signed, it was determined that the border of Vilayet would lie on the river Sava on the ridges of the Dinaric Alps. In the following decades the area became peaceful. As sharp confessional barriers were looming above the individual groups of inhabitants, the overall social conditions in Wilayah at the beginning of the 19th century were not idyllic. While privileged Muslims had access to political and public functions, Christians were regarded as unprivileged. This mutual political and social inequality was the main reason why the local Christian population engaged themselves in Anti-Ottoman rebellions

and numerous peasant riots. At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries Bosnia experiences significant demographic changes. In the course of the 18th century, Muslims were the largest group. Yet, this political-religious community began to stagnate significantly. In the following decades they were trying to close on the culturally and socially more dynamic development of their Christian fellow citizens, whose community started to prevail at the beginning of the 19th century. [12]

In such a disunified multi confessional community, a nationally and power motivated conflict was not long in coming. Great Eastern Crisis aroused in the Balkans in 1876. Austrian-Hungarian Empire was planning to use the situation to take control of the Balkans. Two years later, Austrian-Hungarian Empire gained a mandate to occupy BiH. It was; nevertheless, still not clear if BiH got under control of Austria-Hungary or if it is still a part of the Ottoman Empire under sultan's dominion. The country was fully annexed in 1908. Until then, the occupation had a provisional and military character. With Austrian-Hungarian occupation, BiH entered a very important phase of development. While being an underdeveloped and rather oriental area at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the country started to come resemble the countries the cultures of which had European features. At the same time, confessional communities started to transform in nationality conscious unions, which led to establishing political organizations later. In Bosnia nationality has always been a complicated issue. Although the majority of population was of the same origin and spoke the same language, Serbs and Croats always considered each other to be a different nation. The reason for this was not only different names and histories, Croats having their own kings and Serbs their own ones. The main ground was religion, for one group confessed Christian religion and the other one Orthodox religion. Hence, Bosnian Muslims regarded themselves as a third group. At the time of occupation, Serbs and Muslims were a sort of allies from political-religious reasons; both groups were related by their opposing attitude towards the Austrian-Hungarian occupational regime. In contrast, Bosnian Catholics welcomed the occupation of BiH with great satisfaction as Austria-Hungary was generally perceived as a Catholic power. Yet Catholics remained the weakest component among Bosnian confessions.

Another turning point in the history of the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina became the year 1903, when the absolutistic reign of Austrian-Hungarian Empire finished by the death of the ruling sovereign. Social conditions were, on the whole, liberalized

and political organizations gradually started to form. The first political organization was established by Bosnian Muslims by constituting Muslim People's Organization (MPO), whose main effort was to make it possible for political refugees to return to the country, to introduce civil rights and self-rule in Muslim religious and educational institutions. The second political organization, called Muslim Progressive Party (MPP), was founded by Muslim intellectuals. These held the opinion that Bosnian Muslims should be culturally awakened and that their lives should be modernized. Needless to say that Serbs, the strongest opposing group in Bosnia, were not long in establishing their own political organization called Serbian People's Organisation (SPO) and afterwards also Serbian People's Independent Party (SPIP). SPO was instrumental in asserting the country's ecclesiastical educational self-government at Austrian-Hungarian authorities. Bosnian Croats began to form political organizations at the beginning of the 20th century by founding Croatian People's Union which was requiring the annexation of BiH by Austria-Hungary. Bosnian political spectrum was later completed by a multi confessional political movement, the so-called Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP BiH). Austria-Hungary invested a lot in BiH during the period of almost 30 years and wanted to secure their position and make a final decision. This was carried out in 1908 when the Proclamation of Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was enacted and made public. The reason which Francis Joseph I gave for taking the step was the need for a constitution in BiH. The public was presented with the decision as with a fait accompli. The Bosnian constitution which was called Land Statutes for BiH was signed on 17th February 1910. It defined BiH as Crown lands of the Habsburg Monarchy. The constitution provided opportunity for the development of politics. The Land Assembly (LA) was to participate in the administration of BiH. It was the vision of the elections for LA that significantly revived the political spectrum in BiH and gave rise to other political parties. Nevertheless, the persisting disunity was weakening the entire political life in BiH. The political climate sharpened significantly during the first Balkan wars with the aim to displace Ottomans from the south of the Balkan Peninsula. The war successes of Serbs and Montenegrins strongly radicalized nationalistic feelings of Bosnian Serbs. Habsburg authorities were deeply upset by the political climate and made great effort to paralyze SPO as the strongest political association so far. Serbs were known to be uncompromising in religious issues and Serbian nationality often blended with Orthodox religion. [12]

One part of population of Bosnia and Herzegovina that the Austrian-Hungarian authorities were not able to control was the Bosnian youth, which was becoming politically radical after the annexation. One of the student associations which appeared in Bosnia shortly after the annexation was Young Bosnia. Its members were connected by enthusiasm for the idea of national consciousness, resistance to the present political regime as well as the rashness of youth. Austrian-Hungarian authorities were deeply disconcerted by the course of events in the southeast of the borders immediately before the first world war. The authorities in Vienna planned a huge military campaign for June 1914 which were to demonstrate the power of the Habsburg Monarchy. The importance of the military operation was to be supported by the presence of the successor to the throne, Francis Ferdinand D'Este. Young Bosnians considered this man to be the impersonation of the militant Austrian-Hungarian circles. On 28th June 1914, the public was shaken by the news of the assassination of the successor to the throne, Francis Ferdinand and his wife, which took place in the town of Sarajevo. The assassin was a young Serbian student, a member of Young Bosnia. After the psychological shock caused by the assassination wore off, the top representatives of the militant Austrian army got opportunity to assert their radical opinions. Due to the accumulated mutual disagreements and political military interconnection of European power alliances – Triple Alliance and Agreement – the Austrian-Hungarian attack of Serbia soon grew into the First World War (WW1). [12]

5.2 From the First World War to Tito's Yugoslavia

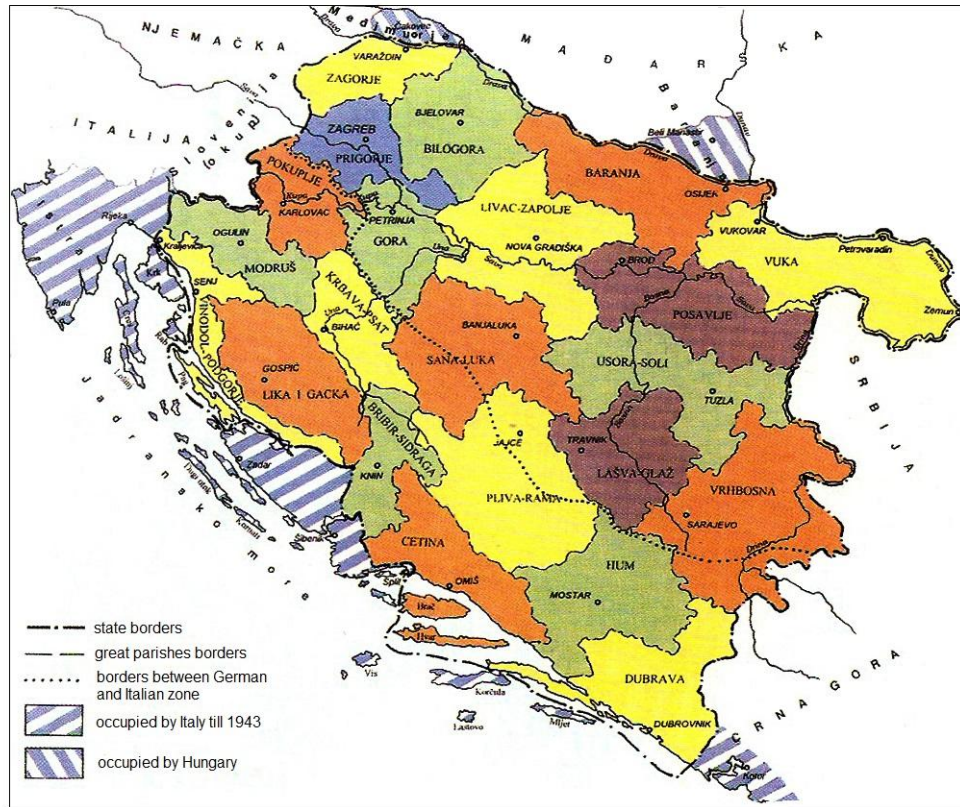
The aim of the military camping of Austrian-Hungarian Empire against Serbia was to conquer a neighbouring state, which Vienna regarded as an unpleasant obstacle to their power aspirations in the south of the Balkans and which was the initiator of persistent tension in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war brought misery to the inhabitants of Bosnia, most of them suffered from hunger, suffering and illnesses. The political scene was paralysed; the fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina depended on the development of the situation on European war fields, specifically on the mutual situation between the Central Powers and the Allied Powers. In the second half of the year 1918, however, the days of the Habsburg Monarchy were numbered after the proclamation of independence of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia under the name of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. Thus, all the bonds with Austria-Hungary were broken. After only a few months of its existence, this new independent state developed into the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, the duration of which was longer, it existed

for more than 20 years. Bosnia and Herzegovina with their citizens – Serbs, Croats and Muslims – became part of the kingdom as well. These were to administer their affairs without the supremacy of Turks, Germans and Hungarians. Although Bosnia kept its self-government as a political administrative unit, the range of its autonomy was quickly getting narrower. The main political problem of the kingdom lay in the different opinions of the individual parties, or more precisely national communities of the form of the internal organization of the common state. The official ideology was a thesis which regarded the young Yugoslavian state as a state consisting of three branches: Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. Muslims were only regarded as members of religious community. During the whole time of the kingdom's existence, Serbs and Croats made pressure on Muslims to join a specific "branch". But the absolute majority of Muslims avoided an unambiguous national categorization. Later Muslims advanced in their speculations after all and started to consider the possibility that their community represents not only confessional, but also ethnical association.

The constitution was cancelled in 1929 and a royal dictatorship was established, which meant a new administrative reform that divided the state with the use of violence into nine provinces. The point of the reform was, besides other things, to strengthen the position of Serbian component inside the state. At the same time the name of the state was changed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This reform destroyed Bosnia and Herzegovina as a historically autonomous territorial unit. The policy of strict centralism lasted until 1939 when Serbs started to rule the country. It was the internal crisis that made the government accede to the compromise with Croatian opposition and establish the Croatian Province with fairly extensive powers. Thus, Croats managed to concentrate all their main ethnic regions into one. Muslims were deliberately ignored during this political act all the time.

The political representatives of the kingdom of Yugoslavia were observing the quickly changing political situation in Europe with utmost unease, especially when the Second World War was started by Nazi Germany in 1939. During this newly-emerged military conflict Yugoslavia tried to maintain formal neutrality for a certain period of time. A protocol about Yugoslavia's accession to the Tripartite Pact was signed so that the state sovereignty would be saved. This immediately became an unpleasant obstacle for Hitler to his plans to finally control the Balkans. The Nazi invasion of royal Yugoslavia at the beginning of April 1941 meant the end of its existence. The Belgrade government

together with the king emigrated and the weak Yugoslavian army capitulated after a few days of desperate resistance. With the help of Germans and Italians the Independent State of Croatia (NDH - *Nezavisna država Hrvatska*) was declared, which also encompassed the whole area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. [12]



Pict. 4 - Independent State of Croatia [12]

The head of the NDH was the leader of the Croatian Ustashes¹ Ante Pavelić. Shortly after the declaration of independence was declared, an administrative reform was carried out that divided the country into 22 great parishes, picture 4, in the spirit of the Croatian historical tradition. In the spirit of the Nazi ideology, the Croatian nation was declared the only Arian nation on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia. Consequently, plans for purifying the territory from all non-Croatian elements, especially from Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were elaborated. The regime accepted numerous downright racially discriminatory laws on the grounds of which thousands of Croatian and Bosnian Serbs

