



Belgrade Centre for Security Policy

Gundulićev venac 48
11000 Belgrade
Tel: 011 | 3287 226; 011 | 3287 334
Email: office@bezbednost.org
Web: www.bezbednost.org

Security Policies in the Western Balkans: Bosnia and Herzegovina

Authors: Kenan Dautović

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Editors: Miroslav Hadžić, Milorad Timotić and Predrag Petrović

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Bosnia and Herzegovina

Kenan Dautović

Introduction

Strategic thinking has already adopted the modern meaning of the term *security* as a broader approach to the one state's overall capabilities responding to an ever growing array of threats and challenges brought about by the era of globalization, compared to a traditional security which tended to deal mostly with armed forces and adverse militaries threatening the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. However, the main security-related terms such as *policy*, *strategy* and *doctrine* have preserved their scientific meanings as well as their interdependent correlations. This basically means that *policy* stands for a general idea or a *concept* of what is to be done; *strategy* represents ways of using resources in pursuing goals; whereas *doctrine's* role is to deal with lessons learned, framing them into the set of tenets, principles etc. (Beridan, 2008: 22-55; Dujović, 2005: 27-90).

When it comes to the strategic-doctrinal security framework of a particular state, experience suggests that there is no "one-size-fit-all", as every country has found its own way to articulate security aspirations. The reasons for choosing different approaches and, consequently, names of related documents could also be of interest for the academic community, but it is not relevant for this particular study. As far as Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is concerned, it has reflected its security intent in the Security Policy, Defense Policy and Defense Review as key documents of conceptual nature and strategic importance, whereas main doctrinal documents of strategic importance are the Military Strategy and Military Doctrine. However, it is to be stressed that the Constitution and related laws, as crucial strategic documents of normative kind as well as different Reform Commissions' Reports, constitute important documents relevant to its current security establishment. We will be referring to them to the extent we deem appropriate.

Context

Having gone through a terrible war of 1992-95 which was stopped by the General Framework Agreement for Peace, generally known as Dayton Peace Agreement, BiH has been a subject of several different but concurrent transition and reconstruction efforts: the transformation to a parliamentary democracy and market-based economy; physical reconstruction of its living and economic infrastructure being ruined by the war, social reconstruction of its society being broken apart while facing its real statehood after a long time. This is why the Defence Reform Commission (2005: 11) states that "no other transition state in Eastern Europe or South Eastern Europe has had to face these combined challenges". Given the fact that the Dayton Accords provisions represented *the lowest common denominator*, both security and defense arrangements were delegated to the Entities' authorities, whereas the Dayton Constitution (1999: 53) provided for one state-level



defence body whose role was vague and uncertain. Pursuant to the Article 5b, members of the Presidency, who by virtue of their office were also members of the Standing Committee, were the authority for the appointment of members of the Standing Committee on Military Matters (SCMM) whose role was to “coordinate activities of the Armed Forces in BiH”. Still, on BiH’s way towards a self-governing and self-sustaining political system, the Defense Reform, usually functioning as a driving force for other reform undertakings, played an important role in the establishment of the current state-level security system. Along with the pressure from international organizations and the political will demonstrated by political and defence players in the country, the very organization of this system demanded a reform to respond to new challenges and requirements.

Title of the strategy	Adopted – date	Amendment
1. General Framework Agreement for Peace	21 November 1995	
2. Security Policy	8 February 2006	No
3. Defense Policy	May 2001	26 November 2008
4. Military Strategy	May 2009	No
5. Military Doctrine	27 November 2003	ongoing
6. Defense Review	Started in April 2009 (ongoing)	
7. Defense White Paper	June 2005	No
8. Strategy for Combating Terrorism	May 2006	No
9. Strategy for Preventing Money Laundry and Financing Terrorist Activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina	2009	No
10. Strategy for Fighting Organized Crime	September 2009	No
11. Strategy for Fighting Corruption	2009	No
12. Strategy for Controlling, Preventing and Fighting Drugs	March 2009	No
13. Mine Action Strategy	2002	2009

Table 2: Strategic documents of BiH

In May 2001, the Presidency of BiH adopted the Defense Policy which defined BiH goals in an area of defence for the first time. The aim of the document was to define BiH defence policy as a “part of the Security Policy, based upon Dayton Agreement and BiH’s needs to participate in global and regional integrations” as a “transparent commitment of BiH constituent peoples, citizens and both entities in pursuing the lasting peace, security and prosperous life” (Defence Policy, 2001: 6-7). BiH Presidency, on 10 July 2001, officially announced BiH’s commitment to join the PfP and NATO, which implied that all political structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina should undertake a series of steps, reforms and changes in order to meet all necessary conditions and requirements for the accession to the Alliance. BiH commitment to Euro-Atlantic integrations was additionally reinforced by the

“General Direction and Priorities for Pursuing BiH’s Foreign Policy”, signed by the Presidency in March 2003.

BiH’s specific path to international security organizations included their engagement in the situations which were not seen in other countries. The Decision of the then High Representative, Paddy Ashdown, of 8 May 2003 (DRC, 2003: 255-9), helped a lot in overcoming certain weaknesses and problems in functioning of the BiH’s security system. This Decision was augmented by the then NATO Secretary General, Lord George Robertson, in December 2003, when he set the following benchmarks which BiH must meet in order to join the PfP:

1. Develop BiH Security Policy;
2. Ensure a state-level democratic and parliamentary oversight over the BiH armed forces;
3. Ensure a state-level command and control over BiH armed forces, which will include the state-level Ministry of Defence;
4. Ensure a full transparency of plans and the budget;
5. Develop a common doctrine and common standards for training and equipping of armed forces;
6. Fully overcome the internal political divisions, support the strengthening of the state-level institutions and promote cooperation, reconciliation and stability in the region;
7. BiH political leadership should fully support the return of refugees and displaced persons;
8. Meet the requirements under the Dayton Peace Agreement pertaining to the detention of persons indicted for war crimes.

The Defense Commission submitted proposals for the new BiH defence structure and mission of its Armed Forces vectored towards the Euro-Atlantic integrations. These proposals were accommodated by the Law on Defense and the Law on Service in the Armed Forces of BiH entering into force in 2003 and 2005.

At its 4th session in June, the SCMM accepted the Military Doctrine and it was endorsed by the BiH Presidency in November 2003. This document “sets forth the tenets and principles that govern the Armed Forces of BiH in the implementation of the tasks described in the Defence Policy” (DRC, 2003: 72).

