



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE LANDSCAPE

BOSNA A HERCEGOVINA – PREMENY BEZPEČNOSTNÉHO PROSTREDIA A POVOJNOVÁ REKONŠTRUKCIA V KRAJINE

¹Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

Akadémia ozbrojených síl generála Milana Rastislava Štefánika, Liptovský Mikuláš

The manuscript was received on 15. 10. 2020 and was accepted after revision for publication on 30. 11. 2020

Abstract:

After a turbulent history, Bosnia and Herzegovina still represents a living organism within which work is still being done to build inter-ethnic relations in terms of their self-government, participation in political life, culture and elimination of tensions in order to ensure a peaceful security environment for relatively peaceful life for population in the area of south-eastern Europe. The unifying element in maintaining this fragile peace is in particular, international organizations that offer a war-torn country a form of stability and a vision of a clearer, better and more peaceful future.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, security environment, post-war period, conflict, war, EUFOR ALTHEA, NATO, EU, Dayton,

Abstrakt:

Bosna a Hercegovina po turbulentnej histórii aj v súčasnosti predstavuje živý organizmus, vo vnútri ktorého sa stále pracuje na budovaní vzťahov medzi etnikami z hľadiska ich pôsobenia v samospráve, participácii na politickom živote, kultúre a eliminácii napätých situácií s cieľom zabezpečiť mierumilovné bezpečnostné prostredie pre relatívne pokojný život obyvateľstva v priestore juhovýchodnej Európy. Stmelujúcim prvkom pri udržaní tohto krehkého mieru sú najmä medzinárodné organizácie, ktoré ponúkajú pre vojnu zmietanú krajinu formu stability a víziu jasnejšej, lepšej a pokojnejšej budúcnosti.



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE LANDSCAPE

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

Kľúčové slová: Bosna a Hercegovina, bezpečnostné prostredie, povojnové obdobie, konflikt, vojna, EUFOR, ALTHEA, NATO, EU, Dayton

Introduction

After a turbulent history, Bosnia and Herzegovina still represents a living organism within which work is still being done to build inter-ethnic relations in terms of their self-government, participation in political life, culture and elimination of tense situations to ensure a peaceful security environment for relatively peaceful life. population in the area of south-eastern Europe. The unifying element in maintaining this fragile peace is, in particular, international organizations that offer a war-torn country a form of stability and a vision of a clearer, better and more peaceful future.

1 BREAKTHROUGH EVENTS IN HISTORY - FORMING BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the largest armed conflict in Europe since the end of World War II. However, the origins of this conflict date back to the distant past, but are still intertwined with what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The formation of the oldest state institutions for the southern Slavs was quite chaotic. The foundations of the Croatian state date back to the middle of the 9th - 10th century AD. The first Croatian king was Prince Tomislav. Serbian tribes formed state units as early as the 10th century, and in the 12th century it became the center of the Serbian state of Raška and later united with Zeta.

Bosnia was initially sparsely populated territory and was not the main point of interest of the surrounding rulers. Bosnia was previously perceived only as a small territory with two castles (Katera, Denek) located on the upper and middle reaches of the Bosna River [2].

In the 10th century, Bosnia territorially belonged to the estate of the Serbian prince Časlav, who ruled in Raška. In the first half of the 12th century, Bosnia already belonged to the Hungarian Empire under King Bel II. And she had the status of a voivodship.

In 1180 Bosnia was administered by the Ban (supreme civil servant) Kulin, who formed state power, feudal society and supported crafts, trade and mining. In the 13th century, Bosnia became the subject of interest not only of Hungary but also of Rome. Crusades were launched against Bosnia to promote the Catholic Church and suppress the Bosnian religion. This was followed by the division of Bosnia into many parts and remains in this "fragmented" state until the 14th century, when Ban Stephen II. Kotromanić unites Bosnia and restores the office of the ban, as well as introduces the minting of his own silver coins in Fojnica. Bosnia's expansion did not take long and the successor of Stephen II, Tvrtko I. Kotromanić, who led an expansionary policy and advanced towards Croatia, where he occupied Split, Šibenik and Trogir. Bosnia has become a state monarchy with a high level of trade and culture. As the king's power grew, so did the power of the nobility, whose power grew with the development of trade and gradually established his own dream (stanak), which also had the power to elect a