¹ Ustashes - Croatian Revolutionary Movement, fascist and terrorist organization, active, between 1929 and 1945. [13]

were deported to concentration camps. Serbian inhabitants on the territory of the NDH were, naturally, defending themselves. Regiments of Serbian men-at-arms were emerging that professed the so-called Chetniks Gendarme Movement. Chetniks aimed to purify the territory from all minorities and non-national elements. The first Muslim and Croatian villages were already burned down by Chetniks in 1941. Muslims started establishing their own armed militia and getting even with Serbs by burning down their villages and terrorizing their inhabitants. As if there were not enough conflicts, partisan groups of Yugoslavian communists under the command of pre-war general secretary and the leader of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (SKJ - *Savez komunista Jugoslavije*), Josip Broz-Tito, became involved as well. Unlike Chetniks, communists appealed for an open and armed rebellion against fascist occupants from the very beginning of the war. Fierce battles within the time frame of the Second World War (WW2) took place in the years 1942 – 1943 on the territory of Yugoslavia, more precisely even in Bosnia itself. Tito's partisans managed to take control of quite extensive territories. They were gradually becoming the most important military force in the area. Later the most important political authorities of Yugoslavian partisans, like e.g. Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ - *Antifašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije*) aroused there which should lay legal grounds for political administration and economic life in the liberated areas. At that time the inhabitants of BiH started to join the partisans' side on a mass scale since the antinationalistic program appeared to be the most acceptable alternative considering that other policies led to mutual animosity and killing. It was, however, Josip Broz-Tito in the first place, who for the first time came with the initiative of equal approach towards the individual communities within the frame of nationally mixed BiH. The members of the SKJ were of the opinion that there were five independent nations and that the optimal form for their further co-existence would be a federation of national Yugoslavian republics. Then, of course, a question arose about the multinational Bosnia and Herzegovina which had existed as an economic-historical unit for hundreds of years. After complicated negotiations it was decided that Bosnia and Herzegovina would become a sixth federative unit of Democratic federative Yugoslavia and within this federation Bosnia and Herzegovina were acknowledged equality with the other federative units. The Declaration brought equality to all nations in BiH – Serbs, Muslims and Croats. When in April 1945 Tito's army units were entering liberated Sarajevo, they were being welcomed by people of all nationalities as their arrival meant the end of the most

sanguinary war so far. In November 1945, the first post-war election took place in Yugoslavia which was won by AVNOJ, controlled by the SKJ. Shortly after that, a constituent group met which cancelled the monarchy and declared Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. BiH integrated into the federation basically within the frame of its historical borders. The process of renewal of the former statehood of Bosnian was formally completed by the act of approval of the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Pict. 5 - Socialist Yugoslavia [12]

The federative form of arrangement of the multinational state as it was realized in socialist Yugoslavia represented at that time a model answer to national identity issues, which deserved appreciation as it considerably managed to replace the existing embedded nationalist particularism. The year 1945 meant a beginning of a new period of development in the history of BiH. The adoption of the Soviet system of economic policy, which consisted in expedited nationalization of means of production and radical industrialization, opened a way to a fast economic development and the growth of living standard. After the war new job opportunities in Bosnia brought about considerable migration. The inhabitants of the countryside flocked to towns. Members of other nations and nationalities were migrating to the republic. It was the local Muslims who appreciated the most the enactment of the independence of BiH. After the year 1945 pressure was repeatedly imposed on them to declare themselves as Serbs, Croats, or possibly Yugoslavians. At the same time numerous possible political and ideological means were

used to suppress the importance of the most distinct feature of their existing identity – Islamic faith and traditions. The national independence of Bosnian Muslims de facto had to be fought through again in the post-war Yugoslavia. The first more tangible result was reached as late as the 60s thanks to the foreign political activity of Tito's Yugoslavia, which started to establish political relations with the developing countries of Asia and Africa. An important position among these countries was also taken by Arabic, or more precisely, Muslim states. It was not until the turn of the 60s and 70s that Muslims were regarded a definitely provable independent nation. In a certain sense it is possible to say that the idea of three co-equal nations became one of the principal dogmas of the communist system in BiH. The idea was to bring the nations closer together; yet, it rather reinforced the differences. Bosnian Serbs and Croats specifically did not stop to consider themselves to be an integral part of their wider national communities. At the beginning of the 1970s Yugoslavia went through the first significant political crisis, which was more or less overcome thanks to the influence of Tito's authoritative personality. The regime reacted to the newly emerging nationalist conflicts by issuing a new, considerably decentralist constitution, which delegated a large amount of powers to the individual republics and granted each of them the power of veto in common affairs, which started to be misused. The zealotry for communist ideals, which Tito's generation prided on, however, was fading out quickly in the 1970s and Yugoslavia started to experience serious economic problems. [12]

6 THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The break-up of the common Yugoslavian state at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s had deeply significant consequences for Bosnia and Herzegovina, first of all due to the multinational character of the country. Even though Bosnia and Herzegovina existed as an independent Yugoslavian republic after the Second World War, no common "bosnian-herzegovinian" awareness developed, neither in national, nor in the political sense of the word. The following chapters describe the period of the starting crisis, which was marked by the constitution of new nationally oriented parties and by the fight for power and land. Further, the following chapters deal with the break-up of Yugoslavian federation, which was unavoidable because of the numerous events described below, and last but not least, with the civil war itself. The conflict, which is referred to as the bloodiest chapter of the break-up of Yugoslavia, claimed tens of thousands of casualties during three years, moreover, hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave their homes. This chapter presents examples of the use of crisis management by way of international intervention which was present from the beginning of the conflict and which considerably contributed to the termination of the war.

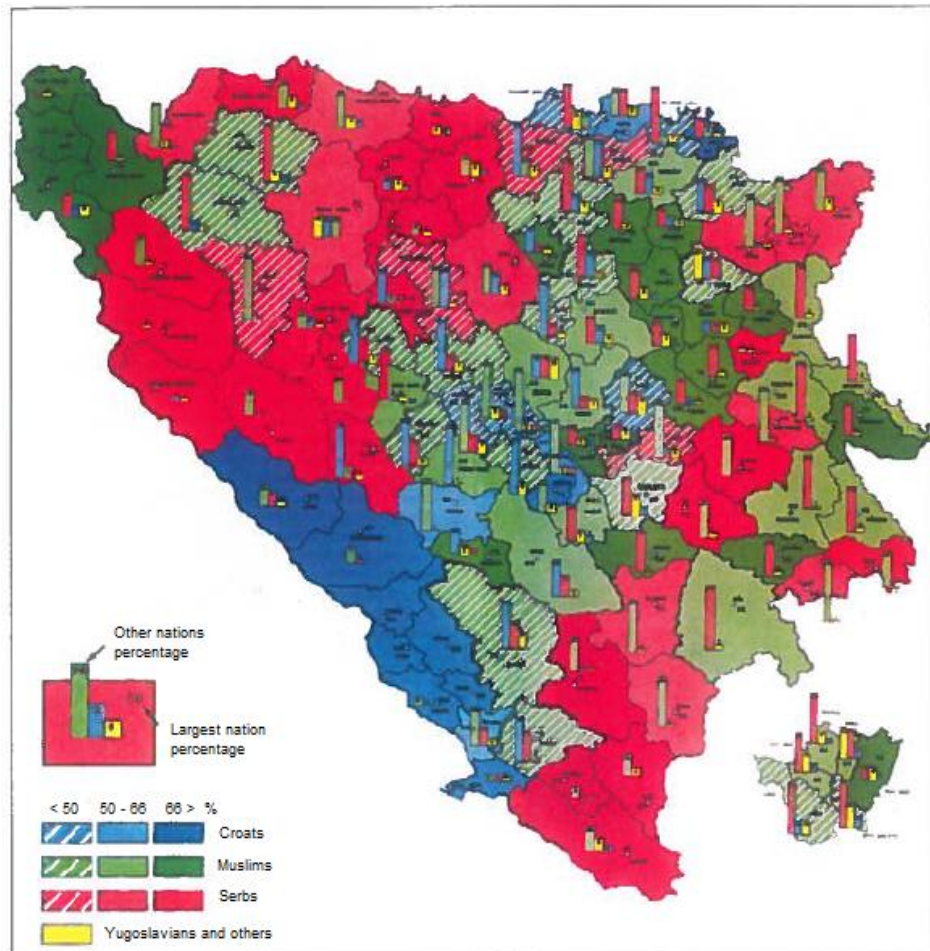
6.1 The Coming Crisis and the Break-up of the Yugoslavian Federation

The death of Josip Broz-Tito represented a turning point in the existence of the common Yugoslavian state. By the end of his life, the country was getting into serious economic problems, which showed by great indebtedness and permanently rising unemployment. The failures of Yugoslavian economy and the inability to keep up with the developed western countries set the scene for a political crisis. This grew into a conflict between nations which culminated at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s by the break-up of the Yugoslavian federation.

The last more significant economic and construction boom in Bosnia could be noticed at the end of the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s. This was connected with the preparations for XIV. Winter Olympic Games, which were held in Sarajevo in 1984. Bosnian capital city achieved unprecedented construction and modernization boom. Nevertheless, both the republic and the federation exhausted themselves immensely by this action and the period of boom was followed by a sharp decline. The then Bosnian leadership was uneasily observing the changes in the Yugoslavian society, first of all the fierce fight for power after Tito's death. The position of the existing rule of SKJ was

growing weak. Thus, a question arose about which power group would occupy positions which were by tens of years held by Tito's generation. Nationalistic conflicts were rising to the surface again and harsh power struggles were sparked off inside Yugoslavian political parties. The situation in Bosnia at the end of the 1980s was not favorable. It was marked by cases of embezzlement, corruption and frauds among top political representatives. The country was affected by a general economic crisis and growing unemployment; the dissatisfaction with bloated bureaucracy and defunct self-government was joined by increasing religious unrest. The time called for radical political and economic changes; yet the existing establishment were not able to make any. There was practically no substantial opposition in Bosnia for a long time. The impulse for a political turn came from outside. In the economically and socially more developed Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, new civil unions and new opposing political parties started to emerge. The SKJ started to disintegrate definitely after the collapse of the convention in January 1990. The first political party to register in BiH was the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ - *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*) and Franjo Tuđman was elected head of this party. The Muslim community started to activate considerably as well. Alija Izetbegović together with other associates registered the Party of Democratic Action (SDA - *Stranka demokratske akcije*). Bosnian communists, who formally still had power in their hands at that time, were trying to prevent the formation of nationally oriented parties which, in their opinion, represented a significant danger for the existing integrity between nations and nationalities in BiH. They even lodged a complaint with the Constitutional Court so that the formation of these parties would not be permitted. The court rejected the complaint by delivering a verdict saying that no law can prevent citizens to unite according to their interests and their beliefs, including the affiliation to a certain nationality. The growth of the nationalistic tension was encouraged by certain statements of the top representatives of Croatia and Serbia, casting doubt upon the validity of the existing borders between Yugoslavian republics. Franjo Tuđman – who was already the top representative of Croatia at that time, was promoting the idea that natural and historical borders of Croatia should be created in case of the break-up of Yugoslavia. Slobodan Milošević – the top representative of Serbia, refused the break-up of the federation; he, however, postulated that in the case of Yugoslavia's break-up the Serbian nation should be allowed to unite into their own state on the basis of the right of self-determination. [12]

Another political party founded on the territory of BiH was Serb Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDS BiH - *Srpska Demokratska Stranka Bosni i Hercegovini*), the chairman of which became Radovan Karadžić. They propagated that the aim of the new party was to improve the relations between nations, reinforcing civil peace, preservation of federative Yugoslavia and equality of BiH within the federation. Approximately at the same time, the process of formation of Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina was completed (HDZ BiH - *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica Bosni i Hercegovini*), the leader of which became Stjepan Kljuić. HDZ BiH declared that they would sponsor the transformation of Yugoslavian union into a confederation and endeavor to secure equal and common life of Muslims, Croats and Serbs in BiH. Both nationally oriented parties officially presented themselves as independent "bosnian-herzegovian" parties whose aim was to represent the interests of Serbian, or more precisely Croatian inhabitants of BiH. Both parties closely co-operated with political centers in Beograd and Zagreb, specifically with Milošević's SDS and Tuđman's HDZ. Very soon, they became apparent tools for asserting their interests in fading Yugoslavia. Under the pressure of radicalizing public a series of important amendments to national constitution was approved by the still ruling communist government at the end of July 1990. These amendments, apart from other things, changed the existing political system. One-party rule was to be substituted by a contest of ideologically mixed political subjects. On the grounds of these changes, the first pluralist post-war elections in BiH were announced. These elections were preceded by election campaign, during which practically all parties expressed themselves for democratic, equal and undivided Bosnia. The elections themselves took place at the turn of November and December 1990 and meant a great triumph of nationalistic parties which altogether managed to gain 86% of mandates. The following picture shows the ethnic division and territorial arrangement in Bosnia at that time.



