



ROUND-TABLE ON ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY POLICY

- INTERNAL POLICY -

Banja Luka, 19 February 2002

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Herzegovina**

**Dragan Kalinic, Chairman of the National Assembly of the
Republika Srpska**

Dr. Dusko Vejnovic, Director

Centre for Geostrategic Research, Banja Luka

It is a pleasure and honour for me to greet you in the name of the Centre for Geostrategic Research in Banja Luka and the Centre for Security Studies BiH. I especially welcome the Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Zivko Radisic, representatives and chairmen of parliaments, parliamentarians, representatives of international organizations, representatives of non-governmental organizations, and all others that have responded to the invitation for the Round-Table on Elements of the Security Policy – Internal Policy.

The actual topic is the theme of the position, function and organization of the security of the state. These themes are real when we speak about the security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a complex community of two entities and three constituent peoples.

We expect from you to consider in an analytical, meaningful, practical and political manner, during the programme of work, the important and priority aspects of the sources of threats to stability in BiH, and then the modalities that protect that which was constituted by the Dayton Peace Agreement, and the expression of will and needs of the peoples that live in BiH. Certainly we expect that you shall completely openly discuss the issues of the state bodies – the police and military, the functioning and construction of the intelligence services; and parallel with this, the parliamentary democratic control of the state bodies. We expect that we shall discuss the foundation of fact; theoretically having in mind the historical approach how much is necessary that we shed light on the reality, that we offer a modern solution so that conflict in this country and between the peoples does not materialize.

I suppose that you shall not hold back, and that we are aware without some large agreements, open and disposed for conversations, that we offer arguments, possibly we shall have also different viewpoints but the only fact that there are present here three ethnic communities is a level of consciousness of the needs of all peoples to construct a modern democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have to nurture political culture, dialogue, tolerance; to understand the specific differences and similarities, but that ninety percent of similarities are present in language or really ninety percent of terms of the same language are spoken by Serbs, Bosniacs and Croats, and that should not be a stumbling block and some new source of the return to the past, eventually leading to disagreement.

I invite you one more time to give the maximum in order for us to use this time, being that these peoples and nations do not have reserve intellectuals nor reserve parliamentarians and similar, and that they can influence these processes, can adopt these laws and can certainly work on the implementation, respect and application of these laws.

Thank you. I call on Dr. Bisera Turkovic, Director of the Centre for Security Studies BiH, Sarajevo, to take the floor.

Dr. Bisera Turkovic, Executive Director

Centre for Security Studies, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Allow me to very shortly greet you and to express my exceptional pleasure that we are situated today in Banja Luka and for the response that we have had to this round-table, which is in coordination with the work of Professor Vejnovic and the Centre for Security Studies. I think that this is a very important gathering and the message that this round-table carries is also of exceptional importance, without consideration of the contents of the activities that shall follow.

Possibly you know that the Centre for Security Studies has undertaken a series of activities in order to endeavour to assist the development of the security policy of BiH. Namely, BiH does not have a security policy and this is necessary in order for us to plan further integration and to achieve these plans. Naturally, the Council of Ministers of BiH is working on this task and in this case we would not want to take over this activity, but we consider that the civil sector, Parliament of BiH, and entity parliaments have quite a lot to say towards the development of the security policy. Consequently, with this aim, a series of round-tables have been organized that have engaged in the elaboration of elements of the security policy; and as such to this date, round-tables have been held that have dealt with the issues of foreign policy, economic policy as an element of the security policy, and intelligence services as an element of the security policy. Today we are here to discuss perhaps one of the most important areas of the security policy when our state and her entities are in consideration; namely internal security, which is one of the most important elements.

With consideration to the limitation of time of today's round-table, we have not taken into consideration that which in Bosnia and Herzegovina is popularly called reform of the justice system and the legal segment that also comes under the heading of internal policy. I hope that we shall consider these two segments in the discussion period, and if nothing else to discuss them in a certain manner.

The classical idea of internal security implies the elimination of internal threats, and in the political mechanism of the state: threats to public security, actions that could influence the survival and efficacious functioning of the state. Naturally, it is necessary to bear in mind that one of the most important elements of internal security is the protection of fundamental human rights, and that this is the nucleus of the formation of security that spreads to the individual, their possessions, and in a wider manner.

Consequently, in order not to take up too much time, if I can summarize today's position then I think that it would be fair to say that BiH is looked upon as an exceptionally insecure country. As to whether this is justified or not we can consider through the discussion periods. Whether we agree or not we must endeavour to create more security than that which is currently perceived.