In February 2006, the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina endorsed the Security Policy of BiH as a document which defines the overarching state goals in the area of security and the role of its institutions in pursuing these goals.

According to the Presidential Decision on the Size, Structure and Locations of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted in July 2006, BiH’s Armed Forces were confirmed as a professional, single military force organized and controlled by the State.

Finally, the updated BiH Defense Policy was endorsed by the Presidency in November 2008, its goal being “the establishment of basic parameters for the functioning of the elements of the defence system in achieving BiH’s defence goals, as well as the general state security objectives and priorities in pursuing its foreign policy” (Defence Policy, 2008: 6).



Security Policy

The development and adoption of the Defence Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a starting point and the basis for the development of BiH security policy and security system, despite the fact that the security logic and principles require the reversed order. In other words, the elements of special policies which are integral parts of the security policy should be derived from the security policy, whereas the security policy should be taken into account in the process of development of the security-related legal documents, while defining missions and tasks of the newly established security structures, etc. In drafting the elements of the BiH Security Policy, efforts were made to achieve a consistent approach on the basis of which the Council of Ministers was responsible for the shaping and integrating those elements. At its 82nd session, the Council of Ministers established an inter-agency working group for drafting the BiH Security Policy. After the working group had finished its work, the Council of Ministers compiled a final version of the BiH Security Policy in December 2006, and the BiH Presidency adopted it on 8 February 2006.

The Security Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2006: 1) is a document that “defines a long-term and coherent strategy, and provides a framework and directions for the establishment of the system, structures and all mechanisms necessary for the efficient functioning of the security sector”. The executive authorities of BiH will be responsible for developing the document, given their inherited capacity to coordinate proper utilization of intelligence and security, military, economic, diplomatic, technological, information and other resources in achieving the security goals.

In strategic terms, the Security Policy, “as part of the state policy, implies an organized implementation of measures and activities” that ensure a successful and long-term protection of fundamental values in BiH and the “optimum employment of available resources”. It defines security goals on the “basis of the identified challenges” and, by implementing all elements of power, strives to “build peace, security and prosperity of the citizens of BiH”.

As far as its realization is concerned, the institutions and bodies at all levels of legislative and executive authorities in BiH are responsible for the implementation of the Security Policy. More specifically, the Presidency adopts the Security Policy (2006: 18) with the “aim of providing strategic guidelines in the fields of foreign affairs and defence”, while ensuring the BiH Parliamentary Assembly’s timely information on strategic security and defence issues. The parliamentary bodies at State, Entity and Cantonal levels represent the “institutional, political level of modeling and implementing” legislative elements of the Policy, defining “legal framework and long-term guidelines” and ensuring “material preconditions for its implementation”.

The Council of Ministers and entity governments are then in charge of implementing it, thus preserving the main responsibility for the security system’s overall functionality.

It is important to note that the Security Policy provides new constitutional competencies to the state of BiH in the field of security, which were not envisaged at

all by the General Framework Agreement for the Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (GFPA) and Annex IV hitherto – the BiH Constitution. Commenting the relationship between constitutional and defense reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the SFOR Commander, Brigadier General Steven Schook said: “The defence reform represents a constitutional reform, though on a separate track.” (Cikotić, 2008).

Defence Policy

The defense reform process played an important role in the establishment of the current state-level security system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both practically and politically, it became a driver of positive changes and reforms to upgrade and interconnect the system as a functional whole at state level. Along with pressure from international organizations and the political will demonstrated by political and defense players in the country, the very organization of this system demanded reform to respond to new challenges and requirements. Pursuant to the Defense Policy document (2008: 4), “The goals of BiH in the area of defence support the achievement of the general security goals defined by the Security Policy of BiH as well as foreign policy’s priorities set by the ‘General Direction and Priorities for Pursuing BiH’s Foreign Policy’”.

As such, it defines a basic defence concept of BiH; engages defence resources in addressing the long-term security challenges and risks; projects basic principles for the AF BiH’s utility linked to its future development; and it helps the establishment of the overall BiH’s defence capacities (Odrambena politika, 2008: 6).

The Defense Policy (2008: 7) recognizes BiH’s awareness and acceptance of the collective security concept as the basis for the long term military strategy. The first step in that direction would be a full-fledged NATO membership which would, by definition, help the protection of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Even though one country’s armed forces should be developed to address military threats in the first instance, the Defense Policy of BiH (2008: 19) acknowledges the need for the development of versatile forces that will be capable of dealing with an ever-demanding environment of today’s world. There are three consolidated areas for their possible deployment: defence activities, assistance to civilian authorities and peace support operations.

In general terms, the document emphasizes the prospective participation in the European and Euro-Atlantic integrations while achieving a sufficient level of stability, which would ensure the end of the international military presence in the country and taking a full responsibility for its own security. This is why defence reform is seen a vital part of the overall security sector reform, and this is why it will be a continuous activity, unless and until these goal are obtained.

Military Strategy

In the Introduction part of the Military Strategy (2009: 5-6), it is stated that it “supports the security policy goals and implements the BiH Defence Policy”. The Military Strategy, therefore, “emphasizes the goals, functions and required capabilities based upon the strategic guidance and security environment analysis”. Apart from the Security and Defence Policies which provide a wider strategic context for using military capabilities together with other elements of power, the Military



Strategy “focuses on the military engagement by defining the intertwined military objectives” which helps commanders to identify the necessary capabilities. An unspecified and complex environment thus requires a “capability-based approach” which is less focused on specific adversaries, possible conflict areas or the ways enemies would fight; it requires adjustable forces being capable of operating in a wider spectrum of different scenarios.

Whereas the Defence Policy sets four different strategic objectives, the Military Strategy (2009: 14-6) defines the three main military goals. defence of BiH and its citizens will be performed by deterrence; preventing surprise attack; strategic directions’ protection; defence activities within the country, and by winning over the enemy. The participation in peace support operations would be pursued by conducting peace support operations, opposing threats near the source (terrorism), promoting security; while assistance to civilian authorities will be performed under the motto “Forces of the state of BiH and all its citizens”; thus providing help in fighting fires, major flooding, earthquakes, etc.; as well as in conducting the humanitarian de-mining.

Military Doctrine

As already mentioned, the “current” Military Doctrine document was accepted by the Presidency in November 2003. Since then it has almost lost all its credibility, given the fact that it has been outdated by the events while a new document is in its preparation phase. The Doctrine (2003: 3) deals with the “necessary capabilities of the Armed Forces in BiH”, such as “the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity, aid to civilian authorities and participation in peace-keeping operations”.