Pict. 6 - Ethnic Division and Territorial Arrangement in BiH [12]

The people in BiH were used to perceiving the division into three constitutional nations as a natural fact, that is why the majority of them wanted to believe that the current form of co-existence between the individual national communities would be preserved. In actual fact, they greatly underestimated the danger of revitalization nationalism and nationalistic parties. The newly elected parliament of BiH began to function by the end of December 1990. In the newly formed coalition there was no self-contained program of a further development. Soon, first conflicts broke out between the individual parties. The mutual distrust between the ruling parties and their top political representatives was later transmitted to the Bosnian society, too. The fears of the inhabitants of Bosnia further increased after the declaration of independence of Slovenia and Croatia on 25th July 1991 and after the consequent news about the fights that broke out between the armed forces of these republics and Yugoslav People's Army (JLA - *Jugoslavenska narodna armija*) 80% of which formed Serbian officers and which was more noticeably inclined to the Serbian side. The inhabitants of Bosnia observed the everyday news coverage

on bloody battles and barbaric destruction of towns, villages and churches in the neighboring Croatia; nevertheless, they remained convinced that nothing similar could happen in their country. During the summer of the year 1991, refugees from Croatia, where a regular Serbian-Croatian war was already being waged, started entering the country in larger and larger numbers. War psychosis was quickly beginning to flood the heretofore relatively calm country. [12]

The first diplomat from the ranks of the EU who started to deal with the conflict in Yugoslavia was Lord Peter Carrington. At the peace convention on Yugoslavia, which was taking place under the patronage of EC in September 1991 in the Hague, Lord Carrington put forward a plan which would make it possible for the republics to choose a form which they would have within the federation or to create a loose association of states. By this so-called Carrington's plan he wanted to reach a compromise and at the same time avert the threat of war in BiH, strengthened by the ongoing conflict on Croatian territory. Although each republic had a reason to reject the plan, it was Milošević who pushed through the refusal of the plan, as he demanded a new demarcation of borders. [14]

In November 1991 Serbs announced for the first time their intention to declare Serbian republic on their ethnic territory in BiH, which was supposed to be an independent political subject within Yugoslavian federation. An alternative to this plan was to join Serbs directly. At the same time an opinion started to prevail that it was ineffectual to struggle to preserve political integrity of Yugoslavian territory and that it was necessary to provide for the independent development of those Yugoslavian republics which would pledge to realize democratic principles and guarantee the observance of human rights and the rights of national minorities. On 16th December, the ministers of the EU countries accepted a document containing criteria which would hereafter serve for judging the legal and political ripeness striving to achieve independence. The claims for international acknowledgement, the rightfulness of which was to be scrutinized by a special EU committee, were to be submitted by 23rd December 1991. Being pressed for time, the Muslim-Croatian establishment of BiH asked for an international recognition of Bosnia as an independent state within its existing boundaries. Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia used the opportunity as well. The Assembly of Bosnian Serbs reacted by declaring the Republic of the Serb People of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 9th January 1992.

Among others, the assembly informed the UN general secretary Butrus B. Gháli and also Lord Carrington about the situation and at the same time warned of the attempt to separate BiH from Yugoslavia. On the 15th January 1992 the EU countries acknowledged the independence of Slovenia and Croatia only. Macedonia was not acknowledged because of the disapproval of Greece, BiH because of the fact that not all of their inhabitants fully agreed with the independence. Despite this rejection, Bosnia still strived for the separation of the "remanent Yugoslavia" but it was still not possible to consider the country a sovereign independent state, first of all due to the fact that the inhabitants of Bosnia were of different opinions regarding the country's further development as a republic. In such a situation the EU offered to try to be a mediator in solving the intrabosnian conflict. Representatives of three main parties were chosen to act as political representatives of Bosnian nationalist communities. Between 13th and 27th February 1992, a conference about the future internal arrangement of BiH took place, at that time still under the patronage of the EU. At the conference, Izetbegović's SDA was defending the idea of a unitarian state arrangement. Muslim population – the biggest nationalist group – lived scattered within a large part of the republic's territory as only unified Bosnia could guarantee their national interests. SDS BiH, however, was against because, in their opinion, Serbs and Croats would become a minority controlled by Muslims in such a state. Karadžić was suggesting division of BiH into three ethnic units which would be functioning as a confederation. The representatives of Bosnian Croats inclined to the idea of decentralist republic on the basis of a nationalist federation. At the end of the conference, an agreement in principle was signed. This was called Cutilheir's plan. According to the document, Bosnia was to keep the same borders under the condition that autonomous units would be created – cantons based on ethnical, economic and functional principle. The plan was accompanied by a draft of map with Bosnian opštinas or municipalities and their administration divided among three main communities. Although the individual parties agreed with the proposal presented, new conflicts soon arose among them and the document was never officially signed. A significant upsurge of nationalist passions was provoked by the manslaughter of one Serbian at a wedding in Sarajevo. This possibly incidental event was immediately used for inciting nationalist feelings.

Thousands of Sarajevans, dismayed by the latest events and driven by the coming insecurity, took to the streets and requested that the government assured security. Strictly

speaking, at the same time the first armed conflicts between the individual nationalities occurred in various places of the Bosnian country. JLA units became involved in those conflicts as well. The Serbian leadership, headed by Slobodan Milošević, began to realize a plan, the aim of which was to gain control over all Serbian-populated areas, using military force. On 5th April 1992 violent clashes between JLA and armed paramilitary groups of Muslims and Croats erupted in Sarajevo and its surroundings. Some sources refer to this day as to the first day of the war in BiH. On 7th April 1992 the EU authorities announced the acknowledgement of the independence Bosnia and Herzegovina within its existing borders. This step was to prevent the war in BiH. In actual fact, it only added fuel to the flames. On the very same day, Bosnian Serbs in Banja Luka established a completely independent Bosnian Serb Republic in BiH. The belligerent nationalist camps used all their force to win the war. Bosnia was engulfed by a fierce war of several years' duration. [12]

6.2 The Course of the War and the International Intervention

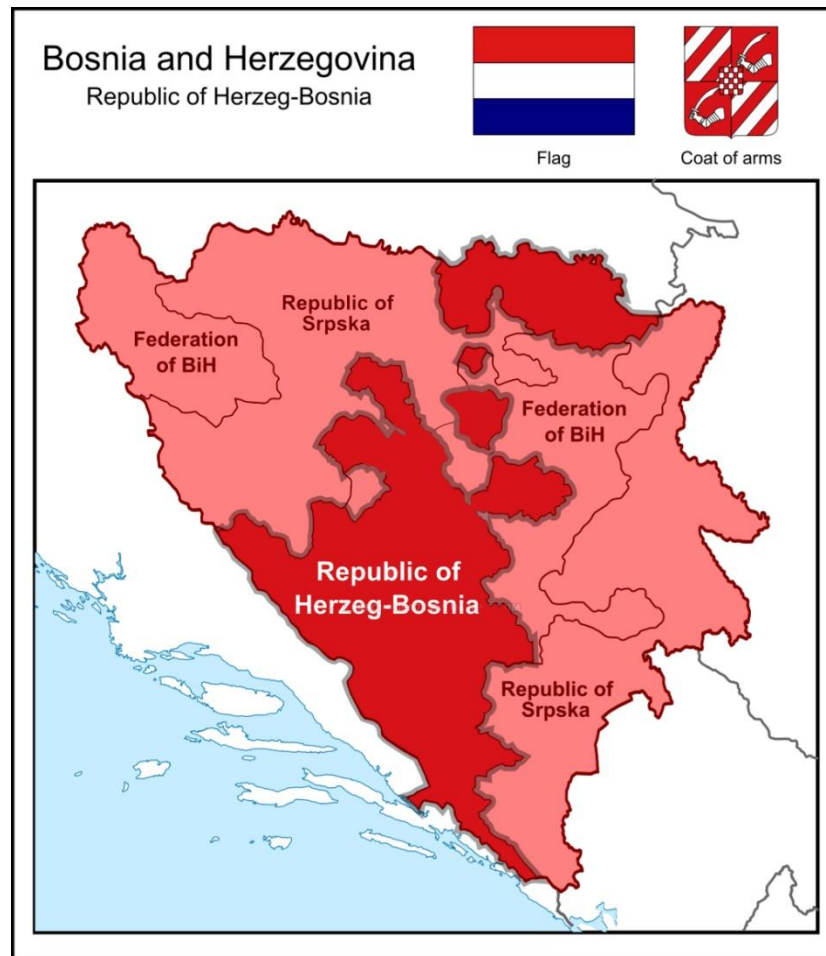
In the course of spring 1992, fightings broke out on the majority of the Bosnian territory. Mutual fights for 'ethnically clean' territories began in BiH. The troops of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (AR BiH - *Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine*), mostly formed by Muslims and Bosnian Croats, were established hurriedly. They were, however, basically lacking any heavy weaponry. Bosnian Serbs, who were supplied with weapons by JLA, were significantly ahead in this aspect. The UN, whose valid member BiH became on 23rd May 1992, deployed special troops in reaction to the reinforced fighting and to the direct request of the Sarajevo government. The aim of the operation was to prepare the conditions in Bosnia for the deployment of UNPROFOR units. Under the pressure of the international community, JLA was forced to withdraw their units from Bosnia. Nevertheless, before their departure, they handed over a considerable part of their weaponry to Bosnian Serbs and reinforced their formation by one thousand soldiers of Serbian nationality. In connection with the war against BiH, Robert Badentier, the chairman of the arbitrational committee, declared that the process of the break-up of Yugoslavian federation was in fact finished and that from the perspective of the international law the state finished. In summer 1992 the separatist tendencies of Bosnian Croats became more intense. The Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia was declared in the western part and also in the small enclaves in the centre of Bosnia. This step was accounted for by the existence of the Serbian

Republic in the territory of BiH. At the same time, Bosnian Croats created their own armed forces called Croatian Defense Council (HVO - *Hrvatsko vijeće odbrane*), which were politically subordinate to the leadership of HDZ BiH and which were armed by the army of Croatian Republic. Bloody battles gradually spread to the whole area of BiH. Thousands of people lost their lives, hundreds of thousands of others were forced to flee their homes. Internment camps were arising in the country, in which innocent civilians were held in inhuman conditions. In autumn 1992, Bosnian Serbs exercised control over half of the BiH territory. The international community was diffidently trying to stop the bloody Bosnian conflict. Humanitarian help started to be delivered to BiH in June 1992 by air.

The war in Bosnia was put on the agenda of the International conference on Yugoslavia, which was in progress alternately in London, Geneva and the Hague. The EU states named David Owen their main negotiator for the resolution of the Bosnian issue. The UN was represented by Ceres Vance during the negotiations. At the beginning of January 1993 a project for peace achievement in BiH, the so-called Vance-Owen plan, was submitted by the two representatives in Geneva. On the basis of this plan, the area of BiH was dividend into ten sovereign cantons, which were generally to correspond to the ethnical situation in the country before the outbreak of the fightings. Three cantons were to fall upon under the control of Serbs, three under the control of Muslims and three were to be administered by Croats. The province of Sarajevo were to be manager by all the nationalist communities. BiH as a unified republic was to be governed by a presidium comprised of nine members, each nationality was to be represented by three members. The borders of Bosnia as an integral state, free movement of population among the individual provinces, human rights observance and the protection of rights of national minorities rights in BiH were to be guaranteed by UN units. A few months of disputes regarding the acceptance or refusal of the plan between the disunited Bosnian parties followed. By the end of March 1993, Bosnian Muslims and Croats spoke up for its acceptance. Bosnian Serbs, on the other hand, spoke up against the plan. The fightings on Bosnian territory continued. In April first armed conflicts between the hitherto allies, the Croatian HVO and Muslim AR BiH, occurred. The escalation of the Croatian-Muslim animosity was to a considerable degree an unwanted result of the Vance-Owen plan. Both parties endeavored to control and ethnically clean 'their' presumptive cantons. [12]

Another attempt to resolve the Bosnian conflict was the submission of a new project called after its authors Owen-Stoltenberg. Thorvald Stoltenberg, a Norwegian diplomat,

substituted Cyrus Vance, who had given up his mandate already in April 1993, in his functions. This plan meant acceptance Serbian-Croatian idea of ethnical and political division of BiH. It proposed the establishment of a very loose Association of Bosnian republics with representation in the UN, state citizenship, common state symbols and closely linked economic space. Sarajevo was to be under the UN control and Mostar was to be governed by the EU.



