

SARAJEVO WORKSHOP

“Academic Network South East Europe” (Master of Peace and Security Studies, Hamburg/Germany) November 27-30, 2003

Objectives:

- Update on the situation in BiH 2003
- Talks with international representatives, the representatives of BiH Government and NGOs
- Networking with Sarajevo University (CIPS)

Participants:

From Hamburg/University of Hamburg/Master of Peace and Security Studies:

1. Badeva, Rajna, Macedonia
2. Bayer, Martin, Germany
3. Hadzic, Ermin, Bosnia and Herzegovina
4. Hartwich, Ute Johanna, Germany
5. Ivkovic, Marko, Serbia and Montenegro
6. Kemper, Yvonne, Germany
7. Mehmedbegovic, Naida, Bosnia and Herzegovina
8. Pervan, Gordana, Croatia
9. Paunovic, Dragan, Serbia and Montenegro
10. Petkovic, Milena, Serbia and Montenegro
11. Popovic, Djordje, Serbia and Montenegro
12. Schneider, Patricia; Dr., Germany
13. Tudorache, Ovidiu-Adrian, Romania
14. Vocks, Luc, the Netherlands
15. Wagner, Sabine, Germany
16. Zlatan Bajramovic, Bosnia and Herzegovina (alumni MPS, Sarajevo resident)

From Sarajevo/Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of the University of Sarajevo/European Regional Master in Democracy and Human Rights in South East Europe:

17. Abaspahić, Haris
18. Bajrović, Reuf
19. Barbalić, Ivan
20. Betjović, Una
21. Gratz, Denis
22. Živanović, Miroslav

Contacts:

- *Dr. Patricia Schneider*, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), Falkenstein 1, 22587 Hamburg, Germany; Web: <http://www.ifsh.de/>
- *Leila Terzimehic*, Multilateral Academy, Alipašina 9, 71 000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina
- *Ivan Barbalić*, Association Alumni of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of the University of Sarajevo, Obala Kulina bana 7, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; Web: www.cps.edu.ba

Program:

Day 1: Thursday, November 27, 2003

Date	Time	Topic	Presenter
Thu, Nov. 27	16:00	Ministry of Foreign Affairs briefing organized by IFSH/MLA	Mr. Fuad Sabeta, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of BiH

Day 2: Friday, November 28, 2003 (COE facilities, Council of Europe, Address: Fra Grge Martica 2)

Date	Time	Topic	Presenter
Fri, Nov. 28	9:00	“BiH on the road to Europe” – The role of the Directorate for European Integration: progress made so far and challenges to come (Representative from the Directorate for European Integration) <i>Questions/Discussion</i>	E. Hadžikadenić
Fri, Nov. 28	10:00	The role of the Council of Europe in BiH; progress made so far and obstacles that are still faced; BiH in the next decade <i>Questions/Discussion</i>	Hugh Chetwynd, (COE) TBC
Fri, Nov. 28	11: 15	The Position of youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Presentation of the Successor Generation Initiative (SGI) Program of the OSCE Democratisation Department's Youth Program The role of the OSCE in BiH in the political sphere – the role of BiH youth in politics and in the country's path towards democratization <i>Questions/Discussion</i>	Ahmed Rifatbegović, SGI Administrator (OSCE)
Fri, Nov. 28	12:15	The state of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Presentation of the Human Rights Officer	Bergin Kulenović
Fri, Nov. 28	14: 30	The role of the NGO sector in BiH – “Building civil awareness” – the importance of growth of non-governmental institutions in BiH, an overview of their work and progress in the last few years, and the obstacles that still have to be overcome <i>Questions</i>	Milan Mirić (Network Coordinator, ICVA)
Fri, Nov. 28	15: 30-16:30	Kurt and Plasto – “Art with a Message “: a presentation from young Bosnian artists from the “cultural scene” – the advantages and setbacks of being involved and working in the cultural sphere <i>Questions</i>	Samir Plasto and Kurt (artists)

Day 3: Saturday November 29, 2003 (CIPS facilities, Tito Barracks, at the Information Research and Library Department (IRLD), Address: Zmaja od Bosne 8)