How much is the level of organized crime, how much is the high level of corruption, how much we have illegal migration, how much BiH is present in the trafficking of human beings, how much is the level of individual security (persons and property) – these are all themes for which I believe that this gathering could offer responses. Towards this, we really have distinguished and eminent experts from all fields, including Mr. Radisic from the Presidency, Dr. Kalinic, Ministers and the Director of the State Border Service.

I think that we have an exceptional gathering in which I would love, through an open discussion, that we endeavour to produce responses to our challenges. They do not have to be the same, they can also be contrasting, but it is time that BiH, as it is, and her internal security would not be under the monitoring and direction of people from outside. It is time that we resolve our internal problems and dissonance in the manner in which we know best, because only in this manner shall we be able to stand behind the solution that we offer.

Finally, perhaps there remains two short items to mention. For success, it is necessary also to have coordination and harmonization, as well as for the police and security forces of both entities. Do we have the capacity for that coordination, that we alone undertake this or is it necessary to have new patrons whose directives we must follow? A suggestion for discussion perhaps could be as to whether it is necessary to have an inter-coordination ministerial body that can coordinate that which until now others have coordinated? Is it necessary to have a security committee, a so-called commission, which would work in the framework of the House of Representatives? Allow me to offer these as some issues for which we could discuss, and would be advisable insofar as we could gain elements of internal policy for which we would be prepared, to agree upon, and to stand behind.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Zivko Radisic

Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

It is a pleasure for me to be able to greet you in the name of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to express the wish that this round-table would be in the function of the theoretical and practical strengthening of security in Bosnia and Herzegovina – as an essential presupposition for our entire stable and democratic development.

We live in complex times when the issue of security is of exceptional importance, especially from the standpoint of the security of every individual state.

The contemporary world is so much mutually connected, with the flow of people, capital and material goods, as well as information and technological systems, that the internal policy of whichever country, especially developed, is unavoidably and powerfully reflected on its immediate neighbours, the region and even the world. Naturally, the level of that influence depends on the entire strength of every individual country, in relation to its place and role in regional, continental and world relations and scales.

We in Bosnia and Herzegovina have for a long time been engaged in security issues. The immediate impulse for that, with aspects of the internal policy, was given by the Peace Implementation Council with the Madrid Declaration on 16 December 1998. At the session of the Standing Committee on Military Matters, on 15 July 1999, it was agreed to proceed with the realization of this initiative. At that time we appointed a special expert working group for the development of the Security Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Later we evaluated that it was necessary to first define the Defence Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an integral part of the security policy. That document, consequently, the Defence Policy, we very seriously prepared, alongside the very constructive participation of all relevant parties of the entities and Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole. The Presidency adopted that document in May 2001. Now we are working intensively on its implementation – especially on the radical reduction and restructuring of the armed forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the accession to the Partnership for Peace, regional and sub-regional arms control, and stability, etc.

As much as it is possible we are accelerating the elaboration of the security policy. The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina are working exactly on this aspect of internal policy. A special expert group is engaged for this purpose. We expect that this would be completed by the end of March this year.

The current work on the development of the security policy highlights the very complex task. This development is especially influenced by the very complex and difficult situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The particulars of Bosnia and Herzegovina demand a persistent, professional and patient level of work. All aspects of the situation and relations need to be taken into account, as well as the influence and role of all subjects in the strengthening of security, emphasizing the fact that BiH is a very complex state community, with a significant role for the entities and various expert organs of authority

and a number of institutions, as well as with the stressed role of a number of actors and institutions of the international community.

Ladies and Gentleman, BiH is very interested and capable to secure stability in all elements. Due to its particulars, Bosnia and Herzegovina is the best proof that the entire security of a state depends on the condition of its internal security, internal policy and relations. The post-Dayton period has been characterized by difficulties, but also by the successful fight for peace, national equality, tolerance, human rights and freedoms.

As a multi-national, multi-religious and multi-cultural state community, BiH sees its reality, prosperity and integration in the region and Europe, above all as a generally accepted community of equal nations and citizens, as a secure and democratic state.

We shall meet today with a number of remaining aspects and consequences of the war and tragic events. The huge number of refugees, the large level of unemployment, social tensions, difficult economic situation, difficulties and resistance in the functioning of the government on all levels – all of these are our common problems, very complex and increasing limiting factors on the entire stability.

In our differences we do not see a handicap, rather a richness of living and challenges of the future. The functioning of the legal state, institutions, the preservation of the constitution-legal order, the strengthening of the position of all peoples and citizens, the accelerated resolution of a number of humanitarian, economic and social issues, and many others – these represent our obligations, interests and challenges.

Today terrorism, crime, violence, drugs, and inhuman relations towards children and women frequent the world. Our largest contribution to the general fight against those global threats is, above all, our internal stability and security.