While the Protection of Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity issues are related to the major military operations representing artificial symbiosis of the Army of the Federation of BiH’s US-like concept combined with the elements of the ex-Yugoslav Army’s approach and cherished by the Army of the Republic of Srpska, the Aid to Civilian Authorities was promulgated by the Presidency Conclusion from September 2002, dealing with the procedures in the case of “Passing Through the Territory of Another Entity” or “Support of Another Entity Armed Forces” (Military Doctrine, 2003: 51-3). As for the Participation in the Peace Keeping Operations, it was an adjusted version of the Allied Joint Publications – 3.4.1, named “Peace Support Operations”.

However, some elements are still relevant for this article and these are enumerated defence-military and ecological risks being drawn from the then Defence Policy (2001).

Defence-military risks include:

- The failure of BiH to join or delay joining the Euro-Atlantic, European and sub-regional security and other integration structures and processes,
- Insufficiently developed or not fully applied procedures for international cooperation and early warning,
- Illegal armament transfers, creation of maintenance of risky armament accumulation, as well as potential spread of weapons of mass destruction,

- Terrorism represents a permanent threat, just as the potential creation and activities of illegal armed groups represent a real threat to BiH and its citizens;
- while ecological risks comprise:
 - Earthquakes, forest fires, floods, landslides and other natural disasters,
 - Technical and technological disasters such as industrial pollutions, disposal of nuclear waste, solid waste and military waste in BiH territory or in its immediate vicinity,
 - Degradation of arable land and destruction of forest resources,
 - Pollution of the sources of potable water, slow development and application of generally accepted environmental protection standards and conventions may slow down inclusion of BiH into wider integration processes.
- The vast areas still contaminated with land mines (Military Doctrine, 2003: 19).

Defence Review

Among 31 Partnership Goals that BiH has agreed upon within the Partnership Review and Planning Process (PARP), the Ministry of Defence of BiH initiated the Defence Review process which particularly aimed at reviewing the AF BiH's current structure and its ability to address all challenges and risks facing BiH. The process should help the AF BiH's optimization with concrete Modernization Plan. A very first draft is to be submitted by mid-2010, after which it would be pending endorsement by the Council of Ministers, Presidency and Parliamentary Assembly of BiH.

Given the deteriorating political situation and the upcoming elections in October 2010, the document does not embrace the whole security system, in which case it would have been called the Strategic Defence Review, but only defence structure the Ministry of Defence is responsible for.

Despite this, the reduced scale has engendered the need for conducting analyses that are relevant for a wider security system, particularly the analysis of the BiH's strategic environment, as well as of threats, challenges and risks.

Police Reform

Even though there is no Ministry of Interior of BiH as the top state institution dealing with all aspects of internal security, some relevant factors are worth mentioning when considering the topic of research. The Ministry of Security that has been established as a part of the overall Security Sector Reform in BiH has got only a coordinative role when it comes to any sort of deployment of the regular police forces in BiH. This practically means that the police forces belong to the entity, district and cantonal levels of state organization lacking proper capacities for addressing the cross-country risks and challenges.

On the other hand, there are several institutions which are being designated to operate at the state level, such as: the State Investigation and Protection Agency, the Intelligence and Security Agency, Border Police, BiH Interpol, etc. Such a compartmentalization has resulted in lacking a consolidated and harmonized approach in dealing with different threats in the field of internal security, as well as in the non-existence of a single comprehensive strategy in that regard.



Still, the whole spectrum of risks and threats has not been left unanswered, given the fact that there are several individual strategies addressing the issues of terrorism, organized crime, corruption, de-mining, etc.

The Strategy for Combating Terrorism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

As it has clearly been admitted in the Strategy's Introduction (2006: 3), "the problems in the field of combating terrorism in BiH are evident", while "the existing infrastructure (both legislative and institutional)" is insufficient to address a growing threat "posed by potential terrorist attacks". This is why the Strategy aims to review the current situation and "set priority tasks whose realization will contribute to establishing a comprehensive system for combating terrorism."

Pursuant to the Strategy's (2006: 12-5) provisions;

The Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina is responsible for "investigations and prosecution of crimes under the CPC BiH". In addition, the Council of Ministers of BiH established in 2004 a Task Force for combating terrorism and strengthening capacities, which operates under the leadership of the Prosecutor.

The Intelligence and Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina is responsible for "collecting and analyzing intelligence related to security threats" to Bosnia and Herzegovina, both within and out of the country, "including terrorism and international terrorism".

The Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina pursues its responsibility directly or through its subordinate units or agencies.

The Anti-Terrorism Department monitors the "implementation of international conventions and executes international cooperation."

The State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA), by means of its *Financial Intelligence Unit* (FIU), "collects, receives, analyzes, investigates and forwards to BiH Prosecutor's Office the information and data in accordance with the Law on Prevention of Money Laundering and Funding Terrorism."

The Criminal Investigation Department provides "operational assistance to FIU, discovers and investigates crimes of terrorism, finds and apprehends perpetrators and collects intelligence and information on crimes." The *Anti-terrorism Unit* is a part of this department. The *Witness Protection Department* implements "protection of witnesses in accordance with laws and regulations" of BiH in this field. The *Special Support Unit* provides assistance to the FIU and other departments by "ensuring additional police tactics, equipment and staff, when stronger security measures are called for."

The Border Police of BiH (BP BiH) performs "supervisions and control of state border and implements the Law on Movement and Stay of Aliens and Asylum."

Within its jurisdiction, the Interpol NCB Sarajevo undertakes a number of activities with the view to "realizing efficient cooperation and exchange of information between law enforcement agencies in BiH and the corresponding agencies in other countries, members of the Interpol."

The Ministry of Defence of BiH's competencies, with regard to combating terrorism, are: "establishing the procedure for approving military assistance to civilian authorities in case of natural disasters, under the authority granted by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina; activating reserve units for all operations, except planned training; and deployment or use of any part of armed forces outside Bosnia and Herzegovina for all operations."

The Ministry of Civil Affairs of BiH is responsible for issuing "citizenship, entry and registration of citizens, protection of personal data, registering places of permanent and temporary residence, personal documents, travel documents, de-mining."

The Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of BiH is responsible for the "implementation of the Law on Import and Export of Arms and Military Equipment and Controlling Import and Export of Products with Dual Purpose, and the Law on Production of Arms and Military Equipment."