Date	Time	Topic	Presenter
Sat, Nov. 29	10:00-11:00	Aspects of the revision of history schoolbooks in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1. Development of the Education System in Bosnia-Herzegovina 2. Reform Attempts 3. <i>Replica presentation</i> 4. Current Reform: Actors, Policies, Issues <i>Discussion</i>	Rajna Badeva Marco Ivkovic Yvonne Kemper Ivan Barbalić Ermin Hadzic Dragan Paunovic Sabine Wagner
Sat, Nov. 29	11:00-11:30	5. Example: Israel/Palestine <i>Outlook/Discussion</i>	Naida Mehmedbegovic
Sat, Nov. 29	11:45-12:25	Srebrenica: Dutch/Serbian View <i>Replica presentation</i> <i>Discussion</i>	Luc Vocks Djordje Popovic Reuf Bajrović
Sat, Nov. 29	12:25-13:00	Reform of the Armed Forces <i>Replica presentation</i> <i>Discussion</i>	Martin Bayer Zlatan Bajramovic Denis Gratz
Sat, Nov. 29	14:00-14:35	Effectiveness of International Organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina <i>Replica presentation</i> <i>Discussion</i>	Ovidiu-Adrian Tudorache Haris Abaspahic
Sat, Nov. 29	14:35-15:10	Refugees of Bosnia <i>Replica presentation</i> <i>Discussion</i>	Milena Petkovic Una Bejtović
Sat, Nov. 29	15:25-16:05	Conclusions and solution proposals	<u>All participants</u>

MINUTES

Minute-taker: Nov. 27, 2003 - Hartwich
 Nov. 28, 2003 - Popovic, Vocks
 Nov. 29, 2003 - Badeva, Petkovic
 Revised minutes Dr. Schneider

November 27, 2003

Bosnia and Herzegovina country report

Presented by Fuad Šabeta, secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina

I. The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In February 1992 a referendum was held on independence for BiH. 65% of the citizens confirmed their wish for independence and sovereignty, but many Serbian people did not participate in the referendum. On April 7, 1992, BiH was recognized by the UN-Assembly. The war began in the same month and lasted until November 1995. After one month of negotiations, the Dayton Agreement was signed on December 14, 1995. After the war, about 1.4 million displaced persons and refugees lived within BiH. About 90% of property has been given back to its owners so far, but many people have not returned to their houses, selling them instead. In Foca, for example, the pre-war population consisted of about 50% Serbs and 50% Bosnians; so far, only about 5% of Bosnians have returned.

Structure of the Population in BiH today	
Bosnians	43.5%
Croats	17.4%
Serbs	31.2%
Others	5.8%

II. Political System

The Dayton Agreement divided the country into two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Republica Srpska (Serbian Republic). Several joint ministries for the whole state were established, but no ministry of defense or ministry for internal affairs. Internal affairs, in particular, are mainly dealt with by the two entities/the cantons.

The parliament is divided into two houses: the House of Representatives (28 members from the Federation; 14 members from the Republica Srpska) and the House of People (5 Bosnians, 5 Croats, 5 Serbs). In the House of People, every group can veto any decision.

The state is headed by the Presidency, which consists of three presidents, one from each ethnic group. They attend all meetings and conferences together. They are elected directly and their mandate lasts for four years. One of their tasks is to appoint the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The government (Council of Ministers) consists of eight Ministers. Every

ministry is headed by a Minister, backed up by a Deputy and a Secretary of the Ministry. The three must represent the three ethnic groups.

III. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Policy

The initial situation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was very difficult, because of the lack of trained personnel for the Foreign Service. (About six people were kept on from the former Yugoslavian staff. About 500 persons work now for the ministry.) There is a lack of personnel, especially for economic and commercial diplomacy, although this is one of the ministry's crucial tasks.

In 1998, the two entities within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to cooperate. It has been a long and difficult road, but the cooperation is now working.

The main priority of the foreign policy is to improve relationships and cooperation with neighboring states, mainly Croatia and Serbia. The most important instrument for cooperation is the South Eastern Cooperation Process. At the moment, the main purposes of the cooperation are: to allow the movement of people within South-Eastern Europe without visas; to enable general acceptance of university degrees within the member states; to cooperate in fighting organized crime and terrorism; and to develop an agreement on free trade. At the moment, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Turkey, Hungary, Albania, and BiH are participating in these cooperative activities; Croatia and Moldavia have the status of observers.

Other priorities are EU membership (aimed at for 2009), the Partnership for Peace with NATO (due within the next few months) and the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe.

IV. Economic Situation

The economic growth rate has gone down from 13% in 1998 to around 6% in 2002. Imports are not growing as much as exports, which is good for BiH's balance of trade. There is strong pressure on BiH to open up its markets fully to the global economy, but, at the moment, that would be dangerous for indigenous Bosnian production, as products are not fully competitive yet. The bulk of the country's industrial infrastructure was destroyed during the war and has to be rebuilt.