Pict. 7 - Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia [26]

Meanwhile on 28th August 1993 Bosnian Croats officially declared the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, which definitely completed Muslim-Croatian political detachment. The centre of the republic became the town of Grude and Mate Boban was elected its president. In September 1993, an assembly of the representatives of Muslim political, religious and cultural life came together to negotiate Genevan plan on the division of BiH. For the Muslim community, this moment was one of the most critical ones in the whole history of war because their assent would mean the actual acknowledgement of 'ethnical expulsion'. The majority of them were not willing to agree to the terms. The acceptance

of the Owen-Stoltenberg plan would de facto mean to accept that the recently acknowledged BiH will cease to exist in the near future and that the Muslim nation will only live on a restricted territory. Muslims were willing to accept the plan after Bosnian Serbs would return the territories on which the Muslim nation was numerically superior before the war. This condition was in fact equal to a rejection and that is why a new round of negotiations commenced. In connection with the escalating war situation and because of the negative associations which the appellation Muslim used to incite, the Muslim assembly of Sabor agreed that the appellation 'Muslims' should be replaced by 'Bosniaks'. The decision to accept the restored term was primarily manifestation of the contemporary state political interests. The term started to be used relatively soon and after a lapse of time it was also accepted by some international organizations, diplomats and journalists in a number of the western countries. [12]

The development of the conflict between the disunited parties in Bosnia got to a situation, which was seemingly paradoxical but strictly speaking logical. At the beginning of December troops of Bosnian Serbs and Croats united in central Bosnia by the town of Olovo and jointly attacked the troops of Bosniaks. Although Serbs and Croats were tenaciously fighting against each other in Croatia, they had a common interest in BiH – to definitely crush the adversary, who hampered their efforts to divide Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia. A radical intervention of international community was incited by a massacre at the marketplace in Markala in the centre of Sarajevo on 5th February 1994. The explosions of mortar shells claimed more than seventy lives and about two hundred casualties. Serbs were accused of the attack even though news started appear that the massacre was probably a desperate action of special services of the Sarajevo government that wanted to draw the attention of the world public to the besieged Sarajevo by this act. Butrus Gháli, the UN Secretary General, did not wait for the results of the investigations and turned to the NATO Secretary General, Manfred Werner, to authorize The NATO Council attack artillery positions in the surrounding of Sarajevo as soon as possible. The NATO Council gave Bosnian Serbs ultimatum to withdraw their troops twenty kilometers away from Sarajevo and also to hand in heavy weaponry in this zone under the supervision of UNPROFOR. In the case of disobedience, The NATO Council threatened Serbs with air assault. Russia railed against the decision, together with Greece as a representative of EU countries. The Russian president Boris Jelcin proposed that four hundred Russian soldiers serving for UNPROFOR, hurriedly withdrawn from

Croatia, should move to the positions abandoned by Serbs. Bosnian Serbs accepted the proposal and withdrew within the determined deadline. Moscow presented this act as their big diplomatic victory. At the beginning of the year 1994, the radical international political comeback of Russians to Balkans made Americans, who were until then rather reserved towards Yugoslavian crisis, take up more interest in the situation in BiH, too. Nevertheless, the politicians in Washington were not disquieted by the Russian involvement only. The USA adopted a new, more active approach towards the Bosnian crisis with the aim of preventing the establishment of a strictly Muslim state on the territory of the former Yugoslavia as a consequence of the break-up of BiH. Croatian-Bosniaks settlement talks were initiated in Vienna and at the end of February in Washington, D.C., in attendance of German and American diplomats. The contract about the establishment of the Bosniak-Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBH - *Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine*) was signed in Washington, D.C. relatively soon, on 18th March 1994, by the top representatives of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, F. Tudman and A. Izetbegović, under the patronage of the US president Bill Clinton. A preliminary general agreement concerning the principles of the future confederative interconnection of this state form with Croatia, the so-called Washington Agreement, was signed on the same occasion. Nevertheless, the significant mistrust between Bosniaks and Croatians in BiH continued to exist. [12]



Pict. 8 - Republic of Serbia and Federation of BiH [27]

In the attempt to resolve the awkward Bosnian problem, a new peace plan was put forward to the representatives of the parties at war in July 1994 by the so-called Contact Group for Bosnia-Herzegovina, which consisted of the representatives of the USA, Russia, Germany, France and Great Britain. The basis of the plan was a map dividing BiH along ethnical lines; 51% was to be allotted to the Bosniak-Croat Federation and 49% to the political formation of Bosnian Serbs. Serbs controlled almost 70% of BiH territory at that time. Thus, they were forced to withdraw from a number of areas. At the end of 1994, the former American president Jimmy Carter offered to arrange peace intermediation. The result of his negotiation with R. Karadžić was that Bosnian Serbs were willing to accept the proposed four-month armistice. The agreement between the Sarajevo government and the representatives of Bosnian Serbs was finally signed on 31st December 1994. However, the armistice did not bring permanent peace. The parties at war used it for their disarmament and regeneration of their forces only. The fightings broke out anew in April of the following year. At the beginning of summer 1995, Serbian soldiers led by general Ratko Mladić conquered Srebrenica, a Bosniak enclave, one of the six so-called safe zones. The inhabitants of these zones were to be protected by UN troops as of May 1995. Srebrenica specifically was to be protected by Dutch soldiers from UNPROFOR troops. Not even they did prevent Mladić's soldiers from attacking the area. Serbs committed a lot of acts of violence. Approximately twenty-five thousand people, mostly women, children and elderly people, were transported away from the area. Eight thousand Bosniak men suffered a tragic fate; they were captured and killed. After the seize of Srebrenica, a discussion between political and military officials broke out as to whether the UN operation in Bosnia should continue or whether it would be better to withdraw the soldiers from that area. In the middle of August 1995, the Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrook was dispatched by Bill Clinton to Balkans. Unlike the previous international negotiators, sternness and an obvious effort to reach an agreement at any cost. Politically, his plan was a mixture of old proposals with a few new features. On 28th August 1995 a massacre occurred at the marketplace in Sarajevo again. UNPROFOR authorities issued an official announcement which stated that UNPROFOR radars recorded shelling from Serbian positions. Two days later NATO aircraft attacked a number of Bosnian Serb military positions. AR BiH and HVO troops took advantage of the radical change in the balance of forces and during three September weeks they got control of roughly four thousand square kilometers which had been controlled by Bosnian Serbs until then. Yet, the western superpowers, exerted significant political pressure

to finish the Croatian-Bosniak offensive. At the beginning of October, R. Holbrook managed to conclude a general armistice agreement between the parties at war. The existing opponents agreed to realize a meeting of the President of the Republic of Serbia, the President of Croatia, and the President of BiH with the aim to negotiate the final peace contract. The realization of the peace contract was to be arranged by NATO.

The negotiations were to take place in the USA, more precisely in the Wright-Patterson military base by the town of Dayton in the state of Ohio. The peace negotiations began in Dayton on 1st November 1995. The negotiations were mainly led by American diplomats and the contract proposals were prepared by US representatives. According to the information that leaked to the press after the negotiations, Americans used a strong political and psychological pressure in Dayton to force the participating parties to come to terms with the agreement. The delegations were shown slides depicting the air strikes against Serbian positions in BiH, which should present the absolute military and technological supremacy of NATO forces. Some participants were also obliquely informed that the USA had compromising materials about their activities during the war. Balkan political leaders were forced to sign the agreement. Thus, the American president, Bill Clinton, was able to inform journalists on 21st November 1995 that the proposal for the so-called Dayton Peace Agreement, precisely the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, (*Opšti okvirni sporazum za mir u Bosni i Hercegovini*) was signed by the President of the Republic of Serbia, the President of Croatia, and the President of BiH. The main idea of the so-called Dayton Agreement was an agreement that the borders of BiH would remain the same and that BiH would be a unified state from the international aspect; internally, however, it was to be divided into two politico-administrative entities, i.e. into the Bosniak-Croatian Federation BiH (51%) and the Republic of Serbia (49%). The parties involved also agreed on a new BiH Constitution. Sarajevo remained the capital. An important point from the aspect of the further development was that UN peace forces were to be replaced by multinational forces under the NATO command – IFOR (Implementation Force). The IFOR soldiers gained the right to apprehend any war criminal in Bosnia but they did not have a duty to search for war criminals. Elections to all legislative and administrative bodies were to be held within six to nine months after the conclusion of the final version of the peace agreement was signed. Further, the Dayton Agreement guaranteed the inhabitants of BiH

the right for the freedom of movement within the whole territory of the republic. Refugees and expatriates were given a legal right to return to their homes or to be fairly reimbursed. At the beginning of December 1995, an international convention on BiH took place in London. PIC or Peace Implementation Council was established at this event. The Council was comprised of 55 states and other international organizations which were willing to participate on peace renewal in BiH. The conference saw the establishment of a new executive body, the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council, the head of which became a Swiss diplomat, Carl Bildt, a High Representative of the international community for BiH. The Steering Board was to assume working immediately after the official opening of the peace operation in BiH. The closing text of the document was signed on 14th December 1995 in Paris by Slobodan Milošević, Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović. The American President Bill Clinton, his French counterpart Jacques Chirac and the German chancellor Helmut Kohl, the British Prime Minister John Major as well as the Russian and Spanish Prime Ministers, Viktor Černomirdin and Felipe Gonzales, attested the formation of the Agreement. The NATO and UN Secretaries General, representatives of EU states and other states were present as well. [12]

The respectable presence of top world politicians followed from the fact that the conclusion of the Agreement represented an official termination of one of the bloodiest conflicts in Europe after the WW2. Approximately two hundred thousand people were reported dead or missing after the war; more than two million inhabitants of BiH were rendered refugees. Towns as well as most of their cultural heritage were ravaged. Primarily, however, it incited another wave of feelings of mutual mistrust, fear and hatred in the souls of the local inhabitants.

6.3 The Main Actors in the Conflict

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was in the first place a conflict between the local ethnic entities. The conflict, however, cannot be perceived as a domestic affair. It was the external factors and players that fundamentally influenced the beginning of the event, its course and termination. They included the individual states, international organizations and their representatives from diplomatic ranks. Another way of classifying the partakers is into armed groups, political parties and their main representatives.

Tab. 1 - The Main Actors in the Conflict

MAIN ACTORS					
ETHNIC GROUPS		croats (catholics)	bosniaks (muslims)	srbs (orthodox cristians)	INTERNAL ACTORS
POLITICAL PARTIES	BiH	HDZ BiH	SDA	SDS BiH	
	Beyond BiH	HDZ		SDS	
INDIVIDUALS	BiH	Franjo Tudman	Alija Izetbegović	Radovan Karadžić	
	Beyond BiH			Slobodan Milošević	
ARMED FORCES		HVO	AR BiH	JLA	
STATES		Croatia Serbia USA Germany, Italy Russia, Greece			EXTERNAL ACTORS
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS & INDIVIDUALS		UN, EU, NATO, OSCE Lord Peter Carrington, Jose Cutilheir, David Owen, Cyrus Vance, Thorvald Stoltenberg, Richard Holbrook , Carl Bildt			

Political parties

The three above-mentioned political parties, i.e. SDA, HDZ BiH and SDS BiH played the main part on BiH territory in the course of the conflict. All the parties were formed on the basis of membership in one of the three main entities. The activities of the Bosnian HDZ were controlled directly from Zagreb and the activities of the Bosnian SDS from Beograd. Thus, the preserve of the parties was basically the whole Yugoslav territory. It is, consequently, possible to label the parties as internal as well as external players. The incentives of the parties were mainly territorial ones. The war in BiH and the ensuing conquests were to fulfill the Great Serbia and Great Croatia plans.

Armed groups

The armed groups which participated in the conflict can be divided into external and internal players. As the war in BiH had characteristics of a civil war, it was the different, more or less organized armed groups of inhabitants rather than armies that were fighting on BiH territory. JLA was fighting on the side of Bosnian Serbs and can be therefore labeled as an external player. JLA guaranteed a considerable predominance in the number of soldiers as well as in the amount of equipment. Although they were later compelled to officially withdraw by the international community, they left behind their military technology and some of their troops stayed in the area as well. Even so, the fighting continued under the auspices of different paramilitary organizations, which can, therefore, be ranked among the internal players. On the other hand, the interests of Bosnian Croats were advocated by the army of Bosnian Croats (HVO) as an internal player. AR BiH as an internal player formed hastily and its establishment was brought about by the urgency of the situation. They were also confronted with a fundamental problem – i.e. with an arms embargo which was already imposed on the whole territory of former Yugoslavia by the UN in 1991. A lot of volunteers, the so-called mujahids, were coming to Bosnia from abroad in order to support the Muslim entity. Only then was the real orthodox Islam brought to Bosnia and this is the moment which should be perceived as the beginning of the growing Islamic radicalism in Bosnia

States

The approach of the individual states towards the conflict in BiH was conditioned by their relations with internal players or the local entities. The main external players were Croatia

and Serbia, following their territorial interests in BiH, incited the war, using pointed propaganda. Other important partakers involved Russia together with Greece, standing, as usual, on the side of Serbia. Germany and Italy were supporting Croatia. The main players' support of the parties at war was primarily connected with religious faith and led not only to disagreements on the forum of the UN but also to the violation of the arms embargo, which resulted in the fact that the legitimate Bosnian army was the only army not equipped. The US attitude was changing in the course of the conflict. At the beginning the US did not want to be involved in the conflict and were leaving the resolution of the conflict to Europe. Their interest rose after Russia started to engage itself. The sole interest of the USA was to prevent the possible establishment of a purely Muslim state in Europe.

International organizations

As it has already been mentioned many times, the international community became instrumental in the development of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina to a large extent. Even though they really contributed to the conflict resolution, it is necessary to say that not all the steps taken in order to stop the violence were successful. Although the armistice was repeatedly negotiated between the parties at war, it was always broken again afterwards and used to plan further attacks. The application of crisis management, preventive diplomacy and realizations of observation missions, implementation missions or stabilization forces helped secure the implementation of the aspects of the peace agreement. It also enabled the creation of safe and secure environment, necessary for peace consolidation, with the ensuing aim to maintain the peace into the future. The individual missions are described below.

6.4 The Main Causes of the Conflict

The conflict in BiH has deep historical roots, related to the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional organization. It is, therefore, not surprising, that it had all the characteristics of a civil war fought for land. The individual national groups were trying to prove their historical claims for the desiderative areas while defending themselves by referring to the right of a nation for self-determination. Separatist tendencies went hand in hand with these claims, be it the recognition of the independence of the republics within BiH or annexation of the appropriate parts to the surrounding states with the same ethnic representation – Croatia, Serbia. The national structure of BiH was and is considerably

problematic as there are three numerous nations with different religions living on the same territory.