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY
ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE
LANDSCAPE**

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

monarch. After Tvrtka's death, however, the hitherto united Bosnia began to disintegrate, which resulted mainly from disputes between the nobility and the interest in domination of the territory by Hungary and the Ottoman Empire (14th-15th centuries AD). In the 15th century, Bosnia was subordinated not only to Hungary but also to the Turkish sultan. At the same time, the coastal parts of Bosnia were torn off by magnate Štefan Vukčić, who declared himself an actor (Duke of Sava) [2]. The fall of Bosnia and the domination of the Turks, who also gained much of Herzegovina (1463-1482), was caused not only by religious disputes (the Bosnians wanted to maintain their own religion) but also by political and territorial disadvantages, where Bosnia provided a shield for disputes between Hungary and Rome and Hungary and Turkey. Bosnia was under Ottoman rule for more than 400 years until the second half of the 19th century, when anti-Turkish uprisings of the Christian population broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 1878, at the expense of great loss of life not only of soldiers but also of the civilian population in a major armed conflict, Bosnia and Herzegovina succumbed to the Austro-Hungarian Army. For 40 years, Austria-Hungary has occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of the conclusions of the Berlin Congress and the Council of Belgrade, which allowed the population freedom of religion. The feeling of freedom was acquired by the Yugoslavs only after the First World War, when the Yugoslav regions belonging to Austria-Hungary broke away and formed a state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) and administrative reforms took place to change the division and organization of this state form.

In World War II, Yugoslavia sought to maintain formal neutrality, but Cvetkovic's government failed to do so, as Yugoslavia was an obstacle to taking control of the entire Balkan Peninsula, and in 1941 Germany fulfilled its plan for Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav government capitulated. In April 1941, Croatia became an independent state and its territory included Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Second World War. After building independence within Yugoslavia and after the liberation of the territory of J.B. In 1945, the first republican government of Bosnia and Herzegovina was approved. The Muslim population became part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the end of Tito's life, the country is going through a great economic crisis and at the turn of the 80s-90s. years, the Yugoslav federation disintegrates. The impetus for the change was also the weakening of the powers of the federal authorities. By 1990, the population was already feeling uneasy and the beginning of the formation of new political parties, prompted by Slovenia, which was the first to establish the Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal, was not peaceful. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the communist regime is already surviving, and the Greens are the first to emerge here. In the parliamentary elections in September 1990, which were attended by 18 political parties and groups, nationally oriented political parties won because people more or less did not know what they wanted to vote, but knew what they no longer wanted to vote and what political establishment was unacceptable to them.

In 1991, the negative moods of the population escalated and the idea of the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina between Croatia and Serbia also appeared. The war that was approaching was not a war between Croats, Serbs and Muslims, but only a conflict between Muslims and Serbs.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE LANDSCAPE

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina dates from March 1, 1992 to December 14, 1995. The war began with the first riots, where the Yugoslav People's Army destroyed the village of Ravno on its way to Dubrovnik or protested in front of parliament in Mostar. The Yugoslav People's Army was deployed throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Croatian minority in Bosnia formed military units, and the Serbs expressed their direction by joining the Army of the Republika Srpska and the Bosnians joining the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The paramilitary units (White Eagles, Patriotic League, Green Berets) were no special at that time. UN peacekeeping efforts have been more or less unsuccessful, although UNPROFOR has sought to protect Sarajevo International Airport. The Serbs had better weapons and a large army. It was the beginning of one of the cruelest civil wars, and the Serbs began the genocide of the Bosnian population. Most Bosnian men were murdered in Srebrenica (8,000). The Hague tribunal called genocide only this liquidation of the population, but both the Croats and the people of Bosnia are rebelling against it. Following the failure of the Vance-Owen peace plan to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 provinces and the territory inhabited by Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks, it turned into a valley of death, and for the first time since NATO was established located in the no-fly zone.