These days we are witnesses of the added influence of our neighbourhood and some forces in our state and the world for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the relations of her entities. Our message is clear – BiH all the more is and shall be in the hands of her peoples and citizens and her constitutional-legal institutions. Our future and our stability depend upon, above all, us. Nobody is without possibilities, the positive contribution to our stability and development. Nobody is free from the responsibility of his or her contribution. In all of this the Presidency is conscious of its responsibilities and shall be a more significant subject of dialogue and coordination in the entire efforts in this state.

I believe that this round-table shall be directed in the search for the strengthening of our security. The level of participants, the announced theme and interest for this debate, inspires added optimism. Do not holdback your mind, experience and wish that all would be better and freer.

I wish you much success in your work. Thank you for your attention.

Dr. Dragan Kalinic

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska

I would like to thank you in the name of the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska for offering me the opportunity to greet the participants of this round-table. The National Assembly carefully follows the work of the Centre for Security Studies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and our parliamentarians frequently participate in the various seminars that they organize. We are very pleased that you are in Banja Luka and that you have organized this round-table with the Centre for Geostrategic Studies in Banja Luka.

I hope that today we shall be enlightened by various experts as to one of the most important segments of the security policy: internal policy.

Consequently, I am absolutely convinced, the viability of peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina and her entities, and above all economic and social advancement, cannot be without the full internal consolidation of this country. Every segment of this society is passing through a stormy transition. We are aware of much that needs to be placed on paper and defined through the law or governmental decisions, but real life is full of indecision, lack of understanding, rational and irrational opposition, avoidance of the law and the absence of justice.

A country that is well ordered is stable towards the outside, towards its closest neighbours, but also this is a factor of stability of the entire region.

In the Republika Srpska we are determined, in connection with this, to sustain three important sectors:

- a) The creation and consolidation of the democratically established institutions of authority – on an entity level as well as state level;
- b) The qualification of the organs and bodies of internal security – the police above all – in the committed fight against organized crime and corruption in all sectors and on all levels, in the fight against all forms of terrorism, as well as the full protection of human rights and citizens rights, and the freedom of every citizen of the Republika Srpska and their property;
- c) The complete reform of the justice system through the criteria of professionalism, impartiality, justice, are the only deciding criteria of the success of the court authorities.

The National Assembly of the Republika Srpska still has not implemented all necessary laws and other acts for the anticorruption programme that was adopted a couple of months ago. Those activities shall be intensified throughout this year. We shall give a still stronger impetus to our parliamentary commission to follow and control the work of the organs and institutions in the field of defence and internal affairs, to work to increase parliamentary control in the fight against organized crime and corruption. One other team in the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska – the Commission for the Observation

and Implementation of the Process of Privatisation – can strongly contribute to this important issue.

My conviction is that due to the internal weakness on a legislative plane, the fight against crime and corruption shall go much more in the direction of the surface than deeper. Nobody shall invest in such an insecure environment; nobody shall invest in a country where real criminals do not go to prison.

The objective for all of us must be that ‘rule of law’ really does mean ‘rule of law’. We must create a state with laws. The rule of law is there to protect ordinary citizens, the general public; it ensures them a normal and civil life. A government that succeeds in establishing this secures internal peace and stability in their country, which shall really be in the interest of the country.

SESSION I

Marko Amidzic, Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Fedor Klamtchouk, Representative, UNMiBH

Petar Kunic, Vice-President of the Government of the Republika Srpska

Ramo Maslesa, Minister of Police, Ministry of Internal Affairs, FBiH

Dragomir Jovicic, Minister of Police, Ministry of Internal Affairs, RS

Mr. Marko Amidzic

*Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Chairman of Session I*

Ladies and Gentleman, participants of this round-table, I greet you in the name of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH; and to the Chairman of the House of Representatives, Mr. Mirjanic, I can say that on this round-table is found almost the complete Commission for Foreign Affairs, and we can work on some parliamentary issues connected to this round-table, which means that it concerns exceptional interest for the theme that is contained in the today's agenda.

It is a pleasure for me to chair this first session of today's round-table, but due to my inexperience in this field, I ask Mrs. Turkovic and Mr. Vejnovic, that given the opportunity, to lead a discussion to assist in this area of work. Perhaps it is not bad to mention that the Commissions for Foreign Affairs in countries of developed democracy frequently are tasked with security issues.

For your information, I shall inform you of at least three key issues that the Commission for Foreign Affairs was engaged in last year. Firstly, in relation to the established Defence Policy of BiH, this means the document of the BiH Presidency, which is constitutionally competent for this issue, we participated in a number of seminars and workshops in the world and in the common gathering of our Commission and the Commissions for Defence of the entity parliaments. In the process of determination towards the general direction of foreign policy as a founding document, which was adopted by the Presidency of BiH, we initiated a debate in the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly that resulted in concrete and very operational conclusions in this field. This year we shall probably initiate the realization of the tasks from those conclusions, above all when the activities of the Commission for Foreign Affairs are in question.