The official employment rate is 41%, and the average household income ranges between €200 and 300 per month. At the moment, the unemployment rate of skilled workers is higher (61%) than that of non-qualified workers (39%).

November 28, 2003

Day 1: Experts on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

“BiH on the road to Europe” – the role of the Directorate for European Integration: the progress made so far and the challenges to come

Presented by Emir Hadžikadunić, Public Relations Officer at the Directorate for European Integration, BiH Council of Ministers

At present, the most important task is the Process of Stabilization and Association with the EU. Other countries that joined the EU profited from association. For BiH, this process is new.

The Process of Stabilization and Association started in 1999. Its members are five countries from Ex-Yugoslavia and Albania. The process will be concluded by the signature of an ASA

agreement (Association and Stabilization Agreement), after which Bosnia will become a potential candidate for joining the EU.

But Bosnia is still at the very beginning of the path. A first step was the feasibility study completed in March 2003, which showed positive results in the eyes of the European Commission. The next step will consist in negotiations with the EU, followed by the ASA agreement, which will have to be ratified in all EU countries. It also has to be implemented in Bosnia before the country applies for membership of the EU. Bosnia is creating a strategy for joining the EU, aiming at achieving membership in 2009.

Bosnia has benefited from financial assistance by the EU within the scope of the PHARE program and from funds for stabilization of the region. Due to the political situation, however, the availability of funds has had little impact.

Bosnia suffers from a trade imbalance with the EU. The Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe brought little success, but at least Bosnia signed several agreements with the countries in the region.

The role of the Council of Europe in BiH; progress made so far and the obstacles that are still faced; BiH in the next decade

Presented by Hugh Chetwynd, Deputy Special Representative at the Council of Europe in BiH

In order to become a member of the COE in April 2002, Bosnia had to accept a number of preconditions, among which the separation of armies and authorities represented the biggest problem. That is why major attempts were made to devolve power to the state level (defense, judiciary, taxes and intelligence agency).

The four main areas on which the COE in Bosnia focuses are:

- Democratic institutions (reinforcement and decentralization of power).
- Human rights (conventions that will be part of the constitution; creation of a war-crimes chamber that will deal with the cases that are transferred from the Hague).
- Rule of law (drafting new legislation; reconstruction of courts; reappointment of judges).
- Educational reforms (there was no competence at state level until now; the problem of two schools under the same roof; religion at schools – problem of priests or imams at schools; implementation of the Bologna declaration).

Bosnia is disappointed because it feels that the reform process is managed and run by the international community. Yet Bosnia emphasizes that it wants to take responsibility for its reforms and that its people should be able to participate in the shaping of its state.

The position of youth in Bosnia – Presentation of the Successor Generation Initiative (SGI) Program of the OSCE Democratization Department's Youth Program

Presented by Ahmed Rifatbegović, SGI Administrator at the OSCE mission to BiH

A majority of the youth in Bosnia see no prospects in their home country. 77% of the young population wants to leave the country. The situation outside Sarajevo is even more difficult than in the city.

Only a couple of youth NGOs have a strategy to face the problem of being denied any support by the local authorities. Local politicians are much more responsive towards the international community than towards the people.

That is where the OSCE mission in Bosnia comes in. The OSCE mission is divided into four departments: human rights, education, security, and democratization. Since September 2003, the Democratization Department has been running the “Successor Generation Initiative Program” (SGI). The SGI is an initiative program for young leaders that offers education courses and collects project proposals.

The state of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Presented by Bergin Kulenović, Human Rights Officer

Bergin Kulenović is member of a project team that aims to assess the human rights (HR) situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). She talked about the HR situation in BiH, her project and her work within it.

According to Bergin Kulenović, the participation of citizens within their local communities is non-existent. There is also a complete lack of communication from both entities and municipalities towards the population. This lack of involvement leads to the situation in which people are oftentimes not aware of their rights, and institutions are not aware of their responsibilities.

One problem is that the Dayton agreement obstructs the implementation of HR. Without central authorities there is no central implementation of HR. If HR are not cared for centrally, it is difficult to establish responsibilities. Another part of the problem consists in establishing responsible institutions – which might not even realize their own responsibility.

In Bosnia, with many institutions and institutional overlaps, everything is a political game. There is always a problem in overseeing who gets what. In this game women, youngsters, Roma and refugees are especially disadvantaged.

The lack of clarity is very detrimental to large sections of the population. About 80% of the population are entitled to state support but are not aware of it.