As it has already been mentioned, the roots of the conflict are to be found in the past. For example during the WW2, when the BiH territory became a scene of many bloody battles, it was the Ustashas, Germans' local allies, not Germans themselves, who were to be blamed for many of the massacres which occurred on the territory. These events were, however, passed in silence during the rule of the Communist Party that established new Yugoslavia on the basis of partisan resistance movement, general brotherhood and unity. Thus, the historical grudge remained more or less concealed. It was not until the early 1990s that it emerged.

After the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, the time called for political and economic changes; the leadership of the republic at that time, however, was not capable to make any. For a long time, there was practically no significant political opposition in Bosnia. An incentive for a political turn in Bosnia and Herzegovina came from abroad. The emergence of new political parties was solely evidence of growing nationalist tendencies that gradually transferred among inhabitants, which led to the intensification of mutual mistrust and to armed conflicts among the individual ethnical groups. During the first elections in 1990, the majority of voters based their decisions on ethnical affiliation and the elections were won by nationalist parties representing three main entities. The victory of the nationalist parties contributed to the growth of the tension in the society, mainly among ethnical and religious groups.

The last act which added fuel to the fire was the international recognition of the independence of BiH. The EU authorities officially announced the official acknowledgement of the independence BiH within its existing borders. This step was to prevent the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In reality, it had an opposite effect. On the very same day, Bosnian Serbs declared a full independence of the Republic of Serbia within BiH. The disunited nationalist groups used all their strength to win the fight. Bosnia was affected by a ferocious war of several years' duration.

The main causes of the conflict can be summarized into the following points: multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state, historical claims for territories, the break-up of Yugoslav Federation, the emergence of new political parties, nationalist tendencies, separatist tendencies and deepening economic crisis.

7 INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND PEACEBUILDING

Shortly after the peace agreement was signed, the international community started to take steps toward the realization of the so-called Dayton Agreement. The military elements were implemented rather quickly and successfully. Majority of foreign armed troops withdrew from BiH within roughly a month. The withdrawal did not concern the official troops of the Croatian Army only; the representatives of JLA left as well. Last but not least, more than one thousand volunteers from Islamic countries, who were fighting in the Muslim troops within the AR BiH, had to leave the country. Yet, some mujahists remained in Bosnia. They avoided expulsion from the country by marrying local Muslim women. At the beginning of spring 1996, IFOR troops finished separating the warring Bosnian factional forces by establishing a demilitarized zone, which was 4 kilometres wide and 1080 kilometres long. The so-called Dayton Line divided the BiH territory into two political parts: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBH) and Republika Srpska (RS). The military presence of NATO troops, two thirds of which were made up by soldiers from the USA, the UK, France, Italy, Germany and Turkey, enabled a relatively quick stabilization of the internal situation in Bosnia during the years 1996 and 1997. In the following years, the armed conflicts between the members of the individual ethnic groups occurred occasionally only. In the course of the year 1997, it was possible to officially terminate the IFOR mission; the number of foreign soldiers was reduced and the supervision over the armistice was handed over to Stabilization Force (SFOR) troops, the core of which still consisted of NATO soldiers. At the end of the year 2004, the duty to secure the peace conditions was passed on to the EU military troops – EUFOR. The peace operations will be described in more detail later. [12]

7.1 Situation after Dayton

Sarajevo, the Bosnian urban centre, became a united and open city again in March 1996. The massive financial support provided by international organizations helped remove the traces of the war; the houses were reconstructed, some of the businesses, schools, hospitals and cultural institutions reopened. The traffic infrastructure was renovated. Another city that was in urgent need of international intervention was Mostar, situated in Herzegovina. The city was still afflicted by the continuing ethnic disturbances between Croats and Bosniaks. The militants within the both warring parties retreated only after the EU countries coerced them to do it by threatening to stop all the economic help

assigned for the renewal of the city destroyed by the war. It was not until 1998 that the common Croat-Bosniak administration started to work and the inhabitants were allowed to move freely within the whole city agglomeration. Unfortunately, the differences between the Croatian and Bosniak city parts are still considerable nowadays. International organizations are still trying to reduce the animosity between the two ethnic entities in Mostar by economic and political means. [12]



Pict. 9 - Present Bosnia and Herzegovina [28]

The significant share that international organizations have in the political stabilization of BiH can be presented by way of example of Brčko town. In the course of the war, Serbian troops cleansed the town of all non-Serbs population. However, it was the Serbs for whom Brčko presented a vitally important connecting line between the western and the eastern half of RS. On the grounds of Dayton Agreements, Brčko remained under the administration of Bosnian Serbs with the amendment stating that the judgement about

its final fate will be left to the international arbitration court. The final decision was accepted in March 1999. The town was allotted neither to RS, nor to FBH. It officially belongs to both political entities; in practise it represents an independent administrative unit within BiH called 'Brčko District' and is put on a par with the administrative structures of FBH and RS.

Carlos Westendorp, the second High Representative after Carl Bildt, managed to reach significant successes in the field of renovation of the economy of a formally integrated state and common state symbols. Shortly after he took up office, he brought the Central Bank of BiH to life and made it the elementary tool of the consequent economic reform. The year 1998 saw the official adoption of a new currency, convertible mark (BAM). In the same year Bosnia started to use the new national flag in its present-day form. Further, they adopted a national emblem, national anthem, and new common licence plates. Another element which strengthened the state integrity was the law on the official customs policy of BiH. Until then the protection of Bosnian borders practically did not exist. In 1996 BiH became a member of several tens of international political, economic and cultural organizations. From the political perspective, the country's UN and OSCE membership are the most significant ones. The act of accepting BiH to the Council of Europe on 24th April 2002 can be perceived as a demonstration of acknowledgement of advancing stabilization inside the Bosnian society. [12]

7.2 Peacekeeping Missions in BiH

As it has been stated many times before, international organizations were instrumental in the stabilization of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The application of crisis management, preventive diplomacy and realizations of observation missions, implementation missions or stabilization forces helped secure the implementation of the aspects of the peace agreement. It also enabled the creation of safe and secure environment, necessary for peace consolidation, with the ensuing aim to maintain the peace into the future. The individual missions are described below.

UNPROFOR - United Nations Protection Force

Initially established in Croatia to ensure demilitarization of designated areas. The mandate was later extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to ensure the security and functioning of the airport at Sarajevo, and the delivery of humanitarian assistance to that city and its environs. In September 1992, UNPROFOR's mandate was further

enlarged to enable it to support efforts by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to deliver humanitarian relief throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to protect convoys of released civilian detainees if the International Committee of the Red Cross so requested. In addition, the Force monitored the "no-fly" zone, banning all military flights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the United Nations "safe areas" established by the Security Council around five Bosnian towns and the city of Sarajevo. UNPROFOR was authorized to use force in self-defense in reply to attacks against these areas, and to coordinate with the NATO the use of air power in support of its activities. UNPROFOR also monitored the implementation of a cease-fire agreement signed by the Bosnian Government and Bosnian Croat forces in February 1994. In addition, UNPROFOR monitored cease-fire arrangements negotiated between Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serbs forces, which entered into force on 1st January 1995. On 31st March 1995, the Security Council decided to restructure UNPROFOR, replacing it with three separate but interlinked peacekeeping operations. [15]

IFOR - Implementation Force

Based on UN Security Council Resolution, NATO was given the mandate to implement the military aspects of the Peace Agreement. IFOR started its mission on 20th December 1995 and it was given a one-year mandate. Its primary mission was to implement the Military Aspects of the Peace Agreement. It accomplished its principal military tasks by causing and maintaining the cessation of hostilities; separating the armed forces of the Bosniac - Bosnian Croat Entity (the Federation) and the Bosnian - Serb Entity (the Republika Srpska); transferring areas between the two Entities; and moving the Parties' forces and heavy weapons into approved sites. Due to IFOR's early success, a secure environment was established. This enabled the High Representative and other organizations to start their work with regard to the implementation of the civil aspects of the peace agreement, and to create conditions in which the return to normal life could begin in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the peaceful conduct of the September 1996 elections, IFOR successfully completed its mission of implementing the military annexes of the General Framework Agreement for Peace. Despite this it was concluded that a reduced military presence was needed to provide the stability necessary for consolidating the peace. They agreed that NATO should organize a Stabilization Force, which was subsequently activated on 20th December 1996, the date the IFOR mandate expired.

SFOR - Stabilization Force

Under UN Security Council Resolution, SFOR was authorized to implement the military aspects of the Peace Agreement as the legal successor to IFOR. SFOR has the same robust rules of engagement for the use of force, should it be necessary to accomplish its mission and to protect itself. The primary mission of SFOR was to contribute to the safe and secure environment necessary for the consolidation of peace. Its specific tasks were to deter or prevent a resumption of hostilities or new threats to peace, to promote a climate in which the peace process could continue to move forward and to provide selective support to civilian organizations within its capabilities. As time progressed, the numbers of troops allotted to SFOR declined. On 2nd December 2004, SFOR disbanded and its functions were assumed by military units from the European Union. [16]

EUFOR ALTHEA - European Forces

The military operation ALTHEA in BiH was launched on 2nd December 2004 and has contributed to the maintenance of the safe and secure environment in BiH ever since. The launch of Operation ALTHEA followed the decision by NATO to conclude its SFOR operation and the adoption by the UN Security Council resolution authorising the deployment of an EU force (EUFOR) in BiH. The main objectives of Operation ALTHEA are to provide capacity-building and training to the Armed Forces of BiH, to support BiH efforts to maintain the safe and secure environment in BiH and to provide support to the overall EU comprehensive strategy for BiH. Operation ALTHEA monitors and supports the local authorities in carrying out tasks derived from the Dayton Agreement such as countermines activities, military and civilian movement control of weapons, ammunition and explosive substances, as well as the management of weapons and ammunition storage sites. Through its presence in the country and its support to the local authorities, EUFOR remains an important and visible contribution to the EU's efforts in assisting BiH on its path towards EU membership. [17]

EUPM - European Union Police Mission

EUPM, the first mission under the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), was launched on 1st January 2003 for an initial period of three years. Upon the invitation by the BiH authorities, the EUPM continued its mission with modified mandates and size until 30th June 2012. Specifically, the EU Police Mission's key tasks have been to strengthen the operational capacity and joint capability of the law enforcement agencies

engaged in the fight against organised crime and corruption, to assist and support in the planning and conduct of investigations in the fight against organised crime and corruption in a systematic approach, to assist and promote development of criminal investigative capacities of BiH, to enhance police-prosecution cooperation, to strengthen police-penitentiary system cooperation and to contribute to ensuring a suitable level of accountability. [18]

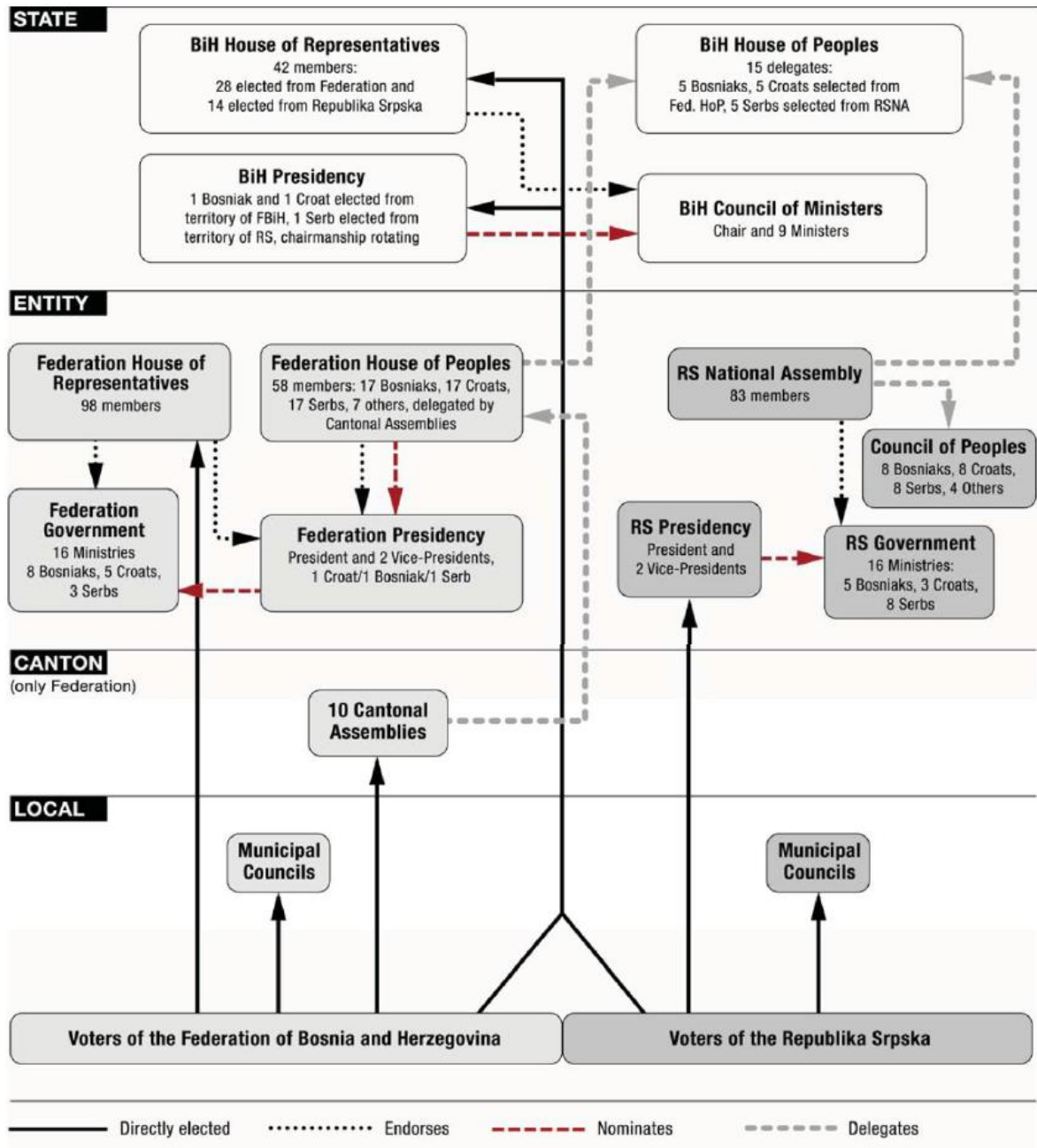
8 THE PRESENT-DAY SITUATION IN BIH

Bosnia and Herzegovina may be the strangest state form in present Europe. Last year twenty years passed since Dayton Agreement was signed. The situation stabilized but the state form that was established was more of an unofficial co-state form rather than a centralized state. In the east it is the Republic of Serbia with predominantly Orthodox population. The other part is the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited by Catholic Croats and Bosniaks confessing Islam. While RS is administered in a relatively centralized way from the town of Banja Luka, the other part of the country is divided into ten small cantons. That all means that a small state with the population of mere four million inhabitants and of an area as large as the Czech Republic without Moravia, is controlled at different levels altogether fourteen governments and parliaments. Moreover, the voters usually choose parties not because of their programme but according to which nationality they represent.