I wish to emphasize, due to the fact that I have already mentioned these two activities, that we anticipated the conclusions of the House of Representatives and some of the issues from the field of the security policy. I consider that this round-table represents an opportunity to respond to one of the key issues that every parliamentarian is interested in, which is how can parliament create the constitutional role of parliamentary control and of these areas of public life. I hope that we shall gain the answer to this question. Allow me in this session, which is an honour for me, to present the next speaker, Mr. Fedor Klamtchouk, representative of Mr. Klein in Banja Luka.

Mr. Fedor Klamtchouk

United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina – UNMiBH

On behalf on the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Ambassador Jacques Paul Klein, I would like to warmly welcome all participants of this round-table discussion. Today I wish to address this forum on the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, its mandate, goals and achievements, and our efforts to maintain continuity after UNMiBH's mandate expires this year.

The main objective of UNMiBH is to contribute to the establishment of the rule of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to create conditions conducive to multiethnic coexistence and returns. The specific role of UNMiBH is to reform and restructure local police forces according to international standards to ensure that they serve international human rights and fundamental freedoms; thus the core mandate of UNMiBH is to ensure that local police personnel have the professional training and personal integrity expected of police officers, and that police administrations have the capacity and integrity to be able to function professionally and non-politically in a multiethnic society.

The Mission has progressed significantly since its inception in 1996. Initially following the post-war period, IPTF's main function was to have high visibility through patrolling in order to build confidence among the local population. This gradually changed to institution building, which is evident today. In 2000 the manner in which UNMiBH carried out its responsibilities transferred from mainly observation to intrusive monitoring. The Mission prepared a Mission Implementation Plan, which was approved by the UN Security Council; and which clearly outlines the major tasks to be fulfilled before the end of 2002. These tasks summarized in six core programmes of the Mission are as follows:

1. All law enforcement personnel should meet internationally determined standards of professional competence and integrity;
2. All civilian law enforcement agencies should meet internationally determined standards of organizational capacity and institutional integrity while progressively meeting the bench-marks for multiethnic representation;
3. The institutional, legislative and operational requirements for effective civilian police and judicial cooperation in law enforcement are in place;
4. The State Border Service is fully established and there is effective cooperation between law enforcement institutions at inter-entity, state and international levels;
5. The public and police should know their respective rights and duties and how to exercise them;
6. BiH is supported to play a full role as a Member State of the United Nations.

The majority of UNMiBH's core programmes and projects will be completed before the end of our mandate. Today, for example, sixty-seven percent have been finalized; some of them will be taken up by the new mission that will replace UNMiBH.

To achieve the goals of UNMiBH's programme on police reform and restructuring, the Mission has initiated a registration programme for all local police officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina; this has allowed UNMiBH to reduce regular police force from 40,000 wartime personnel in 1996 to under 17,000 provisionally authorized police officers currently serving in BiH.

A law enforcement personnel registry has been established to conduct background checks, housing status and educational qualifications. As a result of IPTF checks, provisional authorization has been withdrawn from over one hundred police officers for offences including wartime acts, dereliction of duty, and violation of laws or unbecoming conduct. They are not eligible to serve again in any police force in BiH. Of some 2000 police officers found to have unclear housing status in 2001, 1436 have since vacated housing that they occupied illegally following the strict enforcement of UNMiBH policies. The remainder have regularized their housing or been dismissed.

This year the Mission plans to complete the certification process – the process of the final certification – and before handing over to the new mission to prepare a CD ROM with the names of vetted and trained police officers.

To prepare the local police institutions for the final accreditation, UNMiBH has launched a systems analysis project, which includes all cantonal Ministries of Interior, the Federal Ministry of Interior, the RS Ministry of Interior, Brcko District police, and the State Border Service. This analysis will identify deficiencies in areas of structural and organizational capacity, and provide remedial action plans. This system analysis is undertaken in partnership with the various law enforcement agencies throughout BiH.

To insulate police forces from political influence, UNMiBH has started a Police Commissioner project; today, eight out of ten cantons in the Federation have established acting Police Commissioners, and an acting Director of Police is functioning in the RS. We are now in the process together with our local colleagues from the Federation and RS of amending the legislation to introduce a permanent post of Police Commissioner.

In April and August of 1999, under UNMiBH guidance, the RS and Federation Police Academies were started. To date, nine classes have completed training; more than 1050 cadets including 206 females have been trained in the police academies in Banja Luka and Sarajevo.