The Ministry of Transport and Communications of BiH's *Civil Aviation Directorate* (BH CAD) is responsible for the "civil aviation safety in BiH."

At the Entity and District levels there are several institutions and bodies such as: The *Ministry of the Interior of BiH* with its departments: Department for Combating Terrorism, Intelligence Department, Anti-terrorism Unit; The *Ministry of the Interior of RS* with its departments: Department for Criminal Intelligence Analysis, Counter-Sabotage Department of the Criminal Police Administration; *Police of Brčko District*. With regard to countering funding terrorist activities at the Entity level, the following institutions are involved: The *Ministry of Finance of FBiH* - Financial Police, and The *Ministry of Finance of RS*; also, the *Banking Agencies of FBiH and RS*. Entity *Civil Protection Directorates* actively cooperate with the Ministry of Security's Sector for Civil Protection.

Strategy for preventing money laundering and financing terrorist activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina

As a subordinate strategy to the Strategy for Combating Terrorism in BiH, the Strategy for Preventing Money Laundering and Financing Terrorist Activities (2009: 17-9) provides the main input for the Action Plan which is to be implemented over the period 2009 – 2013. This input comprises several objectives to be achieved:

- Developing mechanism for reporting and cooperation between the public and private sectors,
- Strengthening the information exchange among BiH's authorities,
- Ensuring a comprehensive investigation, criminal prosecution and court processing,
- Development and implementation of a pro-active approach to international cooperation,
- Developing and harmonizing the legal framework of BiH, and
- Enhancing public information and development of joint educational programs for the public and private sectors.



The Plan for Civil-Military Cooperation in Answering Terrorist Attacks and Dealing with the Consequences

The most detailed document providing a clear distribution of designated tasks to be performed in different phases of the response is the Plan for Civil-Military Cooperation in Answering Terrorist Attacks and Dealing with the Consequences. The Plan (2-3) aims to preventing or minimizing consequences of possible terrorist attacks through elevating readiness of the BiH's institutions, entities and Brcko District for addressing this global challenge."

BiH's Strategy for Fighting Organized Crime

Organized crime, in accordance with the Strategy's (2009: 3) provisions, "among all other kinds of crime, represents the most complicated and most dangerous type of crime due to its ability to adapt to different conditions and situations linked to the possibility of using the contemporary scientific-technological achievements in pursuing different illegal activities. The Strategy therefore introduces three basic principles in fighting this threat: preventive action, repression and confiscation of illegally obtained property. By endorsing this strategy, the Council of Ministers of BiH regulates the policy in the area of establishing an efficient system for fighting organized crime, defines strategic goals, all involved actors' role and responsibilities and sets up the framework for developing implementation plans.

As a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the organized crime threat to BiH has, unfortunately, not been done, this still represents an insufficiently researched field. This is all "enforced" by the "belated and irresolute political decisions, a slow reform process, and poor efforts in harmonizing the criminal code system with the law enforcement agencies' activities" (Strategy, 2009: 8-12).

This is why organized crime groups represent "a very harmful influence on the economic development of BiH", particularly by "investing great sums of illegally earned money into legal businesses, as well as in corrupting the state administration's personnel in order to obtain the classified information and influence the outcomes of criminal procedures".

Given the BiH's geo-strategic position, especially with respect to the importance of the so-called "Balkan Route", the illegal drug trafficking represents one of the most important activities conducted by criminal groups operating in BiH.

As a consequence of the recently waged wars in the Balkans, BiH has become a place for weapons trafficking, being not only transit but also the country of origin and destination as well.

A kind of crime that is becoming more and more popular, due to the modern life style and sophisticated criminal equipment, is car theft.

Human trafficking, the most common forms of which are sexual and labor exploitation, represents yet another type of organized crime widespread in BiH as a part of the "Balkan Route".

Money laundering and falsification, illegal trade of high value goods, cyber crime,

robberies and other criminal offences such as: taking hostages, extortions, and blackmails could be seen as important indicators of the BiH's current social and economic situation.

The Strategy (2009: 3) has been developed in accordance with the state obligations specified through the EU's Stabilization and Association process, the Road Map for visa regime liberalization as well as contemporary reform processes, particularly those stated in the document called "European Partnership" and it is conceptually and functionally linked to strategies dealing with different problems such as: integrated border management; fight against corruption; preventing money laundering and financing terrorist activities; human trafficking; illegal drug trafficking and preventing illegal migrations.

When it comes to institutional capacity, organized crime has been dealt with by almost the same institutions as terrorism (the State Investigation and Protection Agency, Border Police, NCB Interpol Sarajevo, the Intelligence and Security Agency, police at entity and district levels); but there are some peculiar institutions designated to fight organized crime, such as: the Special Department for Organized Crime in BiH Prosecutor's Office and Agency for Indirect Taxation, while the Republic of Srpska established the Special Prosecutor's Office in charge of organized crime. The Strategy also emphasizes the importance of the civil society in which the non-governmental organizations, professional associations, and the media in particular have a significant role to play, in terms of raising public awareness and providing additional expertise and/or information required for a more efficient fight against organized crime.

The Strategy of BiH for Fighting Corruption

Even though corruption as a nation-wide social problem has been discussed as a part of the overall organized crime survey, given its scale and risk potential, it "deserves" special attention within the framework of BiH's Strategy for Fighting Corruption. According to the Strategy's (2009: 3-4) Introduction, "corruption in both private and public sectors jeopardizes BiH's stability and prosperity; undermines confidence in the governmental institutions; creates a road block to the economic development and a fair market competition; endangers the rule of law, democracy and human rights; detracts good governance and social justice; facilitates organized crime and the growth of terrorism and threatens the stability of democratic institutions and the moral foundations of the society". The Strategy, therefore, aims at "reducing the level of corruption, creating a strategic framework and common standards, and strengthening confidence in the governmental institutions at all levels".

The institutions responsible for the Strategy's (2009: 7) implementation are: the Parliamentary Assembly, the Council of Ministers and state institutions, FBiH and RS Parliaments, the governments and institutions of the Entities, Brcko District's Parliament, Brcko District's government and institutions, public companies and institutions, political parties, universities and other educational institutions, civil society associations and institutions, citizens, the media and private sector.

The objectives to be achieved in pursuing the Strategy (2009: 8-19) are: the Agency for preventing corruption and the coordination in fighting the capacity build-



ing for corruption; the prevention of corruption; education, training and public awareness; law enforcement, coordination and implementation of the Strategy; and international cooperation.