8.1 Political System

BiH is a federative parliamentary republic with a multi-party system. It consists of two entities – FBH and RS. The district of Brčko has an unusual position which is jointly administered by two entities. The country is lead by High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, voted by an international council on the grounds of Dayton Agreement. Since 2009 this position is held by an Austrian diplomat, Valentin Inzko. The highest administrative body of the country is the Presidium of BiH. It consists of three members: one Bosniak, one Serb and one Croatian. These are voted every four years. They change at the position of the Chairperson of the Presidium every eight months. As it has been mentioned before, this country is divided into two entities with significant autonomy. Each of them has its own president, parliament and government. The state is divided into ten cantons, which also have their own governments. In reality it means that the whole country has e.g. thirteen Ministers of Justice. In Bosnia, the population of which is merely 3,8 million, there are about 150 people working at ministerial positions. The state administration is very costly, in reality it practically rules out decision-making and now it is leading to a political paralysis. Thus, it inhibits the further development of the country and reforms. There is a rare agreement between the representatives of the three entities to the intent that it is necessary to reform the constitution. Yet, they are not able to concur on what form the constitutional reform should have. The country is ruled by considerably

corrupt political parties. A survey conducted by Transparency International ranks Bosnia and Herzegovina among the states with the highest corruption rate in Europe. [20]



Pict. 10 - BiH Governmental Organization Chart

After years of treading water, politicians intend to assert a few key reforms which could support economic growth and reduce the social tension. The main motivation behind the reforms is the EU. One of the principal steps was taken on 11th February this year. The representatives of BiH handed in an application for EU membership and they hope that the country will be assigned the status of a candidate country. The EU representatives emphasize that the country has to continue in implementing reforms. If BiH's application

is accepted, Bosnia can expect years of difficult negotiations. Observers do not suppose that the country could join the EU before the year 2025. [23]

8.2 Economic Situation

Since the beginning of the worldwide financial crisis, the country has been dealing with a chronically high unemployment, which reaches 44% and the incomes reach one third of the average EU income. The GDP rank the BiH inhabitants among the countries as Swaziland or Cuba, further below the other Yugoslav Republics. In comparison with Slovenia (29 900 USD), the BiH's GDP is three times as lower (9900 USD). Investors do not hurry to invest in a country with unstable future and with weak law enforceability. Another blow dealt to the country a natural disaster that happened in 2014 and left the country in need of financial help for some time. In addition to all that, tourism still remains underdeveloped. The problem consists in the remoteness of the place as well as in the difficult access to the sea; the country only has 20 km of Adriatic coastline. [24]

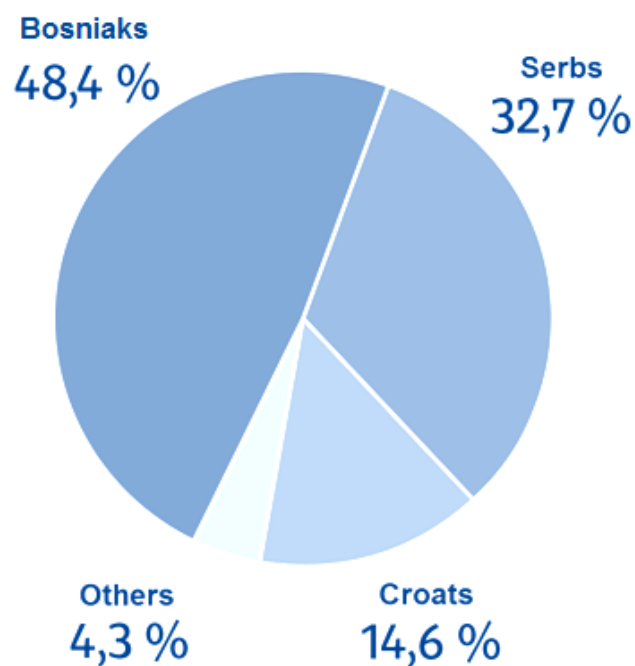
While the inhabitants used to be driven out of the country by war and armed conflicts now it is the dismal economic situation, high unemployment, lack of opportunities and growing frustration. The inhabitants are driven out not only by a complicated economic situation, but primarily by growing frustration. The World Bank ranked BiH among regions with the highest number of economic migrants at all. It is mainly young and highly qualified people who do not have enough job opportunities, who are leaving Bosnia. There is no strategy at all which would prevent them from leaving the country. [22]

8.3 Ethnical Situation and Social Tension

The state remains strictly divided along ethnical and religious lines, practically in all spheres of life. While in Bosniaks and Catholic Croats prevail in the FBH, the majority of RS population is formed by Orthodox Serbs. The inhabitants do not mingle too often and the members of the entities mentioned above live next to each other rather than together. The areas of FBH and RS are almost the same and the difference in the number of inhabitants is not significant. Wherever in the world atrocity occurs among such strong groups, it is difficult to manage the mutual relations. The 'federal' problem is, moreover, raised by the fact that the borders between the two entities have a very complicated progress, RS does not even make a territorially unified whole. [24]

February 2014 saw the very first violent demonstrations since the end of the war in 1995. Dissatisfied people went out to streets because of gloomy economic situation, growing

unemployment, closures of businesses and omnipresent corruption. The demonstrators required that new elections be announced. The first protests broke out in the industrial centre of Tuza, from where they were spreading quickly to other towns, including Sarajevo or Mostar. This indicated extreme dissatisfaction and frustration, which are persisting in the society until now. A lot of politicians are afraid that if nothing changes, similar protests will repeat. According to some, the question is not whether but when. Furthermore, they are threatening that they could incite nationalist tension and instability in Balkan again. The social tension could even develop into an ethnical conflict. Local politicians are also aware of the risk of violence between Muslim Bosniaks, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs. [20],[21]



Pict. 11 - The ethnical structure of population, data from the latest consensus in 2013

With more than one million Muslims living on its territory, BiH provides the Islam extremists a retreat, where they can hide, whenever necessary. Bosnia is attractive for jihadists for many reasons. A large amount of ammunition and weapons remained in the country from the times of the conflict and all is easy to buy in the black market. The country's geographical location close to Turkey is a great advantage for the radical Islamists heading to Europe. It is also quite easy to get to the countries belonging to the border-free Schengen Area. The activities of jihadist recruiters are also facilitated

by serious socio-economic problems which BiH is facing. The frustration of the young generation caused by over fifty-percent-high unemployment and by practically no positive prospects, motivates many to join the ranks of radical Islamists. Even though the majority of Muslims in Bosnia is moderate, a small part has already fallen prey to the Islamist propaganda. [25]

8.4 Demographic Situation

According to demographic statistics, there are no favourable prospects for BiH. The overall birth-rate or the average number of children born by one woman is 1,27 at present. This value ranks BiH to the very end of world charts. The fact that such an extremely low number of children is being born in the area at present, primarily indicates that pessimistic mood and lack of faith in the future prevail among most BiH residents. If such a development was to continue for a few next decades, it would mean that BiH population will gradually decrease until it assimilates with the surrounding demographically more successful units and the country as such perishes. [24]

9 CONFLICT ANALYSIS

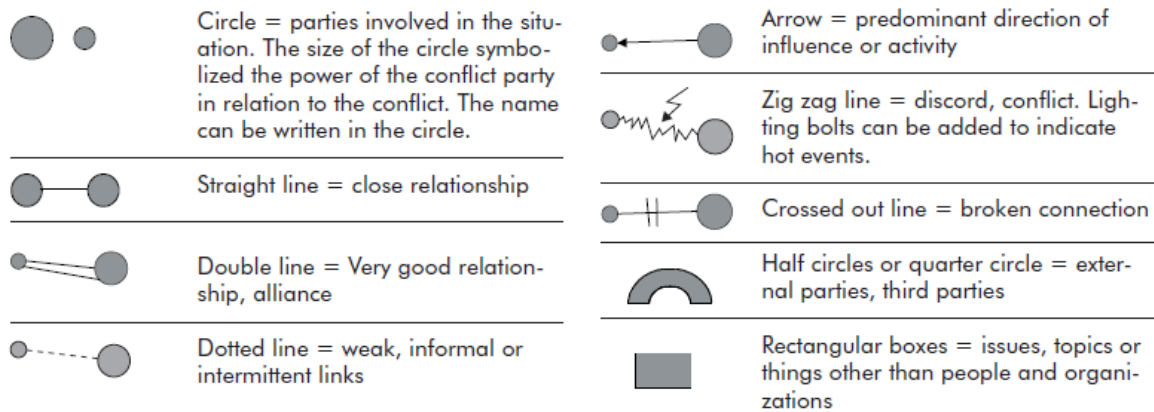
Conflict analysis is the systematic study of the profile, causes, actors, and dynamics of conflict. For analyzing the conflict there are many different methods that can be used. Three of them are chosen to analyze the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

9.1 The Conflict Map

Similar to a geographic map that simplifies terrain so that it can be summarized on one page, a conflict map simplifies a conflict, and serves to clarify relationships between actors, to visualize the conflict theme and issues and reflect on the "power" of various actors. Conflict map is used to represent the conflict on one sheet of paper, to give a first conflict overview. It represents a specific view point of a specific conflict situation, at a specific moment in time, similar to a photograph. [10]

Step by step instructions:

1. Decide on the conflict that should be analyzed. Set the conflict system boundaries.
2. Form groups of two or more people. One can make a conflict map by oneself, but in a group is better. If there are people in the group that know nothing of the conflict, they can help by asking clarifying questions, by being a person the involved actor can talk to and test ideas on.
3. Take a large sheet of paper and draw the actors as circles on the paper, or on cards that can be pinned on a paper, the size of the circle representing an actor's "power". List third parties as semi-circles.
4. Draw lines (see symbols below) between the circles representing the relationship between the actors.
5. In square boxes, or at the top of the map, list the main themes.
6. Don't forget to add title and date to the conflict map, and if not confidential, also the name or organization of the person mapping. [10]



Pict. 12 - Possible Symbols Used in Conflict Mapping [10]

BiH conflict analysis using the Conflict Map

The Conflict Map, a conflict analysis method, is used to graphically simplify and to depict the relations between the individual players. The individual actors, relations between them, their mutual influences and interests are depicted by an adequate graphical expression in Appendix I.

As the map shows, the situation related to the conflict in BiH was more than complicated from the perspective of the participating parties. The situation was brought about by too many players, internal and external, too many irreconcilable interests, as well as by the external intervention of the international community which often had no effect or which often even worsened the situation as a consequence of the insufficient knowledge of the environment. As the map show, there were three main groups of players: Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs. Each of these parties was represented by their own political party led by their main representatives, each of them had their own armed forces and asserted their own interests, which were in contrast with the interests of the opposite parties. The international community was the main external player from the very beginning of the conflict and had a fundamental influence on the development of the conflict and on its termination.

9.2 The Conflict Tree

The conflict tree is a visualizing and sorting tool. The tree visualizes the interaction between structural, manifest and dynamic factors. The roots symbolize structural “static” factors. The trunk represents the manifest issues, linking structural factors with the dynamic factors. The leaves moving in the wind represent the dynamic factors. [10]

Dynamic factors

Dynamic factors include the form of communication, escalation level, relationship aspects etc. Working with dynamic factors involves a short time horizon; reactions to interventions are quick and at times unpredictable. Examples are diplomatic interventions, or multi track conflict transformation dealing directly with the form of interaction between the conflict parties. Quick money is often more important than big money when addressing dynamics factors.