Another programme is the recruitment of minority officers with prior policing experience in order to enhance minority recruitment by both entities. To date, seventy-one have graduated from this programme. Forty-seven officers voluntarily redeployed to their pre-war locations, including the first senior Serb as Chief of Police in Drvar and a Bosniac as Deputy Chief in Srebrenica. UNMiBH is currently working with both Ministries of

Interior in the RS and the Federation to ensure minority representation at mid and senior level.

In February 2000, UNMiBH established the Ministerial Consultative Meeting for Police Matters to deal with inter-entity police issues. The purpose of this regular consultative meeting is for entity Ministers of Interior to meet and discuss, under UNMiBH chairmanship, relevant issues on police matters that are of mutual concern and require entity decisions for implementation. It also provided a forum whereby cantonal ministers and public security chiefs in the RS could cooperate directly on police issues of common concern.

At the next step in strengthening inter-entity cooperation on police issues, a cooperative law enforcement arrangement to combat illegal migration and organized crime was signed in August 2000, and this established a joint entity task force. This task force has carried out several major operations on identifying routes and criminal organizations carrying out illegal migration trafficking, operations against trafficking in women, and finally on stolen vehicles. UNMiBH has also spearheaded regional police cooperation.

On the 14 May 2001, the Mission brokered an agreement between the Ministry of the Interior of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia, the Ministry of the Interior of the Federation and the RS Ministry of the Interior to combat regional crime, including terrorism. UNMiBH acts as chair of the committee of ministers and gives approval to the regional task force on strategy and operations. This task force on 12 September last year shifted its emphasis and developed a regional operational plan to combat international terrorism and is now undertaking an operation known as 'Operation Common Purpose'.

UNMiBH also negotiated an agreement that includes pension rights, length of service and other social benefits between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

One of the major projects of UNMiBH at the state level was the introduction of the State Border Service. In 1999, UNMiBH proposed to the BiH Presidency a written document concerning the establishment of this institution. The Presidency reviewed the decision and formally accepted in August 2001. It established the first state level border police force as an independent agency, reporting to the Council of Ministers, with its own Director and Head of Service. It receives its budget from the Council of Ministers as well as reporting to it on its operations.

To date, 1269 officers cover seventy-five percent of the BiH border, including three international airports in Banja Luka, Mostar and Sarajevo. Fifteen border units have been established and the service now has its open professional training centre in Suhodol. It is anticipated, subject to adequate finance, that the SBS will be fully functional by September 2002, when approximately 2442 officers will be deployed to border crossings. The effective operation of the SBS together with the introduction of a partial visa regime resulted in a sixty-six percent decrease of illegal migration through Sarajevo airport in

2001 – from 24,000 down to 8,000 – and contributed to an estimated twenty percent increase in customs revenues.

The Mission spared no time and efforts to facilitate the consensus on the establishment of a State Information and Protection Agency (SIPA). The draft SIPA legislation has passed through the initial BiH parliamentary process and awaits final approval. The Mission's contribution was also instrumental in the establishment of the National Bureau of Interpol in Sarajevo.

UNMiBH played an important role in raising the profile of Bosnia and Herzegovina through participation in the UN peacekeeping operations. BiH had already dispatched two groups of CIVPOL – civilian police – to the UN Mission in East Timor; this is the first time for the UN where a country (both entities) has become a member of a UN Mission while its police officers are being monitored. Also UNMiBH trained members of the entity armed forces as United Nations military observers, and twenty-one have been deployed to the Ethiopian Eritrea.

UNMiBH is now finalizing preparations to deploy a military composite transport unit to take up peacekeeping operations.

Yesterday in Brussels the European Foreign Ministers approved the deployment of the EU Mission that should replace UNMiBH at the end of the year. During its mandate, UNMiBH as a peacekeeping mission, has gone as far as it could in completing the post-conflict aspects of police reform and restructuring; what needs to be continued is institution building, capacity development and crisis management using the broad definition of European security. We are confident that UNMiBH's departure and the EU take over is a natural transition from peacekeeping to ownership and European integration. A solid foundation has been laid for further progress in developing a truly professional and apolitical police force in BiH. Good working contacts have been established with local officials at all levels, especially in the two Ministries of Internal Affairs – in the Federation and Republika Srpska. With a clear and detailed mission action plan for this year in place, UNMiBH will do its best to ensure a seamless transition to the EU Mission, which together with other international organizations and local officials will continue to strengthen the rule of law in this country. Thank you very much.

Mr. Petar Kunic

Vice-President of the Government of the Republika Srpska

Ladies and Gentleman, allow me to greet you in the name of the Government, and to endeavour to give some elements connected to today's subject matter, which represents a compact group of material for which we can speak about different factors.