State strategy for controlling, preventing and fighting drugs in BiH

The right on healthy life belongs to the set of basic human rights promulgated by the international conventions and is regarded as an individual right, as well as youth and family right in particular. Therefore, it requires a systematic approach by the society as a whole. The Strategy (2009: 5-6) represents the first effort ever undertaken by BiH in this respect. The main reason for creating the Strategy is the existence of different threats, risks and challenges which this evil causes to the BiH's society. Some of them are "a great level of accessibility to drugs, a growing percentage of consumers within the young and female population; a great number of traffic accidents caused by drug use; a high level of correlation between drug use and suicide, poisoning, crime and violence rate; a high number of population at risk as the consequence of the recent war, such as: disabled persons, displaced people, war orphans, demobilized soldiers etc.; scarce resources invested in the prevention, education, repression and treatment efforts." Even though BiH has been mostly seen as a transit country, there is a real possibility that in the future it could become a suitable terrain for growing and producing of drugs while, at the same time, it will remain a transit route frequently used for temporary storing of significant international transports.

In accordance with the Strategy (2009: 7), and apart from the police institutions at the entity and district levels, the Ministry of Security has created a Department for Fighting Drug Use in conjunction with other agencies that are covering this field as one of their activities, such as: SIPA, the Border Police and the Interpol Office. Their work is supported by the BiH's Court and Prosecutor's Office. The main activities ensure the Strategy's comprehensive approach in dealing with the problem. The prevention is supposed to be implemented through the health and social care systems; education; judiciary; information; etc.

Land Mine Action Strategy of BiH

As it is stated in the Strategy (2009: 3), fifteen years after the war, BiH is still considered a highly contaminated area when it comes to land mines and other unexploded objects. This particular problem still poses a tangible threat to the population's security as well as to the economic development of the state. The national authorities took responsibility for de-mining activities in 1998, and are still receiving financial, expert and technical support from the international community to this end. They created the centers within the entities for de-mining (RSMAC and FMAC) which are coordinated by BHM¹. The international de-mining agencies are still the main de-mining provider, while local capacities are gradually developing.

The main responsibility in this area lies with the Council of Ministers and the Entities' Governments. The Law on De-mining, which entered into force in 2002, established the central de-mining structure at the state level (BHM¹) which now

¹ Mine Action Center (MAC)

operates under the Ministry of Civil Affairs. The first Strategy for De-mining, for the period 2002 – 2009, was adopted the same year, which consequently significantly improved the structure functionality, as well as the quality enhancement and efficacy of the whole process. In order to achieve the vision of “Bosnia and Herzegovina without mines in 2019”, a clear mission statement has been put forward: “To ensure the conditions for conducting a stable and efficient de-mining program aimed at establishing a safe environment for normal and prosperous life of all BiH citizens, while having the mine victims fully integrated into the society” (Strategy, 2009: 9).

The Strategy (2009: 10-3) depicts seven strategic and operational goals to be achieved, and they could be interpreted as: continuous humanitarian de-mining operations; providing stable financing; raising public awareness; the social inclusion of the victims; continuous partnering with all relevant subjects; improving communication with the public; and a continuous revision of the current Strategy.

The Framework of the Law on Protection and Rescue of People and Material Goods from Natural and Other Accidents in BiH

With regard to dealing with natural and other disasters, this Law regulates international obligations and cooperation in pursuing civil protection; the responsibilities of BiH institutions and bodies; coordination of the state, entity and Brcko District civil protection institutions; establishment of the Operational-Communication Center – 112; harmonization of plans and programs; etc.

Characteristics of the Strategies

Security Policy

The challenges that BiH (Security Policy, 2006: 6-9) is facing need to be considered both in the context of global environment and the context of the totality of regional and internal developments. The seemingly distant trends and developments might influence the BiH security, sometimes in quite unexpected ways. Some trends that necessitate the examination of the BiH security include:

Global challenges: the security challenges that BiH is facing have to be observed in the context of the overall relations in the global surroundings. The challenges brought by modern global developments are mostly the consequences of the ever-growing differences in the level of economic and social progress; the differences between rich and poor parts of the world; international terrorism in all its forms; constant environmental threats from industrial and technological progress; uncontrolled production and trade in weapons, including weapons of mass destruction (nuclear and biological); the increase in forced migrations resulting from armed conflicts, racial conflicts and discrimination, ethnic intolerance, or political pressures in autocratic and non-democratic regimes. There are also challenges related to various forms of organized crime that generate a lasting social and political instability in certain countries of the region, which results in general poverty and the spread of various diseases that endanger the entire population.



One of the regional challenges is the instability caused by the transition to the market economy. At the same time, BiH lies on the essential route between Europe and Asia, which is by its nature vital for trade, thus providing a great opportunity for an illegal trade in weapons, narcotics, and human trafficking, as well as for the transit of terrorist groups and materials for terrorist activities. Furthermore, certain ethnic groups in this region have tendencies towards secession, self-rule and independence, which, given the relatively high concentration of military capacities, makes the security situation even more complex.

BiH is a country burdened with internal problems, caused mostly by various political factors that pose a serious threat to social, political and other forms of stability in the country. Some of the internal challenges are:

- The legacy of political and social animosity, caused by the 1992-1995 war, instigated by the elements that advocate various kinds of nationalistic extremism;
- A failure to fully implement the Dayton Peace Agreement;
- Insufficient financial resources for the implementation of the sustainable return of displaced persons and refugees;
- Political transition resulting in a slow development of efficient and effective executive, legislative and judicial bodies;
- Transition to trade economy, which causes a huge drop in domestic and foreign investment and leaves room for the grey economy and black market; procrastination and troubles in the process of privatization, technological regression and deterioration of production capacities and an uneven pace of repairing the infrastructure destroyed in war;
- Border protection still not harmonized with the Schengen, i.e. European standards, which renders the fight against organized crime even more difficult;
- A high unemployment rate, which leads to an increase in general poverty, social divisions, social instability, and a higher number of financially disadvantaged citizens in need of welfare, causing intensified migration of the population, brain-drain in particular;
- Weapons and ammunition stored in inadequate storage sites and illegally held in individual possession;
- A huge number of land mines and UXO throughout the country, which poses physical danger to citizens and an obstacle for progress of agriculture, tourism, and foreign investment; and
- Various ecological challenges, problems of technological, civilian and military waste, degradation of arable land and forest, water and air pollution etc. insufficiency of resources for prevention, response and repair in cases of possible natural and technological disasters, and a slow development and application of standards and conventions for environmental protection - create additional challenges.