This project assesses the HR situation at a municipality level. The objective is explicitly nationwide. So municipalities all over BiH enjoy the project’s attention. Beside assessing the HR situation the project also tries to find out what can be done by the municipalities themselves to improve their HR record. The project was started in 2002. It is based on teams which stay in a municipality for a period of about five months. The aim of the teams is to question both duty holders and claimholders in order to establish responsibilities and authorizations. The project takes the whole range of HR into account. The project identifies sixteen relevant areas of HR. These range from youth to women and from health to public administration. The team-knowledge adds to the shaping of political ideas within the population and the municipalities, it also raises the awareness of rights and their violations.

The idea is to stimulate municipalities into action to support local initiatives or to tackle the problems at hand. In order to clarify what should be done by municipalities, the project teams formulate development goals for the municipality. These goals highlight what a municipality can and should do in the next period.

The program is said to be quite successful. Most municipalities cooperate with the project, and the situation on the whole has improved in many areas.

The role of NGOs in BiH

Presented by Milan Mirić, Network Coordinator at the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA)

Milan Mirić is active in an umbrella organization for NGOs which has the goals of building civil society and raising awareness in BiH. He focused on his organization and the NGO sector in BiH.

NGOs are difficult to define. Some people feel that NGOs should be independent and voluntary. Others consider it enough that they be non-governmental. Another group puts emphasis on the non-profit nature. The basic characteristic should perhaps be that they are independent and not in competition with the government or the private sector. This indicates that NGOs are a concept which is not easy to grasp.

In BiH, the situation of NGOs is problematical. Milan Mirić sees the reason for this in the lack of publicity for the NGOs. The “third” sector is still a mystery for ordinary people. A second explanation is that NGOs tend to be really good at communicating with donors and not as good in communicating with the communities they work in.

Before the war, the NGO sector in BiH was practically non-existent. Due to the war and its aftermath the activities of NGOs changed and international NGOs became more and more important.

At first, there seemed to be a competition between NGOs and the government. NGOs were performing a lot of government tasks, and seemed to get easier access to funding. Now step by step the government is moving into NGO dominated areas and the competition seems to be fading away leaving room for cooperation.

Growing cooperation between NGOs and the government is now the trend. NGOs sometimes have an edge over government, and the government has recognized this. On the other hand, there are areas that should be exclusively handled by the government. Now NGOs are filling such gaps.

One of the problems of the NGO sector is to get sufficient funding, and this problem is increasing. Regulations within BiH complicate the access to domestic sources. For instance donations are not tax-deductible like in most other countries. NGOs have to pay taxes for donations. This touches perhaps their main problem: NGOs suffer from bad working conditions in BiH.

“Art with a message” – advantages and setbacks of being involved in and working in the cultural sphere

Presented by Kurt and Plasto, artists

Kurt and Plasto are involved in developing advertisement campaigns for companies in BiH. In addition to that, they are also well known artists. They run their own agency called DDO. At the seminar they presented and commented on some of their work.

November 29, 2003

Different aspects of the revision of school history textbooks in Bosnia-Herzegovina

I. Development of the education system in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Presented by Rajna Badeva and Marko Ivković, M.P.S. students

1. Education in former Yugoslavia

Education in private schools was offered almost exclusively by religious communities. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes maintained a system of public elementary education until World War II.

Between 1945 and 1990, public education in Bosnia did not differ significantly from the rest of the former Yugoslavia regarding socialist and atheistic ideology, structure, curriculum, and teacher qualifications. Immediately after World War II, the emphasis in Yugoslavia was put on primary education. By the early 1980s, virtually all children in Yugoslavia attended primary schools.

Thus the 1990s began with reforms in the Federation of BiH that led to the abandonment of the strictly centralized educational system and changes in the curriculum. Since the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord in 1995, two subsystems of education officially exist in Bosnia: one in BiH, the other in Republica Srpska (Serbian Republic).

2. Education during the war

During 1992-93, “war-schools” operated on an abbreviated 18-week calendar, beginning on March 1, 1993.

3. The condition of school textbooks in and after the war

Each of the three entities had its own set of history textbooks, characterized by relations between the “self” and the “other”, the “us” and the “them”, the “we-group” and the “others” (mainly negatively). So three separate sets of stereotypical images of “us” and “them” existed within one society.

II. Failed reform attempts

Presented by Yvonne Kemper, M.P.S. student

1. Delayed reform

Despite reports, reviews, conferences, and assessments, there was no progress in substantive implementation until 2002. The reason for that is the lack of a specific mandate in the Dayton Peace Agreement, which resulted in a piecemeal approach with many actors and no entity responsible for coordinating efforts.