The security policy and internal policy represent a preoccupation of every state community, as well as every individual. Therefore, the strengthening of the security of a state is in the function of everything, and the internal policy as an organ represents one part respectively of two sides of a whole. The internal stability of a community unavoidably has influence on its environment; if that concerns a democratic community then this gives a positive impulse.

Primarily this theme implies the question of how to achieve that security. Naturally, this is also a complex issue, and I shall highlight a number of elements: above all, the respect of democratic principles, respect of a legal framework, constitution, law and all other acts. Law is the guardian of the state community, but it does not need to exclude also new values for our space – and that is the protection of human rights, tolerance, and the appreciation of interests. Bearing in mind the particularities of a state community, as is BiH, then naturally there are declared a plurality of interests, firstly between entities and the state community, as well as individuals and ethnic groups. These are only some of the universal values that are not allowed to be undecided when the internal and entire security policy of BiH is in question. However, BiH is concerned with a number of particulars. In BiH for a long time it was the most difficult to come to a contrast in the position of balance of the so-called communication point of the union of interests. It has to be said that in our wide space was the imposition of interests, which history has confirmed cannot have a long lifetime.

“Interest is the fundamental driving force of man,” said Hegel. He set in motion the activities of every person. In BiH this especially poses the question as to how to achieve the level of consciousness that shall appreciate the opposite interests of partners. That needs to pass from the founding postulation, that first we have to know our own interests, and then also to become familiar with the interests of our partners. What are the dysfunctions that appear when this theme is in question? That is the discrepancy between the legal order and the normative legal system, which is present in all of the republics of former Yugoslavia – perhaps the least in Slovenia. That is the discrepancy between the law and reality, between legal norms and our behaviour. That is a large factor that cannot be achieved overnight. Here today is highlighted political culture, however, it does not need to be stated that this is a complex, long-lasting process. The political system cannot change and be newly implemented in the space of five or six years, but political culture is something that needs to evolve over a period of sixty to seventy years – according to political scientists. Precisely this discrepancy between the normative and the real creates a negative consequence in BiH, and creates a fertile ground for corruption, organized crime and represents a dysfunction in the fight against international crime.

When we speak about BiH we have to bear in mind one more particularity – the subjects of decision-making in BiH. BiH as a complex state community has many complex internal structures and requires a long drawn-out process of conclusion, for an effective decision-making process. Although the process of decision-making is complex, it presumes democracy, for which needs to be invested much effort; and ideas and creativity do not need to be held back. When I mentioned the subjects of decision-making, it needs to be said that besides the complex internal structure, international factors have a very important role – i.e. the international community. The tendency is that they are transferring the decision-making process to domestic institutions, and that needs to be welcomed because I think that it is time for this to happen. However, in order to take-over the process of administration, possibly it shall be required to invest much effort. For that time it is needed to achieve a favourable security ambient for the functioning of the legal state. This represents a very complex process of institutions and relations – an objective that we have to strive for but which cannot be achieved overnight. That is a process of becoming accustomed, learning, creating of regulations and laws that shall be accepted, and which shall uncover specific situations that are real and not fictitious as is frequently the case in our country. Precisely this is the reason that is presented to you between real and normative. With the creation of democratic standards and modern European law we shall open our door to European integration, which is in all our interests. Naturally, in that direction we shall have to invest much effort and communication between all institutions in BiH, much appreciation of interests, and much tolerance also between the entities and between the entities and BiH. Again, I am underlining the appreciation of interests because that is a category that is dominant in all human activities. Thank you.

Mr. Ramo Maslesa, Minister of Police

Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

In my presentation to this esteemed gathering I shall highlight some important aspects of the security policy due to expert and academic obscurities, with special review of the development of the policy of security culture on the internal political plane in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For the theoretical academic consideration and understanding of the security policy, especially relevance in a modern democratic legal and civil society, it is necessary to point out the important premises that condition its formation. In all historical political processes and the development of society the primary problem of every policy remained a rational, real and specific activity. The policy is a wider field than the state, composed of many elements with interconnected various communicational channels that mutually interact, which certainly makes more difficult its academic investigation. Therefore, many difficulties and problems appear in only the theoretical determination of policy. Nevertheless, two meanings are differentiated, those that see policy in a wider sense and the designating of the orientation of human activities of whichever kind in the direction of the realization of specific objectives. Another line of meaning would be that policy is an orientation of society in a specific direction to assist the state authorities. Without consideration of these two diverging viewpoints, its activity is globally understood as a process of orientation of society with the population as a whole and the individual; common association is after all necessary for every society. Consequently, policy cannot be absolutely or permanently separated from society when in the outermost line it serves them. This is one kind of human activity directed to the formation and orientation of society in a specific direction, working on the achievement of desired objectives to assist the state authorities, especially the formation of a desirable political, democratic, constitutional and secure community.

