

What Does National Security Stand for in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

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Five years ago, the Peace Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina was signed. However, the war continued through other means: politics. Three constituent peoples, two entities, one state. This is a peace formula that stopped the war, but did not establish peace. The peace is kept by the SFOR forces, balance of fear, and the absence of a sheer minimum of consensus of the three constituent peoples about the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are no conditions that would provide a well-balanced physical, spiritual, mental or material survival of each individual and the social community, with reference to other individuals and social community and ecology. In other words, there is no security.

Safety of the society is based on five basic areas: military, political, economic, social and ecological. It functions through an existing security structure that can be divided into two parts: internal and external. We shall tackle all five of the areas in order to ascertain the security situation of the society in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With reference to the first area, there are three armies, under the command of three members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those armies are supervised by the two Ministries of Defence, both being in a very bad financial situation, evident through their irregular payments of salaries. Another characteristic is their negative selection of military personnel.

Political system has been almost blocked, ever since the elections held in November 2000. Now, this system is totally blocked, as the House of Representatives of the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina refused to appoint the candidate of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina the Chairman of the Council of Ministers on February 7, 2001.

Economic situation in the country is close to that of a catastrophe. This is evident in a great number of the unemployed, a low

gross national product, devastated production capacities and an increased number of professionals emigrating from the country. All this, apart from other reasons, has resulted in a very difficult social situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As for ecology, the situation is alarming, too, especially with reference to the depleted uranium affair and vast quantities of medicines that arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a part of the war-donations and were not later destroyed, i.e. stored in a proper manner. Apart from all this, there is a total lack of concern for the ecology-related issues in general.

On top of everything, if one has in mind the fact the Bosnia and Herzegovina is run by the foreigners, then we can ascertain only one thing: there is no national security in Bosnia and Herzegovina, apart from the basic sphere of internal safety and formally established system that is entirely divided and non-functional. The police are divided into the two entity police forces, additionally fragmented on the basis of cantons in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The overall co-operation is still at a very low level. The intelligence is also divided according to the ethnic criteria. There are three intelligence bodies and their mutual co-operation is not satisfactory. The judiciary system is not efficient either, and the state borders are not being entirely controlled. Had the political situation been better, all these institutions would have been even functional. However, all there is now is merely a formally established system, whose employees rather wait than work. What they wait for is either a better situation all together, some more clear directions, more efficient protection by the state, or just - their salaries.

In this paper we will not elaborate further on the topics presented so far, but rather draw your attention to some of the books published in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the past ten years (1991 - 2000). They might be interesting to those who wish to deal with the problem of national security in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e., its Croat-Bosniac part.

We have selected those dealing with politics, armed forces and intelligence activities.

First democratic multi-party elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina were held in November 1990. For more information see the following titles:

1. **Suad Arnautović: *Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1990, Analysis of Electoral Process, Promocult, Sarajevo 1996.***
2. **Zoran Tomić & Nevenko Herceg: *Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, University of Mostar, Center for Journalistic Studies, Mostar, 1998.***

For more information on the establishment of the political parties, as well as their basic ideological and organisational characteristics, please see the following:

1. *Dr. Maid Hadžimeragić: Party of Democratic Action and Reality, Sarajevo, 1991.*
2. *Fikret Abdić: SDA can, wants to, knows how, Masmedia, Zagreb, 1991.*

For more information on political and military aspects of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see:

1. *Sefer Halilović: Cunning Strategy, Marshall d.o.o., Sarajevo, 1997*
2. *Aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina and Its Fighting for Survival 1992-1995, Monograph, University of Law in Sarajevo, 1997*
3. *Hasan Efendić: Who Was Defending Bosnia, Association of Citizens of Aristocratic Origin in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 1998*
4. *Fikret Muslimović: Defending the Republic, Demokratika, Sarajevo-Ljubljana, 1995*
5. *Fikret Muslimović: War and Politics, Bosančica-print, Sarajevo, 2000*
6. *Suad Arnautović: How Bosnia Was Defended, Promocult, Sarajevo, 1997*
7. *Karlo Rotim: Defending Herzeg-Bosnia 1, Široki Brijeg, 1997*
8. *Karlo Rotim: Defending Herzeg-Bosnia 2, Široki Brijeg, 1998*
9. *War in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Almanac, Jasenski and Turk, Dani, Zagreb - Sarajevo, 1999*
10. *Muhamed Bogorovac: War in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Political Aspects, Narodni list d.d., Zadar, 2000*
11. *Ciril Ribičić: Genesis of an Illusion, Jasenski and Turk, Zagreb, Sejtarija, Sarajevo, Založba Bogataj, Idrija 2000*
12. *Mladen Ančić: Who Was Wrong in Bosnia, Pan liber, Osijek, Zagreb, Split, 1999*
13. *Miloš Minić: Agreements in Karađorđevo on Splitting Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rabic, Sarajevo, 1998*
14. *Šefko Hodžić: Unsealed Envelope, Sarajevo, 2000*
15. *Mirsad D. Abrazović: Personnel War for B&H, Union of Concentration Camp Inmates in B&H, CID, Sarajevo, 1999*
16. *Mirsad Ćatić Čuperak: Shadow over Igman, War Journal 1992 - 1996, Sarajevo, 2000*

17. **Nedžad Latić and Zehrudin Isaković: War Memoirs of General Alagić, The War in Central Bosnia, Bemust, Zenica, 1997**
18. **Stjepan Šiber: Deceptions, Illusions, The Truth: The War Journal 1992, Rabic, Sarajevo, 2000**
19. **Mušinbegović, Šiljak, Bećirević: Operation Vlašić, Sarajevo, 1999**
20. **War in B&H: Causes, Consequences, Perspectives, Franciscan Theology, Sarajevo, Samobor, 1994**

For more information on war crimes, see

1. **Dossier of a Group of Authors, Crimes Committed by Muslim Forces Against Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, from 1992 to 1994, Centre for Research and Documentation, Mostar, 1999**
2. **Muharem Omerdić: Contributions to Study of Genocide Crimes Committed Against Bosniacs (1992-1995), El - Kalem, Sarajevo, 1999**
3. **Smail Ćekić: Aggression on Bosnia and Genocide Crimes Committed Against Bosniacs, 1991 - 1993, Bosnica, Sarajevo, 1994**
4. **Ivica Mlivončić: Crime with a Seal, Genocide and War Crimes of Muslim-Bosniac Forces Against Croats in B&H, 1992 - 1994, Centre for Collection and Processing of Data on Patriotic War, Zagreb, Napredak, Split, Mostar-Split-Zagreb, 1998.**

For more information on intelligence bodies in B&H, see

1. **Munir Alibabić-Munja: Bosnia Caught in the Claws of KOS¹, Behar, Sarajevo, 1996**

We have tried to present the titles dealing with political, military and, to a certain extent, intelligence aspects of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We did not use any of particular criteria in selecting those titles. Those are simply the books that we have managed to obtain in difficult conditions present in the distribution system of books in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

¹ Former Yugoslav Counter-Intelligence Service