2. The Sarajevo Declaration – secret history

The task of the Sarajevo Declaration of February 3rd 1998, an initiative of the OHR, was to encourage the return of refugees by reforming education and textbooks in Sarajevo. The review process was carried out in secret in order to protect the process from public scrutiny and disruption before finishing the report. The final report was submitted in June 1998 but neither were the interim findings published nor was action taken.

The results of the review process were leaked to the press in October, resulting in a three-month aggressive press campaign. The international community was accused of “seeking to take away Bosnia’s history, teach children lies, and prepare the ground for further genocide.” Particularly controversial was that UNESCO’s policy of postponing a discussion on recent violence in Bosnia stirred resentment among many Bosniaks. Accordingly, definitions of genocide and identification of victims should be omitted, e.g. references to "crimes" against the Bosniaks should have been referred to as "mistakes". After this secretive procedure, the release of the recommendations as mandatory added to the list of provocations.

In consequence the cantonal government decided to reject all recommendations for reform of textbooks and the working group disintegrated. Both the Sarajevo Declaration and the international bodies had lost credibility. The same textbooks were used in the school year 1998/1999.

3. The removal of objectionable material – blackening history

The application of BiH for recognition by the Council of Europe (COE) in 1999 was used as a bargaining chip for educational reform. Among other things, the COE thus required BiH to withdraw potentially offensive material from textbooks before the start of the next school year and to provide new textbooks on the long run.

The reform was mandatory but met widespread resistance. Some readers partially deleted sections in textbooks with highlighter pens. Students sometimes blackened passages; some schools exhibited deleted texts on bulletin board.

The reform was better implemented in primary schools than in secondary schools and better on the federal level than in the RS (Serbian Republic). As a sanction mechanism, the head of the school would be replaced if the respective school did not comply by the end of the year. But the commission did not take into consideration whether censored sections of textbooks were still intelligible. Furthermore there was no thorough check as to whether all books were revised by October 1, 1999.

4. Lessons learned?

Evading open discussion and forcing reforms upon people contradicts and undermines democratization efforts in BiH; it also raises suspicions against the credibility of international organizations. Blackening texts inspires curiosity among students and might thus have an effect contrary to its intent.

The criteria for textbook reform should be transparent. Since the international community is forced to control the implementation of reforms in all schools in BiH, it should put greater emphasis on the involvement of local authorities throughout the reform process. Besides it is the teachers who ultimately transmit the meanings of textbooks. Involving and training teachers should therefore constitute an integral part of textbook reform.

III. Current reform: actors, policies, issues

Presented by Ermin Hadžić, Dragan Paunović and Sabine Wagner, M.P.S. students

1. Current Situation

The problem with textbook reforms is not particular to Bosnia and Herzegovina but resembles the situation in Germany and Poland after Second World War. In these two countries, international monitoring lasted 15 years before full responsibility was returned.

Conflicts are originated by various parties or entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, each of which has a completely different understanding of history. Under these circumstances, students in Bosnia cannot discover that there are elements of history and other subjects that they share. They are thus bound within the limited perspectives of their own states.

Yet there are lots of reasons why it is important for Bosnia and Herzegovina to have a common or at least similar approach to textbooks:

- Everyone has the right to find out and learn about the subjects in question, but they first have to find some kind of agreement on the disputed questions.
- If the separate entities educate their pupils with fragmented and nationalistic textbooks, future generations will be less likely to live with each other as good neighbors with mutual respect.
- If different approaches to history and education are maintained, future generations will inadvertently revisit the causes of conflict. Full admittance of one's own mistakes and the readiness to accept other nations and peoples provide the conditions for future peace.
- In an atmosphere of fear, nations will fail to develop economically, socially, culturally and in other aspects of their daily life. Children, and later adults, will not be able to return to normalcy, thus obstructing the reconciliation and rebuilding process before it has even started.
- The international community will accept the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina only if they accept each other and fully respect basic principles of human rights, liberty, the rule of law, etc. Tolerance can play an important role in enabling the acceptance of these principles. It includes accepting differences among people whether they pertain to differences in history, personal views, ways of life, or, of course, textbooks.

That is why people in Bosnia and Herzegovina should work together on their textbooks – ultimately, they share a common future.

2. The inter-entity textbook review commission

The commission was re-established at the inter-entity Ministers of Education Meeting held on March 5, 2003 in Sarajevo (co-chaired by the Council of Europe). Its mandate is to remove objectionable material from the textbooks; a necessary interim measure to ensure that the education children receive in Bosnia and Herzegovina is free from political, religious, cultural or other bias and discrimination and respects the rights of all children.