Additionally, very frequently we can hear that policy is the artistry of governance. If this is so, also security policy implies the need in a consistent manner, depending also on the results of the investigation of the science of security and other academic disciplines, to form global contents that endeavour to be realized through re-established sub-systems, which create the system of security in society. A number of other relevant defining factors influence this process, without which it is not possible to create concrete activities that would result in the achievement of a favourable position of national security. However, the security policy also needs to adapt to the new challenges and requests of contemporary civilization. Particularly, due to a large movement in relations between states and the all the more present transnational level of organization in various fields, international conflict and large difficulties in the prevention and management of various crises require from corresponding security organs that on the basis of global security objectives they find the most effective measures and activities with the necessary instruments that shall in every correlation and opposition of personal, group and other requests and interests lead to the needs of common activities that have a decisive significance for national security.

In complex political and other circumstances the security policy needs to expediently express its topicality. Consequently, the problem of contemporary social realities has to be understood. If this is not the case then it is condemned to improvisation, whose starting point could be the disturbance of the security situation. This is all the more if we know that the problem of contemporary existence, global frameworks, as well as transnational challenges, implies a number of factors that can cause instability and conflict with possible difficult consequences.

It is obvious that the security policy has a level of interdependency with all aspects of human activity. Its special quality that penetrates all spheres of society understandably makes more difficult its development and management. The reason for this we can find in the large threat to the development of technological achievements. Due to these factors we cannot prioritise one segment with an academic interdisciplinary viewpoint, and on the basis of the sources of threats to analyse, to systematize, and to offer a security prognosis as a roadmap for the resolution of security problems. Only some characteristics and features of security policy satisfactorily speak about its influence on the efficacious functioning of other public departments. Its expansion into different societal relations clearly highlights with which corresponding elements of the system of security need to come to the formation and establishment of measures of the security character, alongside the ensuring of the necessary political neutrality, and whose activities shall be inside the constitutionally permitted framework. Only the nature, intensity and much assertion in society stipulates and also necessarily determines the concept of the security policy in the organization, means and mechanism of activities.

The security policy also secures and directs the uniformly operational activities of a number of subjects of the system towards the resolution of present issues. In that manner is secured more supreme measures of a security character in relation to all challenges that follow the development of the contemporary state. This means that the democratic security policy is deprived of different pressures in professional operation, and can respond to the requests and needs of contemporary society. Only in this way can the necessary global concept be adopted, which shall ensure that operative and other activities create the precepts and affirm all aspects in the development of civil society through the maintenance of the necessary security on all levels. An imminent policy, which in the securing of a democratically secure space in all relevant references of an academic, expert character, offers the chance in a security system to obtain the necessary trust of the citizens. Without this necessary trust not one system can execute its functions in society, with consideration of the pluralism of interests and contradictions that carries with them a number of implications. With this is received exceptional societal significance, especially in the process of the organization of the entire society in different fields, juxtaposing all forms of deviant behaviour.

The democratic security policy besides the founding security components needs its own practical actualisation through the organs and services of security, and the remaining institutions give the necessary framework that implies their dynamic inter-dependency in the maintenance of the political order. With this we clearly recognize the place of the security policy in every society. With the opportunity of the formation of a global vision

in this field it is always necessary to count on factors of surprise. There is a large discrepancy between all emphasized needs for the realization of human rights and freedoms and efforts for a high-level of stability and security of democratic society. It is difficult to find the necessary model for the maintenance of that balance. The contradiction between freedom and security can successfully be overcome and alleviated only with a consistent policy. With such a policy the values of the individual and society have to be brought into necessary correlation. Only the understanding of the basic directions of development in all forms and analogously to that the implementation of an efficient, necessary mechanism in the security perspective can guarantee a balance, which is indispensable for the existence of society and its members.

As we can see, in order for the policy to realize its tasks it would use the state. Without this basic support the policy simply would not be in the position to realize the political programme. When the objective of every government is that their citizens would believe in their legitimacy then we arrive to the central issue, and that is the functional complexities and operational activities of the organs of Executive authority. The conveying of the constitution, laws and other sub-legal acts precisely specify the strength and role of the organs of security in a modern society; so, security theory and philosophy, through the conveyance of the security policy, give the required global official framework of the state, which enables the protection of the values of that given society.

The absence of the necessary level of security certainly brings into question the stability of the functioning of the institutions of authority and society as a whole. In that sense, the task of the institutions that convey the global framework of security policy is that with its implementation would be secured the necessary stability of the state, but not bringing into question the constitutional protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens. Consequently, in a desirable democratically secure space they secure the conditions that to all members of the political community make possible development and improvement in all fields, adhering to the constitutionally and legally permitted framework. However, additionally in that desirable framework comes democratic insecurity, especially in the operational implementation of the measures of the security policy, so that the plurality of objectives in society unavoidably produces also conflict situations. Exactly in those circumstances the legitimate democratic security forces of the established institutions need to be emphasized, which shall primarily for measures of prevention either limit or eliminate the level of deviant behaviour.