1.1 DAYTON AGREEMENT

On November 21, 1995, the presidents of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman, and Alija Izetbegovic, signed the so-called Wright-Patterson military base near Dayton, Ohio. Dayton Peace Agreement (General Framework Agreement on Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina). However, the official text of the agreement was signed on 14 December 1995 in Paris. This agreement ended the three-and-a-half-year-old ethnic conflict and at the same time defined the post-war arrangement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Dayton Accords are considered a very controversial document. On the one hand, it sought to maintain a united state, represented by Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the same time approved with its internal division (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republika Srpska).

The Dayton Accords must have given the impression that no one had won or lost. The paradoxical situation was that the peace was signed by the same people who were involved in provoking this conflict. The Dayton Accords are seen as a form of dictation from outside, especially in Bosnia. However, another possibility no longer existed because the warring countries were already exhausted, but the war could have continued without Dayton. [5].

Following the signing of the peace treaty, the political and legal system in Bosnia became complicated by the existence of two different ethnic groups in one territory, forming the Bosnian Croat Federation and the Republika Srpska. Bosnian Serbs would find it very difficult to accept an independent Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two entities are connected only by weak ties - the parliament, the three-member presidency and the council of ministers. The Office of the High Representative of the International

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY
ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE
LANDSCAPE**

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

Community (formerly Miroslav Lajčák, for example) oversees the smooth running of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2 POST - WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The Croatian army, Yugoslav army personnel and Serbian paramilitary organizations left the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which during the war were on the side of Serbs, volunteers from Islamic countries (on the side of Muslim troops), heavy equipment was withdrawn and is under the control of international forces.

In the spring of 1996, IFOR troops created a demilitarized zone 4 km wide and 1080 km long. The so-called The Dayton Line divides the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina into two entities - the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBH) and the Republika Srpska (RS). The military presence of NATO troops made it possible to stabilize this territory after the war in a relatively short period of time. In the following post-war period, ethnic disagreements were quite exceptional. In 1997, the IFOR mission was formally terminated and the stabilization of the region was taken over by SFOR (Stabilization Force) units, most of whom were NATO members [3]. In 2003, about 12,000 SFOR members were present in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2004 (since 2 December 2004), it took over the task of ensuring a peaceful situation in the European Union - EUFOR (European Union Force). EUFOR has been approved by the UN Security Council.

Sarajevo has once again become a single city and most of its territory is administered by the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (except for parts of Lukavica and Pale). After the war, thousands of Serbs lived in the suburbs, until 1999-2003 they began to return to these areas. With the support of international organizations, the city of Sarajevo was reconstructed and traces of the war were erased (repairs of houses and infrastructure, reconstruction of schools and hospitals). However, the pre-war state of ethnic settlement has not been restored. In 1991, about 530 thousand inhabitants lived in Sarajevo, of which 35 thousand (6.6%) Bosnian Croats, 260 thousand (49.2%) Bosnian Muslims, 157 thousand (29.8%) Bosnian Serbs, 57 thousand (10, 7%) Yugoslavs and 19 thousand (3.6%) other nationalities. In 2006, Sarajevo had a population of approximately 402,000, of which 320,000 (80%) were Bosniaks, Bosnian Croats lived with the "current" Sarajevo, about 27,000 (6.75%) and Bosnian Serbs 45,000 (11.25%) and 10 thousand (2.5%) inhabitants belong to other nationalities. The absence of educated and socially or culturally active people is visible in society, but also in other areas in the post-war reconstruction [3].

In Mostar, there is a relatively peaceful situation of mutual restraint and blame between the Croats and the Bosniaks has not yet completely fallen into the dust. However, radical tendencies in both ethnic groups went backwards due to external pressure from the member states of the European Union under the threat of stopping economic aid for reconstruction and stabilization after the war. Since 1998, there has been a joint Croatian-Bosnian administration in the center of Mostar, and the population has been able to move throughout the agglomeration. The Croatian part grew

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE LANDSCAPE

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

economically in the late 1990s, while the Bosnian part of Mostar is not so economically expansive.