Defence Policy

The challenges and risks in the area of general security and defence, both globally and regionally, which may have an impact, indirectly or directly, on the internal stability of Bosnia and Herzegovina are (Defence Policy, 2008: 3-4):

- Instability as a result of transition to the market economy, which resulted in differences in the level of economic and social development of the countries;
- Asymmetric threats, including all forms of terrorism, uncontrolled weapon production and sale, illegal arms trade, proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, possible creation and activities of illegal armed groups and organized crime;
- Increased threat from natural and other disasters and large scale accidents as a consequence of endangering the environment due to industrial and technological development;
- Forced migration as a consequence of armed conflicts;
- Discrimination and intolerance on racial, ethnic, religious, social-economic, cultural, political and other grounds;
- A relatively high concentration of military capacities in the region that makes the overall security risks even more complex.

Internal challenges that Bosnia and Herzegovina faces within the framework of general security (that also could be reflected in the defence area) are:

- Existing political and social animosities, originating from the retrograde elements that advocate ethnic extremism;
- Incomplete implementation of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- Problems of political and economic transition of the society resulting in a slow development of the efficient authorities, economic instability and illegal activities;
- Problems of border protection;
- Problems related to the excess of armaments and ammunition, inadequate weapon and ammunition storage sites and illegal possession of armaments and ammunition;
- Contamination of territory by anti-personnel mines and unexploded objects;
- Natural and other disasters and accidents.

Military Strategy

While addressing the key aspect of the security environment in which the Armed Forces of BiH operate, the Military Strategy (2009: 9-10), based upon the Security and Defence Policy of BiH, lists the global challenges as follows:

- Inter-state conflicts
- Civil wars
- Ethnic violence
- Secessionism
- Terrorism
- Religious extremism
- Border disputes
- Illegal migrations
- Proliferation
- Human trafficking
- Organized crime
- Drug trafficking
- Corruption



- Money laundering
- Energy resources dependency
- Poverty
- Low standards of living
- HIV infection increase
- Pandemics
- Environmental degradation
- Global warming consequences

In addition, the characteristics of contemporary Europe are:

- A still present possibility of a general war, since permanent peace and security are not in place yet
- The process of creating independent states out of previously multinational federations has not been finished yet
- The slow pace of democratization and structural adjustments in the post-socialist countries which entails a threat of a strong economic crisis and internal degradation, giving way to the escalation of possible national, religious and economic differences
- Local crisis causing mass migrations
- Intensified trends of human trafficking, organized crime, etc.
- Proliferation of weapons, WMD in particular, with possible utilization for terrorist purposes

When it comes to the region of the Western Balkans, it is stated that any predictions are hard to make. However, the concept of “greater states” should certainly be abandoned and replaced by the regional cooperation and security integration in NATO and the EU.

Since most of the documents avoid the exact naming of possible threat sources, the Military Strategy deals with a wide spectrum of possible adversaries, such as:

- States with traditional militaries wishing to control some regions in the World, some supporting terrorist organizations
- Non-state actors including terrorist networks, international criminal organizations and illegal armed groups
- Individuals wishing to jeopardize international order
- They will be targeting civilian population, economic centers or regions, symbolic locations with targeted population

Defence Review

As it has already been mentioned, the Defence Review is still ongoing, but the analysis of the risks, threats and challenges is more than relevant for the research purposes.

According to the working document (Chapter on Threats, Risks and Challenges, 2009:1-4), the circumstances that contribute to the increasing number of global security risks include primarily a huge difference in economic and social development, which results in poverty and social threats to the part of population in some countries, even regions as a whole. As a consequence, the negative social phenomena emerge and jeopardize security.

The most important global challenges and dangers today include: international terrorism, ethnic and religious extremism, secessionism, border disputes, illegal migrations, proliferation of weapons, human trafficking, organized crime, organized trade in narcotics, corruption, money laundering, dependence on energy sources, poverty, emergence and spreading of new diseases, and environmental degradation.

International terrorism is one of the biggest risks and threats to the global, regional and national (state) security. From the security point of view, particularly important is a link between terrorism and all forms of organized trans-national crime. Global terrorist acts can indirectly affect BiH as well (national and international organizations in BiH), but also directly – by the use of its territory for preparation and execution of terrorist acts in other countries.

The end of bloc confrontation resulted in a significant reduction of the global military conflict risk.. However, the world is still faced with a number of security challenges, risks and threats, both traditional and new. Global threats, challenges and risks can have a direct or indirect impact on the stability and security in South East Europe. A specific challenge or regional challenge that the whole South East Europe is faced with is the instability as a consequence of the transition to the market economy, which resulted in economic underdevelopment of the region. Important roads between Europe and Asia go across the area of South East Europe, in particular in terms of market exchange. At the same time, these are the roads of illegal weapon, narcotics and human trafficking, and they can be used for the transit of terrorist groups and means for the execution of terrorist acts.

In the late 20th century, the region was the stage of many conflicts with economic, psychological, social and other consequences. The aspirations for secession, autonomy and independence of certain ethnic groups still exist in the region, which additionally makes security situation in the region more complex. The accession of the Western Balkan countries to NATO and the EU would improve the security in the region and have a significant influence on their economic stability and prosperity. Building mutual confidence and co-operation, as well as the feeling of affiliation to the family of democratically developed countries in Europe and the world, through partnerships within the Euro-Atlantic integration, is a priority of the utmost importance for the region. This would make a significant influence on the further development of the process and achievement of the required inter-operability standards in all areas of interstate co-operation, particularly in the area of security.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is burdened with many internal problems mainly caused by different political factors that pose a serious danger to social, political and any other stability of the country.

Internal challenges include the following:

- Residues of the political and social animosity as a result of the war (1992-1995), encouraged by those elements that advocate different forms of nationalistic extremism;
- Incomplete and selective implementation of the Dayton Peace Accord;
- Insufficient funds for the implementation of a sustainable return of refugees



- and displaced persons;
- Problems of the political transition, which result in a slow development of effective and efficient executive, legislative and judicial authorities;
- Problems of the transition to market economy, which result in a low level of domestic and foreign investment and are favorable for the grey economy and black market;
- Procrastination, difficulties and irregularities in the implementation of the privatization process, technological underdevelopment and the decline of production capacities, and unbalanced dynamics in the reconstruction of the infrastructure damaged by the war;
- Inadequate protection of borders, which makes the fight against organized crime more difficult;
- High unemployment rate that increases general poverty, social division, social instability, rising numbers of impoverished citizens requiring social welfare, and causes increased emigration of the population, particularly of the young people with the university education;
- Armaments and ammunition being stored in inadequate storage sites, but also being kept illegally by individuals;
- A huge amount of anti-personnel mines and unexploded objects on the territory of the entire country, which poses physical danger to citizens and hampers the development of agriculture, tourism and foreign investment; and
- Different environmental challenges, problems in the management of technological, utility and military waste, degradation of arable land and forest resources, and water and air pollution. These challenges also include insufficient resources for the prevention, response and recovery in case of potential natural and man-made disasters, and a slow development and application of standards and conventions for environmental protection.