Manifest issues

Issues are what the conflict parties want to talk about, the “topic” of the conflict.

Structural factors

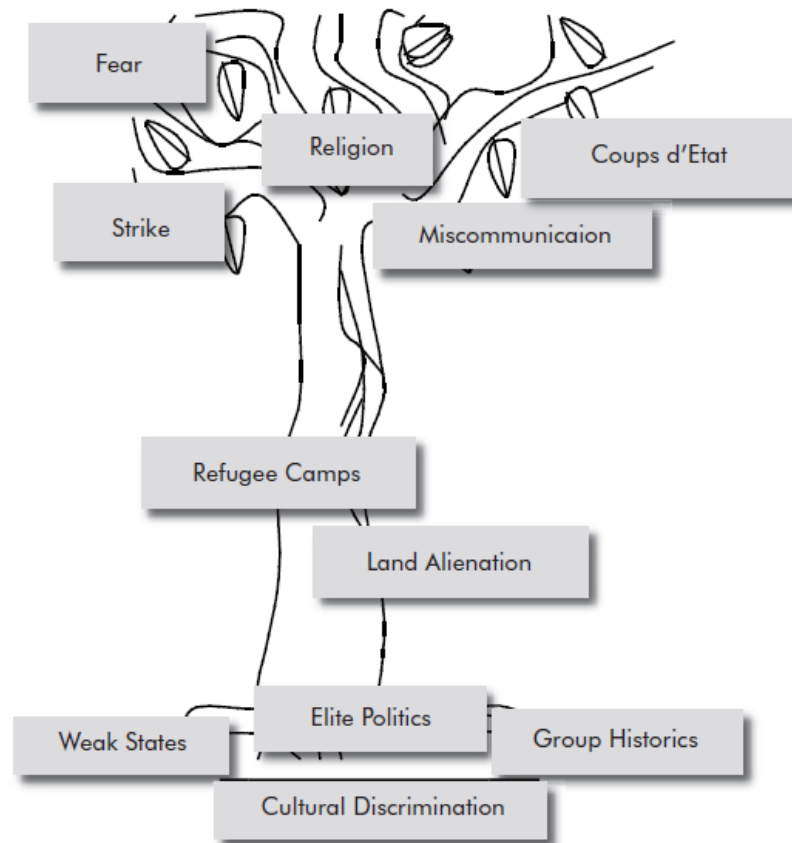
Root causes are the basic “reason” of the conflict. They are difficult to influence on a short time basis, if they are avoided, however, the conflict may pop up again later. This is the typical area for development cooperation, longer-term involvement and the prevention of structural violence. [10]

Step by step instructions:

1. Draw a picture of a tree, including its roots, trunk and branches – on a large sheet of paper or a flipchart.
2. Each person gets several index cards, on which they write a word or two, or draw a symbol or picture, indicating important factors of the conflict as they see it.
3. Invite people to attach their cards to the tree:
 - on the roots, if they see it as a root cause
 - on the trunk, if they think it is a manifest issue, a “topic” of the conflict
 - on the branches, if they see it as a dynamic factor influencing the conflict
4. Someone facilitates the discussion on where the factors are placed on the tree. There is no absolute “right” or “wrong”. Placement of factors is partly subjective, may

be different in different conflicts, and may change over time. Nevertheless, try as a group to create a common snap shot of the conflict as the group sees it.

5. People can visualize their own conflict transformation efforts (e.g. as a bird or worm) and place this on the tree in relation to the factors they are currently working on.
6. Discuss the links between root causes and dynamics factors. [10]



Pict. 13 - Possible Layout of Conflict Tree [10]

BiH conflict analysis using the Conflict Tree

The Conflict Tree was chosen as another conflict analysis method. This method enables the depiction of and interaction between structural, manifest and dynamic factors. The roots symbolize structural “static” factors, the trunk represents the manifest issues and the leaves represent the dynamic factors. The graphic depiction with adequate factors is included in Appendix II.

It follows from the analysis that the conflict in BiH has deep historical roots connected with multi-ethnic arrangement and different religions. Another factor that significantly influenced the course of the conflict was the break-up of Yugoslavia and the consequent power struggle. This brought about the establishment of new political structures with significant nationalist tendencies. The deepening economic

crisis as well as the slowly emerging mistrust among the inhabitants caused a gradual break-up of the society and strong separatist tendencies and nationalist interests emerged. Even before the conflict emerged, tendencies to settle the situation in Balkans appeared in diplomatic circles. Dynamic factors were resolutely affecting the course of the conflict, causing a turn or, more precisely, a change in its development each time.

9.3 Risk Scoring Method with Risk Map

Risk scoring method is used to perform risk analyses and determine risk assessment. It enables a relatively easy risk assessment, including the evaluation of the so-called risks which cannot be numerically calculated.

The method consists of three phases:

1. risk identification
2. risk assessment
3. planning risk responses

Scoring process

The first phase of risk scoring method involves identifying risk factors² and recording them in table 1. [1]

Tab. 2 - Identifying Risk Factors [1]

Serial number	Risk factor	Note

The method is used to estimate the probability of risk factors occurrence as well as their impact by way of using a ten-point scale. The way of assessing the risk factor has to be unified for all the evaluating members of the team. The second phase is recorded in table 2 for risk factors assessment.

² Risk factor – a comparable or measurable indicator for determining the degree of risk significance

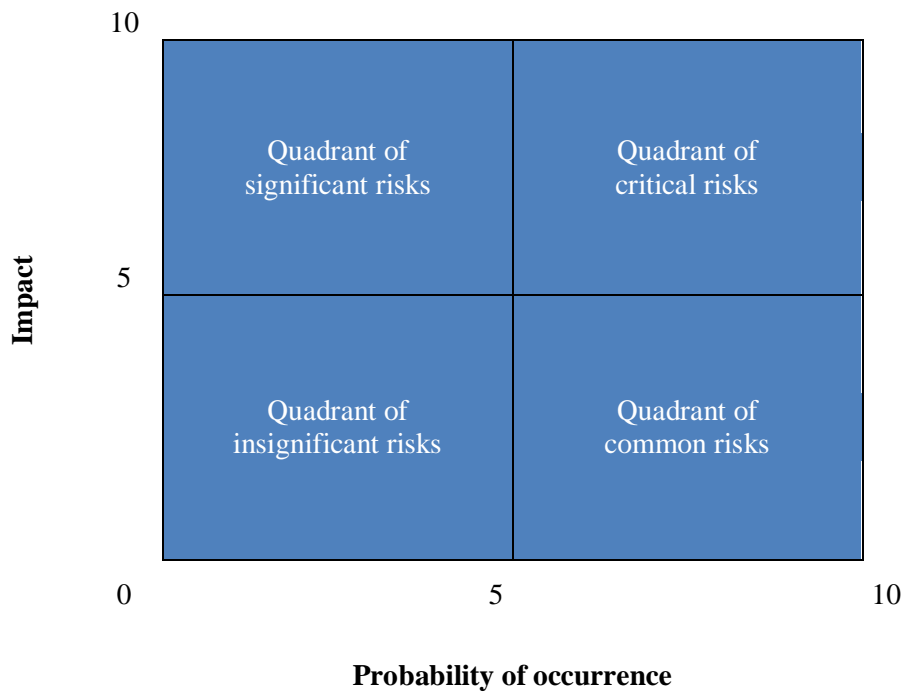
Tab. 3 - Risk Factors Assessment [1]

Risk factor X	Evaluators					Final value
	Project manager	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	
Probability of occurrence						
Impact						
Composite risk index						

It is recommended to perform risk assessment by using Team Delphi method³ for determining an expert estimate for the individual scores. Each project team member should determine their estimate independently of others. The final figure is the arithmetic mean of the estimates of the individual members. Composite risk index equals the product of probability of occurrence and impact of risk event. [1],[2]

At the end the final values for individual risks are recorded in a risk map which has the form of a two-dimensional matrix. The final values are determined on the basis of the final figures of likelihood of occurrences and impacts. [1]

Tab. 4 - Risk Map [1]



³ Team Delphi method - practical discussions consisting in moderated contact between experts and representatives of the evaluated subject

The proposed responses stem from generally defined risk responses (acceptance, reduction/mitigation, avoidance, transfer). The project team describes the way in which they will respond to the risk, the project manager consequently decides about the responsibility for response realization and risk monitoring, possibly about the date of realization of a pre-realized arrangement. Proposals for risk reduction are planned for critical risks quadrant and for significant risks quadrant in table 3. It may be conducive for a project to plan responses for other cases with possible risk mitigation. [1],[2]

BiH conflict analysis using the Risk Scoring Method with Risk Map

In the first phase of this method the risk factors were identified based on current situation in BiH. Furthermore, they were recorded into the chart and distributed among the respondents for their further evaluation, see Appendix III. Subsequently, the probability of occurrence of individual risks and their possible impact were evaluated by way of using a ten-point scale (1 – minimum, 10 – maximum). There were 7 members in the evaluating team . They were chosen based on their individual knowledge of the particular region and their familiarity with the topic, for instance: participants in SFOR operation, Senior Researcher from National Defense Academy of Latvia, Assistant Professor from Department of International Relations - Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Instructor from Command and Staff School - Defense Forces Ireland etc. The auxiliary evaluation charts, see Appendix III, reflect the evaluation of individual risks. The final results are calculated as arithmetic mean of the estimates of the individual members. The product of probability of occurrence and impact equals the composite risk index of a particular risk. Based on final results the Risk Map has been drawn focusing mainly on quadrant of critical risks and significant risks. As being clear when looking at the Risk Map in Appendix III, all identified risks are located on those two particular quadrants. Consequently, based on respondents' opinions, these risks represent the biggest threats for current BiH.

According to this analysis, the recommendations and further potential steps for crisis management has been described in the following chapter, in particular, the areas which international organizations are recommended to consider with respect to future development of the country.

10 RECOMMENDATION

As the country occurs in a developing phase, the international community is provided with a possibility not only to demonstrate a high degree of solidarity, but also to encourage and organize development projects. It is also necessary to consider both the particularities of this country, not only geographical, but also ethnical ones, and its historical and economic development.

The country needs to successfully integrate into regional, European and world organizational structures and at the same time it is necessary to overcome the disunity within the state administrative system caused by the incongruity between federal entities and to encourage their interest in cooperation in state building. It is necessary to equally involve all entities in these projects within development projects.

In the view of the particularities given, it is essential that the international community support investments to infrastructure, power engineering, hydrology, water network construction and road networks as well as the areas along the main war zones should be continually cleared of mines. Only in this way will the country become attractive for investors, the local business environment and tourism successfully develop and the number of job opportunities increase.

It is necessary to get rid of a significant obstacle in the development, i.e. the complicated system of administration which brings along high corruption rate, which in turn enables significant tax evasion and grey economy. The institutional arrangement of the Dayton system itself is more than complicated and, at the same time, costly. It cannot be expected that the present-day system will exist forever. That is why it is necessary to consolidate political and institutional system, not only on the state level, but primarily in FBH as its electoral system is easy to exploit, which is facilitated by the complicated multi-level structure. Next, I suggest that the overgrown state administration be reduced and that the officials at lower or cantonal levels should be divested of executive rights.

Besides the Bosnian institutions themselves there is even an extra-constitutional element of the BiH political system, i.e. the Office of the High Representative. Thanks to its extensive powers, this institution has possibility to considerably intervene in the political life in BiH. On the one hand, the international community has a tendency to reduce its political influence on BiH territory through the agency of the Office the High

Representative and on the other hand, the current situation does not favor this tendency. Nevertheless, it is clear that not even this institute will exist forever.

The following suggestion ensues from the above-mentioned facts. From the perspective of security, particularly security in Europe, I suggest that the existing security cooperation should be increased. The reason why I find such a measure useful is that BiH has become a suitable and luring retreat for Islamic radicals. A lot of weapons and ammunition have been left behind in the country from the times of the war conflict as well as both are easily available on the black market. The geographical location is favorable as well. It is relatively easy to get from the country to the states of the Schengen border-free zone.

CONCLUSION

Bosnia and Herzegovina represents a young multi-ethnic state. The multi-ethnicity of this country is closely connected with its history. During different historical periods Bosnia was a part of Catholic medieval states, Orthodox states, and during the later period it also belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to this turbulent history, Bosnia-Herzeg ethnics were formed. Nationalist tendencies within the country and in its closest surroundings led to the break-out of a civil war. It was not until the international community intervened by convincing the actors in the conflict to sign the so-called Dayton Agreement that the conflict was terminated. This document was necessary for the termination of the war, but it was also internally complicated and controversial. It aimed to preserve the united state and at the same time it approved of its internal political division. Nobody claimed, however, that the system would work forever.