The fact that ethnicities are not coherent in Mostar can also be seen in the establishment of two Bosnian universities (University "Džemal Bijedić") and a Croatian university (Sveučilište u Mostar).

In 1996-2004, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a member of many international organizations on the basis of economic, cultural and political (UN, OSCE, Organization of the Islamic Conference, Central European Initiative or the Association for Cooperation in South-Eastern Europe, etc.). Today, Bosnia and Herzegovina considers its European (EU) and Transatlantic Integration (NATO) to be its main foreign policy priorities, and is therefore primarily pursuing its integration into the World Trade Organization (WTO).

2.1 PARTICIPATION OF SLOVAKIA FOR THE STABILIZATION OF THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Operation ALTHEA began operations on 2 December 2004 and was based on the previous NATO operation SFOR, from which some competencies were transferred under the Berlin Plus Agreement, which talks about NATO-EU cooperation under this agreement. Operation Commander ALTHEA (OpCdr) is the Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe (D-SACEUR) based in SHAPE (OHQ). NATO's military presence in the state is represented by NATO Headquarters Sarajevo. Operation ALTHEA's main tasks are to ensure a military "deterrent" presence and a safe and secure environment (SASE) in order to prevent a recurrence of conflict and incitement to violence. It is supported by the Office of the High Representative of the International Community (OHR), established by the Dayton Peace Accords. As of 1 May 2010, the non-executive - support and advisory part of the operation was launched, the task of which is to support the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in training and building units to participate in international operations. At present, therefore, Operation ALTHEA is referred to as the so-called hybrid - performs executive (executive) and non-executive (support) tasks [8]. Operation EUFOR ALTHEA originally had a mandate of around 1300, but due to a shortage there was a gradual decrease. Since September 2012, a total of up to 600 EUFOR personnel have been stationed there. The reduction in the number of troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina is based on a reassessment of the operation, balanced by the possibility of calling Immediate Reserves, which are located in contributing countries and ready to intervene in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the orders of the Operation Commander.

The mandate of Operation ALTHEA is closely linked to the mandate of the UN Security Council, which is extended on an annual basis. The mandate of the operation was extended for another year in November 2018, until November 2019 (UNSCR 2443) [8].

The Council of the European Union adopted the following conclusions in October 2019 and welcomed the continuation of Operation EUFOR Althea:

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY
ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE
LANDSCAPE**

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

1. The Council reiterates its strong determination to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's European perspective as a single, united and sovereign country. Given that no state or federal governments have been formed in Bosnia and Herzegovina since last year's general elections, the Council reiterates its call on Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue to form governments in the interests of all citizens and to resume their activities without further delay.

2. The Council recalls that effective implementation of reforms is needed to make progress on the road to the EU. In addition, the Council recalls its conclusions of June 2019, in which it took note of the Commission's position.

3. The Council welcomes the continued presence of Operation Althea, which, following the strategic reviews of 2017 and 2019, has refocused its core mandate, while maintaining common training as one of its tasks. In this context, as part of the EU's overall strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Council reaffirms the EU's readiness to continue at this stage in fulfilling Operation Althea's executive mandate to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts to maintain a safe and secure environment under the renewed UN mandate.

4. The Council looks forward to the presentation of a further strategic review in 2021 as a starting point for discussions with Member States on the tasks of EUFOR and options for the future of the operation, also taking into account the need to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress in the EU integration process as well as the security situation on the ground.

5. The Council recognizes the importance of the ongoing coordination of Operation EUFOR Althea with other international actors on the ground.

At the same time, the EU continues to urge the BiH authorities to step up their efforts to dispose of surplus ammunition, weapons and explosives, as well as mine clearance, with the support of the international community [8].

Based on the resolution of the National Council of the Slovak Republic no. 1358 of 1 December 2004, members of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic operate at the EUFOR headquarters as well as at the NATO headquarters in Sarajevo. Since 2011, the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic has operated 3 Liaison and Observation Teams (LOT) in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Novo Sarajevo, Foča and Visegrad. The priorities of the LOT teams are to coordinate activities with representatives of local authorities, NGOs and structures of international organizations in the area of operation, in order to ensure an adequate EU response to any changes in the security situation. In 2012, the Regional Coordination Centers were replaced by one LOT Coordination Center (LCC), covering all LOT teams in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since September 1, 2012, the Slovak Republic has held a management position in the LCC, which oversees the monitoring of the situation (Situation Awareness) throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since 2015, our capabilities have been extended to include members of the military police and we currently have 40 members of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in the EUFOR operation [9].