Consequences

The question whether strategies have been causing reforms is somewhat complex and sometimes ambivalent. In the aftermath of the war 1992-95, it was the international community pressing for the reforms much more than the forces within the country, trying to create better functioning state institutions as its proper counterpart in discussing the future of BiH as a country naturally belonging to the Euro-Atlantic family of states. Once the authorities of BiH had officially expressed their willingness to steer BiH towards the Euro-Atlantic integration, it was again the international community, both in and out of BiH, which strongly and resolutely continued exerting its influence but with a gradual participation of the BiH legal institutions. The best example would be the Defence Policies of 2001 and 2008, where, in simplified terms, the former was mostly prepared by the international community and endorsed by the Presidency, whereas the latter was completely prepared and endorsed by the local institutions and the international community was facilitating the process.

The Defence Review will probably mark the end of the transition phase, given the fact that it is being developed in accordance with the best Euro-Atlantic practices. Furthermore, it will have an established proper vertical and horizontal relationship with other related documents. This all being related to a purely defence sector, it is to be stressed that a wider security sector is maturing; particularly

having in mind that the main logic of establishing the hierarchical pattern has been established. It means that the subordinate politics are proceeding from the higher, superior ones (e.g. the Defence Policy is absolutely correlated to the Security Policy). By the same token, the strategic routine of balancing ends, ways and means has been established through a pattern: Policy – Strategy – Action Plan, which at the end of the day provides answers to all questions related to who and how will be addressing different risks, threats and challenges.

In pursuing such process, there is a need for a driving force which would be perceived by all relevant factors as a final goal and this is the membership in NATO and the EU. The membership has been articulated as a “main frequency” which is to synchronize all efforts in this regard. This objective has clearly been set forward in all relevant documents, so that the fulfillment of certain standards that these two institutions require for a full membership is now a part of all reform processes. The stability in the region and the wider area is a long-term interest of BiH. The promotion of good relations and co-operation with the neighbors and countries in a broader region and the development of democratic processes in those countries and their integration into Europe will also have a positive impact on strengthening of the internal security in BiH.

In case of BiH, the membership in the Euro-Atlantic and regional integration processes would certainly help the country in its efforts to overcome a whole array of internal risks, threats and challenges. This is particularly important in terms of not only acquiring, but assimilating these standards which would eventually create better living conditions for all peoples and citizens of BiH, thus making BiH a reasonably good place to stay and live in.

As far as the capacities of both state institutions and the society for the implementation of different strategies are concerned, it has already been mentioned that these are insufficient, which makes their capacity-building one of the primary goals of the strategies.

Concluding Remarks

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a very unique country in many ways. It is a country which faced with several changes and reconstructions; the change of the political and economic systems along with the reconstruction of its infrastructure ruined by a devastating war, the building up of industrial capacities, and most importantly, its social structure. The geo-political position of BiH also influences its destiny, as it is situated in an unstable region of the Western Balkans, augmented by its history and its multi-regional character, which leaves room for another set of challenges. Geographically, BiH stretches on 51,129 square kilometers of land, has about 1600 km of borders and 89 border crossings, with the terrain which allows for a number of potential illegal crossings, facilitating all kinds of cross-national organized crime and terrorism.

On the other hand, if security policy is to be viewed in the context of other elements of the security system, it should be noted that the entire security system of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been completely established yet. At the state level, there is no consensus for many political decisions, and there is a lack of ad-



equate legislation, police forces, organization of the civil protection, etc. It is hard to say whether the already established structures of the security system are capable of serving the designated purpose, due to the fact that the reform processes have not been implemented and verified in practice yet. This refers to both the functionality of individual security structures as well as to the inter-operability and functional relationship among various inter-dependent segments of the security system. However, bearing in mind the fact that at the time immediately after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement there was no security system at all, one can say that it is the security field which saw the major step forward in building of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its institutions through building and fostering of its security system.

It could actually be said that the security and defence reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been giving an impetus, in both the political and practical sense, to all reforms of the post-Dayton state structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even though the reforms conducted until now were faced with many obstacles and challenges, their positive impacts are creating a realistic basis for a stronger and faster pace of further reform steps not only in the security field, but also in other fields in which the reform processes are underway.

The answers to the questions raised in this research can serve as a summary which provides the main features of the strategic-doctrinal framework of BiH. In contextual terms, we have portrayed all policies and strategies that have been adopted so far with an emphasis on the fact that all documents have undergone the process of evolution - from documents resulting from the political consensus and a strong pressure by the international community to locally owned documents that are widely harmonized with international standards and best practices. This has also resulted in establishing a proper hierarchy, in terms of their contents, scope and importance. As already mentioned, although it was the international community who was initiating the development or changing of the documents, at least in the case of the Defence Sector, it was the change in the security environment that caused the adjustments of the strategies.

As far as the actors in charge of preparing the policies and strategies are concerned, the inter-governmental and other expert working groups² have been drafting proper documents to be endorsed by the proper level of authority. The Security Policy, Defence Policy, Military Doctrine (and the Defence Review and Modernization Plan as its sub-product) are endorsed by the BiH's Presidency, while the Chief of Joint Staff is in charge of endorsing the Military Strategy. As for different strategies, the relevant ministries endorse those falling into their area of responsibility, while the leading inter-agency working groups consisting of the representatives of the relevant ministries endorse other strategies. It has to be stressed that the elements of the civil society in BiH have very poorly, if at all, participated in this endeavor.

When it comes to the characteristics of the policies and strategies, "despite the process of globalization across the world, which reduces the possibility of conflict and increases a wider stability, conflicts and certain high-level intensity crises in some regions cannot be fully excluded" (Defence Review - Chapter on Threats,

² Interview with Mr Ahmet Hadžiomerović, Assistant to the Minister of Defence for Policy and Planning.

