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 shear 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 prop-
er manner. Apart form 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-func-
tional. 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 mutu-
al co-operation is not satisfactory. The judiciary system is not effi-
cient either, and the state borders are not being entirely con-
trolled. 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 pre-
sented 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 Tomic & Nevenko Herceg: Elections in Bosnia and
Herzegovina, University of Mostar, Center for Journalistic
For more information on the establishment of the political parties, as well as their basic ideological and organisational characteristics, please see the following:


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

4. Fikret Muslimović: Defending the Republic, Demokratika, Sarajevo-Ljubljana, 1995
5. Fikret Muslimović: War and Politics, Bosančica-print, Sarajevo, 2000
9. War in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Almanac, Jasenski and Turk, Dani, Zagreb - Sarajevo, 1999
12. Mladen Ančić: Who Was Wrong in Bosnia, Pan liber, Osijek, Zagreb, Split, 1999
14. Šefko Hodžić: Unsealed Envelope, 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

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

1. Munir Alibabić-Munja: Bosnia Cought in the Claws of KOS, 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.