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE LANDSCAPE

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ



Figure 1 Rozmiestnenie LOT (Liaison and Observation Teams) v Bosne a Hercegovine [11]

Conclusion

Bosnia and Herzegovina is still a relatively "newcomer" to the world of democracies in terms of democratic establishment. Although the country underwent post-war reconstruction, buildings, schools, hospitals were repaired, a social system and social establishment, organizations, offices were built, but even this "formal" form will not replace the bitterness and horrors left by the not so long-ago war. Ethnic relations in the Balkans have been built for centuries and influenced by various factors from natural, cultural, ethnic and, last but not least, political. Predicting the future of a country that is looking for its direction is very challenging, even with an emphasis on the appeal of international organizations.

Data, reports, thesis

[1] BUCHER, S. *Serbian factor in geopolitics of the West. Selected aspects*, Prešov 2012, IŠTOK, R. Yugoslav crisis: slovenia against Slavs, available at: <https://www.unipo.sk/public/media/12484/Juhoslovanská%20kríza%20Slovenia%20p%20roti%20Slovanom.pdf>

[2] HLADKÝ, L. *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Prague. DOPLŇEK Publishing House, 1996, ISBN 80-85765-61-6, p. 218

[3] HLADKÝ, L., *Dayton Peace Treaty and its Implementation*, 2006, Central European Political Studies, 8 (2–3), 316-326, available at: <https://journals.muni.cz/cepsr/article/view/4181/6084>

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - TRANSFERS OF THE SECURITY
ENVIRONMENT AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE
LANDSCAPE**

Jana LUKÁČOVÁ

[4] SOVÁK, M. *Specification of the Constitutional System of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Brno 2009/2010, available at: https://is.muni.cz/th/e8wk5/Sovak_-_DP.pdf

[5] Section of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, International Treaty Documents and the Most Important International and National Standards Concerning the End of the War Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia, Bratislava 1996, National Council of the Slovak Republic no. 4595/1995, Resolution of the National Council of the Slovak Republic no. 284 of 20 December 1995

[6] COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY EUFOR Operation Althea, june 2020, http://www.euforbih.org/eufor/images/pdfs/EUFOR_Mission_Factsheet.pdf

[7]<http://www.foliageographica.sk/public/media/26611/4SRBSKÝ%20FAKTOR%20V%20GEOPOLITIKE%20ZÁPADNÉHO%20BALKÁNU.%20VYBRANÉ%20ASPEKTY.pdf>

[8] Bosna a Hercegovina: Rada prijala závery a privítala pokračovanie operácie EUFOR Althea <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/sk/press/press-releases/2019/10/14/bosnia-and-herzegovina-council-adopts-conclusions-welcomes-continued-presence-of-operation-eufor-althea/>

[9] Operácia ALTHEA, Bosna a Hercegovina available at: <https://www.mod.gov.sk/operacia-althea-bosna-a-hercegovina/>

[10] Návrh na ukončenie pôsobenia strážnej čaty ozbrojených síl Slovenskej republiky vo vojenskej operácii EUFOR - ALTHEA v Bosne a Hercegovine a návrh na vyslanie príslušníkov ozbrojených síl Slovenskej republiky do tejto vojenskej operácie, available at: <https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/DocumentPreview.aspx?DocID=348683>

[11] EUFOR across Bosnia and Herzegovina <http://www.euforbih.org/eufor/index.php/eufor-elements/eufor-houses>

Author:

Mgr. Jana LUKÁČOVÁ – External PhD. Student at the Akadémia ozbrojených síl generála Milana Rastislava Štefánika, Demänová 393,031 01 Liptovský Mikuláš, Slovakia, e-mail: janka.lukacova3@gmail.com