The complicated structure of population and complicated past claimed no less complex and complicated political system. Therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a standard consolidated up to the present time. Only after the direct influence of the international community is reduced, can it acquire such a form. The current evolutionary trend suggests that national institutions will be strengthened in the future to the exclusion of entities with the aim to reach a more effective system of state administration. This should expedite the country's entrance to the Euroatlantic integrations.

In my thesis, I have expressed my personal view of the situation. This is, of course, an external view. It is, however, necessary to emphasize that the view from inside can be different. During my discussion with a representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina I was presented with another view of the situation, i.e. an opinion that the risks identified by me are not considered a potential threat by the representative. The possibility of another conflict emergence is unequivocally refused and this view is based on the fact that BiH has not been a security threat for many years and that it can even boast of successfully realized reforms in the field of security. Other risks, e.g. economic, are regarded the same as the risks created by other countries which are undergoing a process of transformation. The only fact that the representative admits is the situation in constitutional organization, which has to be settled in the course of time and in connection with the integration into the EU as EU membership is the main aim of the foreign policy of BiH.

During the analyses of the regional situations it came out that BiH does not particularly suffer from internal disunity as much as from faulty management strategies. I consider the execution of the risk scoring analysis with the participation of respondents to be the most showing. During this analysis, all risks were evaluated as critical. Also for these reasons it turned out that the situation was serious and that it was necessary to find out a permanent solution. The international community, notably European community, however, deals with problems and conflicts far beyond its borders not only in consequence of the migration crisis. At the same time, however, it escapes the community's notice that the crisis can evolve into the kind of conflict which Europe has already experienced and which it is still coping with. A permanent danger for the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is, in my opinion, presented by the fact that the majority of the local Serbs and Croats do not go along with this country and they would rather see the areas, which they inhabit, connected to Serbia, or, more precisely, to Croatia.

In my opinion, it is necessary to deal with this topic in more detail, specifically from the perspective of the future development; next it is essential to follow the steps taken by the international community in connection with the process of integration and security threats. The aim of my bachelor thesis was reached.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AR BiH	Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
AVNOJ	Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia
BAM	Bosnia and Herzegovina Convertible Mark
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJEU	Court of Justice of the European Union
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community
EC	European Commission
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Forces
EUPM	European Police Mission
FBH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union
HDZ BiH	Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina
HVO	Croatian Defense Council
IFOR	Implementation Force
JFK	John Fitzgerald Kennedy
JLA	Yugoslav People's Army
LA	Land Assembly
MPO	Muslim People's Organization
MPP	Muslim Progressive Party

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDH	Independent State of Croatia
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
RS	Republika Srbska
SDA	Party of Democratic Action
SDP BiH	Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina
SDS	Serb Democratic Party
SDS BiH	Serb Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina
SFOR	Stabilization Force
SKJ	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
SPIP	Serbian People's Independent Party
SPO	Serbian People's Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
WW1	First World War
WW2	Second World War

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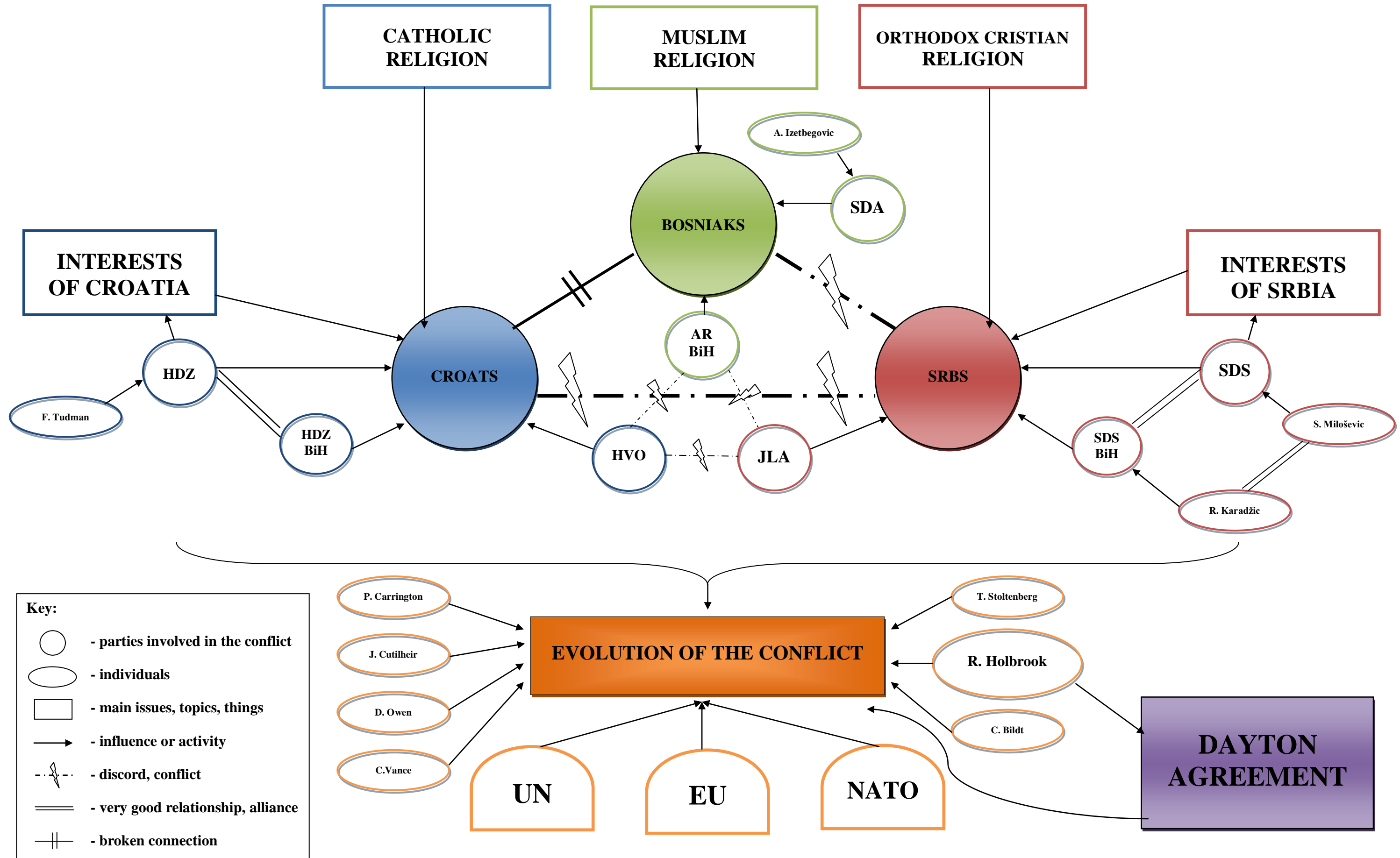
APPENDICES

Appendix PI: The Conflict Map

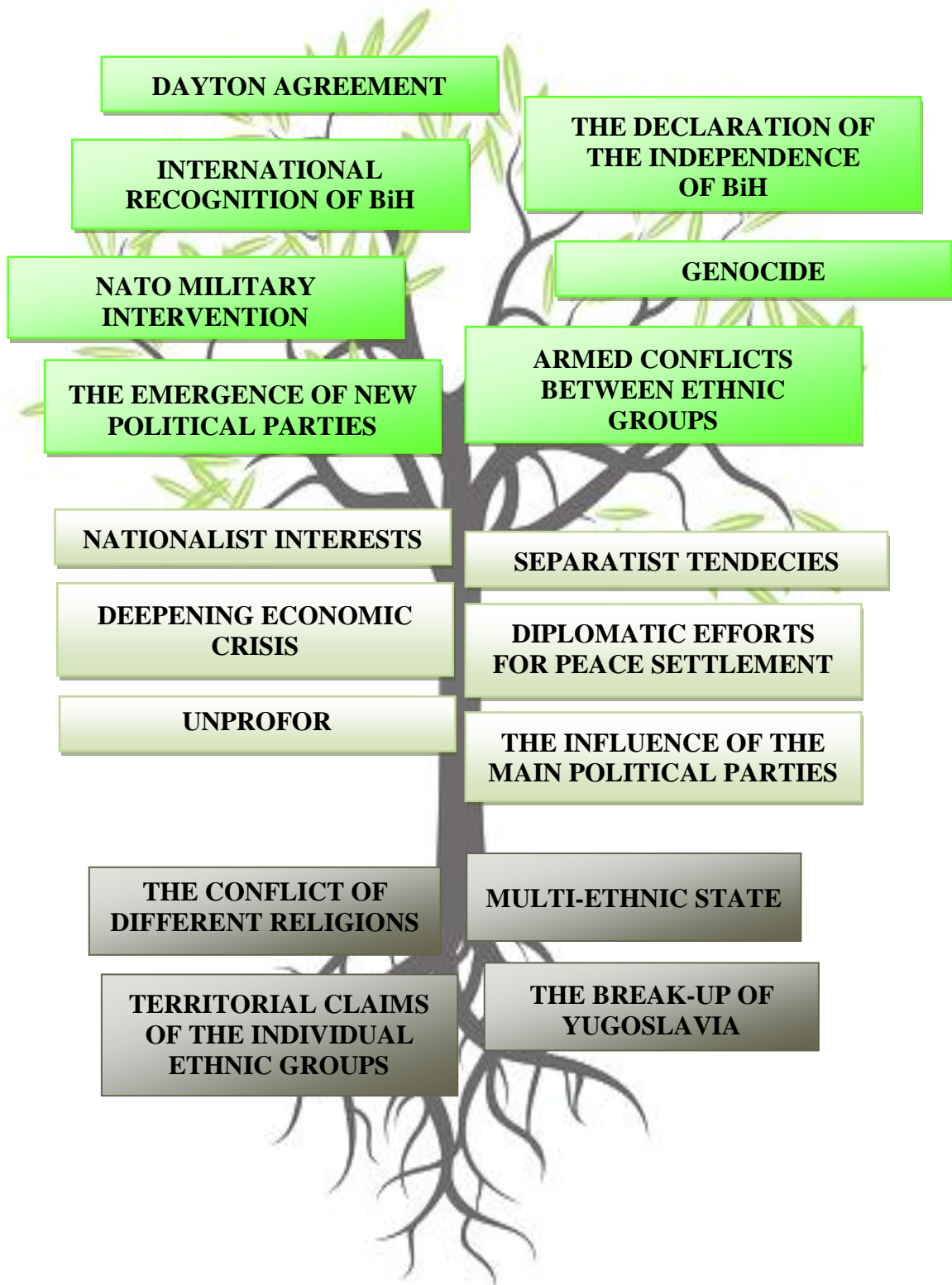
Appendix P II: The Conflict Tree

Appendix P III: Risk Scoring Method – auxiliary tables

APPENDIX P I: CONFLICT MAP



APPENDIX P II: CONFLICT TREE



APPENDIX P III: RISK SCORING METHOD - AUXILIARY TABLES

Identifying Risk Factors Table

Serial number	Risk factor	Note
1.	Economic situation	unemployment, investors' indifference, low GDP
2.	Complicated administrative system	150 inhabitants in ministerial positions per 3,8 million inhabitants
3.	Corrupt government system	states with highest inflation rates in Europe
4.	Social tension and disturbances	demonstrations, ethnic collisions
5.	Ethnic and religious spread of population	state strictly divided along political and religious lines
6.	Emigration of the country's population	complex economic situation, political paralysis
7.	Influx of radical islamists as a consequence of migration	convenient location, asylum, recruiting of young dissatisfied muslims
8.	Foreign investment from the Near East	risk of wahbism assertion
9.	Demographic situation	low birth-rate

Risk Factors Assessment

Risk factor 1.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	6	9	2	9	8	8	8	7,1
Impact	7	9	5	10	8	8	6	7,6
Composite risk index =								54,1

Risk factor 2.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	8	9	5	9	9	8	10	8,3
Impact	9	10	7	10	9	8	6	8,4
Composite risk index =								69,8

Risk factor 3.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	7	8	7	8	7	9	10	8,0
Impact	9	7	5	10	10	9	6	8,0
Composite risk index =								64,0

Risk factor 4.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	6	6	5	7	9	6	6	6,4
Impact	7	9	8	5	9	6	10	7,7
Composite risk index =								49,6

Risk factor 5.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	7	7	5	7	10	8	4	6,9
Impact	7	6	8	5	10	8	10	7,7
Composite risk index =								52,9

Risk factor 6.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	8	5	2	9	5	8	8	6,4
Impact	7	8	4	10	6	8	5	6,9
Composite risk index =								44,1

Risk factor 7.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	8	8	5	8	8	2	3	6,0
Impact	8	6	7	5	9	2	10	6,0
Composite risk index =								36,0

Risk factor 8.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	6	8	2	7	8	2	2	5,0
Impact	6	5	6	5	9	2	10	6,1
Composite risk index =								30,7

Risk factor 9.	Evaluators							Final value
	Member A	Member B	Member C	Member D	Member E	Member F	Member G	
Probability of occurrence	6	7	3	8	7	5	9	6,4
Impact	7	8	5	10	6	5	1	6,0
Composite risk index =								38,6

Risk Map