The commission is composed of 12 members from the Republica Srpska, 12 members from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 3 coordinators. Financing is ensured by funds provided by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (10,000 BAM), the Republica Srpska Ministry of Education (10,000 BAM) and the OSCE.

Its main activities consist in monitoring the prohibition of imports of history textbooks from neighboring countries, in de-politicizing the interpretation of historical events and in attempting to establish BiH citizenship as a major point of reference in history textbooks.

But the problem was that those people who are in charge of reviewing the history books were intensively monitored by the national coordinators who had sent them. And these coordinators were obviously very alert not to allow too many concessions. The Croat group did not participate in the 2nd meeting in Bjelašnica allegedly because they had not received their salaries on time and thus denied participation. Finally, the commission members also had a very simplistic concept of history.

IV. Example: Israel/Palestine

Presented by Naida Mehmedbegovic

Naida Mehmedbegovic presented the Shared History Booklet Project by Sami Adwan and Dan Bar-On (from PRIME, Peace Research in the Middle East).

In periods of war and conflict, nations tend to develop their own narratives, which from their perspective become the only true ones. They dehumanize their enemies and devalue their narratives. These narratives are embedded in everyday culture, the media, and children's school textbooks.

This is also true of the Palestinian/Israeli situation. Textbooks from this region reflect a culture of enmity. The terminology used in the texts has different meanings. What is positive on one side is negative on the other side. For example, the 1948 War in the Israeli texts is called "*The War of Independence*," while in the Palestinian text it is called "*Al-Naqbah (The Catastrophe)*." While Israeli texts refer to the first Jewish immigrants to Palestine as "the pioneers," Palestinian texts refer to them as "gangs" and "terrorists." The heroes of one side are the monsters of the other.

Bar-On and Adwan therefore decided to develop an innovative school booklet that contains two narratives, the Israeli narrative and the Palestinian narrative around certain dates or milestones in the history of the conflict. This would mean that each student also learns the narrative of the other side, in addition to the familiar narrative, as a first step toward acknowledging and respecting the other.

Replica presentation

Presented by Ivan Barbalić

It is likely that different approaches to history and education will always exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Changing the current situation is a very long-term process.

There is no single perfect solution, but a necessary first step would be to accept other nations and peoples as equals and to live together as good neighbors with mutual respect. Moreover, all common questions need to be approached together.

Srebrenica: Dutch/ Serbian View

I. Serbian view

Presented by Djordje Popovic, M.P.S. student

The massacre in Srebrenica was one of the worst war crimes since World War II. The prosecutor of the ICTY accused Serbian generals Krstic and Mladic, as well as former Yugoslav president Milosevic of the genocide of Muslims in Srebrenica.

The guilt of the Serbian government has still to be proved, particularly as regards the intention of genocide. At the time of the crime, the events in Srebrenica were considered in Serbia to be merely one of many battles. Today the Serbian people are facing a crime that is beyond imagination. The international community is torn between a feeling of guilt and a feeling of responsibility. However, the way to reconciliation needs to be taken.

II. Dutch view

Presented by Luc Vocks, M.P.S. student

In general there is no substantial teaching on recent history in the Netherlands. So Dutch history on the Balkans is not taught either, although Dutch involvement in the Balkans is quite substantial (UN Missions in Bosnia, involvement in post war Bosnia).

As far as the question is concerned how the Netherlands deal with their recent past on the Balkans, the Dutch involvement is a non-issue, even Srebrenica is a non-issue. On the other hand there are people who try to keep the memory alive.

Replica presentation

Presented by Reuf Bajrović

Reuf Bajrović works for a human rights project in Srebrenica. Srebrenica had been declared a “safe area” by the UN Security Council and Dutch troops were sent to maintain peace. But the Dutch endgame was not without problems: the troops were not in a position to fight and there alternatives were not considered. The Dutch government was paralyzed.

It is very difficult to say whether the killings could have been prevented. Some people are of the opinion that Serbian forces would never have dared to attack and take over the enclave if troops had been British instead of Dutch.

In the summer of 1995, Serbian forces occupied the town. They claimed that they were only interested in war criminals and that civilians were going to be protected. But they used the notion of war criminals as a pretext to separate all men from the rest of the population, to transfer them by buses to prisoner camps where they killed them. The number of casualties is still unknown, figures vary from 7.000 to 8.000. The dead bodies were thrown into mass graves, and the location of some of these is still unknown. Up to today around 2.000 bodies have been exhumed, almost 5.000 people are missing. The killings didn't only lead to a discussion about the guilt of the Serbian government, they also put a question mark on the UN Mission in Bosnia.