Risks and Challenges, 2009:1). The danger of a global armed conflict has been reduced significantly; but war as a means in resolving disputes in international relations cannot be completely ruled out. At the same time, the use of military factor, which was a dominant element of power during the Cold War, is increasingly giving up the primacy to a number of other non-traditional threats to global security, though still preserving its relevance to a certain extent. For example, “disturbed economic system and corruption, negative demographic trends, including the reduction of active population, and high unemployment rates contribute to such socio-economic environment that makes a fertile ground for development of all forms of organized crime, money laundering, terrorism and funding terrorism” (Strategy for Combating Terrorism, 2006: 3).

All strategic-level documents that we have analyzed do not use terms “risks and threats” in naming different problems that BiH is facing in the global, regional and internal environments. The subsequent strategies addressing those problems in a more concrete manner qualify them as risks and/or threats still keeping them in a more general framework, particularly in terms of exact naming their sources. There are certainly different reasons for such an approach, but one of them could be a sensitive political situation which frequently, in trying to reach the lowest common denominator known as a consensus, fails to address the essence of particular problems. Still, given the BiH’s recent historical experience in all spheres of life, one could expect this would be an element of the developmental process as well.

Regarding the issue of defining the instruments used by the state in answering the risks, threats and challenges, we can safely say that the pattern “Policy – Strategy – Action Plan”, in which concrete actions are explained in detail (who is to do what an when), has been adopted as a general rule and it is out of the boundaries of this research to deal with so many details. Despite the fact that the main responsibility delegated to specific institutions and actors in terms of the implementation of the strategies is elaborated in the related Action Plans, we have, for the sake of providing an example, explained very concrete actors in charge of implementing the Strategy for Combating Terrorism in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As for the harmonization of the strategies, the conclusion is that the strategies are mostly synchronized, for at least two reasons: first; given the fact that the strategies are the products of related policies, it is quite natural that they are in line with the “superior” documents; and second, the strategies that are the particular responsibility of the same ministries are completely harmonized, both formally and contextually. By the same token, if there is a need for addressing the threats, risks or challenges stemming from the same deficiency (e.g. porous borders) there is a certain level of overlapping in pursuing the respective strategies (e.g. terrorism and organized crime). Concerning the fact that all strategies discussed in this research are yet to be introduced, none of them have been updated yet, which leaves no room for the analysis in this regard.

In conclusion, to quote the Strategy for Combating Terrorism (2006: 3): “the stable security environment requires equally good security conditions in BiH”, which implies the need to resolve the problems in the field of security as one of the fundamental conditions for the inclusion of BiH in the EU and NATO. It is not only the security situation in BiH that depends on the fast and efficient resolution of



these problems, but also the general progress in BiH, which is seen as a main indicator for the association and accession processes. That is why the Strategies are of the paramount importance for BiH, particularly in ensuring the changes that will resolve the issue of different security problems in a long run, but they are also the instruments that set up the “framework for the incorporation and application of European standards and regulations in BiH legislation and constitutional system”.

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An interview with Mr Ahmet Hadziomerovic, assistant to the Minister of Defence of BiH for policy building and planning, conducted on February 3, 2010.

NUMBER	CHALLENGE, RISK or THREAT	CATEGORY			LEVEL OF ANALYSIS – SCOPE OF THREAT/PRETINUE					THE SOURCE OF THREAT (AS STATED BY THE PROPOSER)	SECTOR (AS STATED BY THE PROPOSER)	OBJECT OF REFERENCE (WHAT IS PROTECTED)
		Challenge	Risk	Threat	Global	Regional	National	Sub-national	Individual			
		C	R	T	G	R	N	S	I			
1	Differences between rich and poor parts of the world	x			x					differences in the level of economic and social progress		Security of BiH
2	Interstate conflicts	x			x	x				general war low probability still not disregarding its possibility since permanent peace and security are not in place yet		Security of BiH
3	International terrorism in all its forms	x			x					Problems in the field of combating terrorism in BiH are evident, while existing infrastructure (both legislative and institutional) is insufficient		Security of BiH
4	Constant environmental threats	x		x	x		x			industrial and technological progress, technological, civilian and military waste, degradation of arable land and forest, water and air pollution, pandemics, global warming, etc		Security of BiH
5	Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction	x			x					uncontrolled production and trade in weapons, including weapons of mass destruction		Security of BiH
6	Increase in forced migrations	x		x	x					armed conflicts, racial conflicts and discrimination, ethnic intolerance, or political pressures in autocratic and non-democratic regimes		Security of BiH
7	Various forms of organized crime	x			x					human, weapon and drug trafficking, money laundry and falsification, illegal trade of high value goods, cyber crime, robberies, car theft		Security of BiH
8	Transition to market economy	x				x	x			Huge drop in domestic and foreign investment; slowness and troubles in privatization, technological regression and deterioration of production capacities and uneven pace of repair of infrastructure destroyed in war		Security of BiH
9	Trade route between Europe and Asia	x				x				great opportunity to illegal trade in weapons, narcotics, and human trafficking, as well as transit of terrorists groups and materials for terrorists' activities		Security of BiH

10	Tendencies towards secession, self-rule and independence	x				x		certain ethnic groups. Process of creating independent states in the area of then multinational federations has not been finished yet.	Security of BiH
11	Legacy of political and social animosity	x				x		elements that advocate various kinds of nationalistic extremism	Security of BiH
12	Concentration of the military capacities in the region	x				x		relatively high concentration of the military capacities in the region	Security of BiH
13	Failure to fully implement the Dayton Peace Agreement	x				x		incomplete and selective implementation of the Dayton Peace Accord	Security of BiH
14	Return of displaced persons and refugees	x				x		insufficient financial resources	Security of BiH
15	Political transition	x				x		slow development of efficient and effective executive, legislative and judicial bodies, slow pace of democratization	Security of BiH
16	Insufficient border protection	x				x		inadequate protection of borders, which makes the fight against organized crime and terrorism more difficult	Security of BiH
17	High unemployment rate	x				x			Security of BiH
18	Weapons and ammunition storage	x				x		stored in inadequate storage sites and illegally held in individual possession	Security of BiH
19	Large number of land mines and UXO throughout the country	x			x	x		BiH is still considered highly contaminated area. This particular problem still poses a tangible threat to the population security as well as to the state's economic development.	Security of BiH
20	Corruption	x		x		x		being a part of the organized crime, corruption in both public and private sector poses a real threat to the society	Security of BiH

Challenges, risks and threats as defined by strategic documents of BiH