Reform of the Armed Forces in the Balkans

Presented by Martin Bayer (M.P.S. student) and Zlatan Bajramovic

The question of the intentions of the reform was the starting point of the reform. The key issues are: democratic defense management, transparency, professionalism, efficiency, interoperability.

I. Different models for understanding Soviet-type Civil-Military Relations (CMR)

- Huntington: Relations between the two are characterized by professionalism, weakened by antimilitaristic Marxism. The military is made the “mirror of the state” rather than a distinct professional class. Lots of officers take positions in social and political institutions.
- Kolkowicz: The military's nationalism and elitism is antagonistic to the party's internationalism and egalitarianism in civil relations.
- Odom: There exists an institutional congruence between the military and the civil sphere, but the military sphere is the main beneficiary.
- Colton: Civil-military relations are mutually beneficial with occasional disagreements.
- General Serebriannikov: Military was the chief architect of political course.
- Colonel Rodachin: Military was subordinate.

II. Characteristics of objective civilian control (Samuel P. Huntington)

- The military is highly professionalized, but its leaders recognize the limits of their professional competence in relation to civil affairs like politics.
- The military is effectively subordinated to civilian leaders who make the basic decisions on foreign and military policy.
- The civil leadership recognizes and accepts an area of professional competence and autonomy for the military.

- Military intervention in politics and political intervention in the military are minimized.

III. Components of transition of CMR according to Anton Bebler

- Defense policy becomes more and more transparent, often accompanied by a greater supervisory role for parliaments and public opinion.
- Defense Ministries are civilianized.
- In the upper echelons of the armed forces, radical personnel changes take place.
- New security doctrines arise.
- There is greater stress on participatory managerial styles within military establishments.
- The armed forces become politically neutralized in relation to the civil sphere.
- The military's internal-security role is discontinued.
- An ideological pluralization takes place.
- Obtrusive discrimination against religious believers comes to an end.
- Conscientious objection is no longer criminalized.

IV. Factors in CMR

- How well is the military regarded by the public? Is the military a trusted institution?
- Was the "new" military based on an "old" system, or was it built "from scratch"? (Issues of training, equipment, heritage)
- Is there a long-standing military tradition? How are veterans treated?
- To what extent does this tradition contribute to the nation's self-image?
- How are war crimes (or war-related issues in general) reflected? (own vs. others)
- How well (and how regularly) are the armed forces paid? Is it enough for a living?
- How are problems within the military treated (internally and in public)?

V. Issues in CMR

- Recruitment: Who is recruited? (class; gender; minorities; ethnic, etc.) How is recruited? (voluntary vs. conscription)
- Change of doctrine and training: new roles and tasks.
- Change of weaponry: cost-benefit analysis and need for interoperability.
- Link to overall security-sector reform (secret services, police, paramilitary forces, etc.).
- Involvement of the military in organized crime (e.g. trafficking of all kinds).
- Armed forces tend to be more conservative in all societies.

VI. General and special problems of CMR in the Balkans

Civil-military relations are a basic transitional problem. They are part of the very substance of the changes from the societies of "real" Yugoslav or Albanian socialisms to democratic societies, from centrally planned to market-regulated economies. Democratic civilian control of the armed forces guarantees accountability and preserves legitimacy for the maintenance and the eventual application of the force of the state.

The consequences of post-Yugoslav wars and conflicts and their impact on CMR were different in the individual countries of the region:

- The presence of international forces.
- FRY: several armed forces belonging to Serbia inside and outside the country; at the beginning of democratic CMR; already contributing to international missions.

- Romania & Bulgaria: Wars diminished the rate of integration efforts in the EU.
- Albania: The Kosovo conflict negatively influenced the fragile economy.

Changing civil-military relations is an element of the gradually evolving Balkan security community and of the region's establishment as a prospective compatible component of the Euro-Atlantic security and civic zone, based on the EU, NATO (esp. the PfP framework), the OSCE, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, etc. The role of the armed forces and of the defense and national security concepts are being re-assessed. A higher level of homogeneity in the area of CMR is a stable stepping stone on the way toward building a regional security community in southeast Europe.

CMR in the Balkans are influenced by the changing security and defense agenda of post-Cold War Europe and the world, which brings new threats and challenges. So the respective countries take part in multilateral peacekeeping, peace-enforcement, humanitarian and rescue missions. But responses to new threats do not only affect the military, that is the reason why better CMR are needed.

Croatia: Croatia did not inherit any of its armed forces from the previous regime, but created new ones. Section 42 of Croatia's 1991 Law for Defense forbids any political activity; (not only) during the war, however, most officers were members of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU).

Macedonia: Macedonia regards professionalism mainly as an important criterion for admission to NATO and less as a control mechanism in Huntington's terms. Funding is a problem, e.g. many weapons provided by other countries are old, of dubious quality and expensive to maintain: "a depot for old and useless arms." Beyond that, a long term problem consists in the ethnic composition of the military.

Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovenia: All three states are quite advanced in their transformation efforts.

VII. Conclusion

According to Huntington, new democracies have done better overall with CMR than they have done with most of their other major problems. CMR are in better shape in the new democracies than they were in the authoritarian regimes that these democracies replaced. It is a challenging situation, transition is still in progress, and the way ahead is long and difficult.

Replica presentation

Presented by Denis Gratz

Organizational changes of the armed forces of BiH also represent a precondition for joining NATO. These changes include a reduction from 20,000 (of which 6,000 are conscripts) to 12,000 soldiers (5,500 Muslims, 2,500 Croats, 4,000 Serbs), and the creation of an integrated organization with a joint headquarters.

Effectiveness of international organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Presented by Ovidiu-Adrian Tudorache, M.P.S. student

The intervention of international organizations in areas where potential conflicts may appear should be decisive and effective. When evaluating the effectiveness of the intervention we are confronted by a number of general obstacles such as the difficulty of quantification, involvement of other actors, duration of the mission, distance from the area.

After the Dayton agreements, the OSCE received an important role in BiH in the fields of:

- elections in 1996 (the electoral process was badly managed by the OSCE)
- human rights (implementation and respect of the rule of law – on which OSCE could focus more)
- democratization (activities were aimed at supporting political parties and developing civil society)
- media affairs (expansion and evolution of the Free Exchange Radio Network, Independent Radio Network of BiH)
- regional stabilization (monitoring and implementing military aspects of the Dayton agreements; workshops aimed to strengthen democratic control of the military).
-

Further steps that could increase the OSCE mission's effectiveness in BiH should be:

- social reforms
- political parties, which try to control every aspect of the country's economic, social and legal life
- implementation of the rule of law
- cooperation with NGOs.

Essential framework conditions for a functioning democracy have already been created and the OSCE had had an important role in that process.

Replica presentation

Presented by Haris Abaspahic

BiH has become an area of international community involvement: Between 1992 and 1995 UN troops were present. In 1995, the U.S.A. carried out air strikes. Various international organizations (NGOs) have gained influence in the stabilization process of the post-war period. In addition, a great amount of money from international sources was invested in the reconstruction of houses. So basically the types of international influence can be divided into two fields: involvement of troops and political attempts to stop the war.

Refugees of Bosnia

Presented by Milena Petkovic, M.P.S. student

Milena Petkovic presented the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), an independent humanitarian organization, whose task consists in improving international protection of refugees and internally displaced persons and in offering humanitarian assistance regardless of race, religion or political opinion. It has been in existence for over 56 years and is currently working on projects in Afghanistan, Angola, Armenia, Colombia, BiH, Croatia, Serbia, DR Congo, Pakistan, Russia and other regions of the world.

In BiH the NRC's activities include:

- Defending, protecting and promoting the human rights of refugees, internally displaced persons and returnees.
- Contributing to durable solutions for the refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs).
- Contributing to removing legal obstacles to the return and reintegration of minority groups.

- Securing property rights for refugees and IDPs in order to facilitate sustainable return and to secure a multi-ethnic society.
- Refugees in BiH especially have problems to get necessary documents like birth certificates, citizenship certificates, working booklets, etc. in order to justify pension rights, property rights, etc.

NRC projects in BiH:

- The Shelter Project in BiH organizes the reconstruction of war-damaged houses belonging to IDPs currently living in Republica Srpska and refugees living in Serbia. From 1993-2002 the NRC has operated housing projects in 38 municipalities in BiH assisting over 90,000 individual beneficiaries. In the municipality of Kepres, for example, 44 severely damaged houses were reconstructed, enabling 144 individuals to return to their place of pre-war residence.
- The Civil Rights Project focuses on displaced persons from the area of Banja Luka who requested NRC assistance in repossessing their pre-war homes, and on refugees from Croatia displaced in Republica Srpska who were in need of assistance in issues related to return and other long-terms issues.

The NRC also tackles problems faced by Croatian refugees in Serbia that relate to necessary documents, repatriation to Croatia, occupied private property, tenancy rights, reconstruction, pensions and years of service.

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