BiH, as a young, democratic state that finds itself in the process of transition with all internal contradictory political, ethnic, economic, cultural, and other tendencies, endeavours to form and articulate new models of the development of democracy and her institutions, proportionally to the development of all contemporary societies. Consequently, there is a search for the kind of nature of transformation that would need to give a corresponding contribution in the discovery of the most optimal solution and objective overcoming of all obstacles of various character and intensity that still burden the political reality. The affirmation and erasure of the distances of the past between the citizens and nations of BiH simultaneously is also the signpost for the reaffirmation of all democratic premises that give an important impulse in the stability of the political system

in BiH, because not one political system can exist, insofar in continuity it reflects dysfunctional and unstable tendencies that bring into question the basis of societal values. Extending from this, efforts are directed towards the breaking down of borders of mutual confinement and exclusivism, with which opens a space for the elimination of negativity that brings into question the existence and development of BiH as a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious community.

From this can be derived a clear conclusion. Namely, the restoration of the legal system on the state level of BiH and entities with the corresponding institutional and protective mechanisms that still develop into troublesome specific and political, economic, social and other circumstances with different perspectives of the solution to crucial issues that cause certain socio-political and other forms of instability in different fields of life and work. Isolated tendencies of a security character lead to latent crises and threats to the security of individuals and their belongings, especially, jeopardizing their status in different fields in BiH. Therefore, the state of BiH, as the authority in the community, with legal, legislative authority has to strictly lead an account into the maintenance of a high concept of the respect of human rights. Only the restored symbiosis in the operation of democratic principles and articulation between not only official organs than in other non-governmental organizations represents a signpost for the affirmation and creation of civil society. In constitutional solutions there are secured the constitutional democratic framework for the appreciation of all necessary presuppositions for the creation of BiH as a modern and legal state with the rule of law, and above all her security components represent one of the most important terms of reference for development and inclusion into all regional, international, political, economic, military-security and other integration processes.

On the basis of all shown we can say that BiH, as well as every other modern democratic and legal state through institutional security and other mechanisms need to secure the protection of territorial integrity and sovereignty, political independence and international subjectivity and other values besides all forms of outside and internal threats. With all state attributes there needs to be the creation of the elements of democratic security for the conveyance of the rule of law with the primary objective of the securing of the basic climate for socio-economic, social, cultural and other forms of development of the citizens of BiH in their entirety.

In that sense on an internal political plane, political and security culture is of exceptional importance. Interaction between political culture and political structures with the perspective of stability and change of the political systems has relevant significance. Insofar as between them exists a necessary correlation; we can then speak about the stability of a specific democratic order. So that the designated order could exist in a full democratic security atmosphere it is necessary to have a civic democratic political culture. Undoubtedly, the development of stable and effective democratic authority depends not only on the structures of the state and policy, but as well as on the orientation that people have towards political culture. If the political culture is not in the position to support the democratic system, then the chance for success of that system is weak. Theoretical aspirations point to the significance of political culture of the population and

governmental structures in the maintenance of stability and security of democracy. Certainly, the political development of democracy brings new values that need to be protected by corresponding security and other mechanisms, and especially when a society is transformed into democratic rule. This concerns so-called political transition, especially the social structuring of the political system, which implies complex processes inside the state. Political culture, in that sense, gives significance and contribution to the common framework of values that characterize a contemporary state. Every political system, and respectively its security and stability is also valued according to the model and level of trust that there is from the side of the population, and respectively how much they are in a position in a democratic-security framework that they can realize and protect their basic rights and interests.

Consequently, that kind of ambient and disposition of the population is necessary, which shall create a connecting tissue in the work of the realization of common interests, and which shall make possible the articulation of interests directed towards organized objectives. Every erosion of trust undoubtedly influences the breaking down of the rudiments of the determinants of the value system, and with this also in political development as it unavoidably suggests an implication towards the functioning of the security mechanism. However, in order for citizens to be able to realize their interests and to live in a democratically ordered security environment, to them political democratic culture serves as a penetrating force and range of assistance that eliminates the basic contradictions in the politico-security, social and economic structures of society as well as in other areas of life and work.

In that sense, this poses a question as to how to achieve the kind of development of the democratic culture that shall successfully overcome all antagonisms in the pluralism of interests and numerous opposing viewpoints, and which hinders the development of democratic society, because not one system of democratic rule is static. Against this are characterized dynamic changes with a number of challenges of various intensity and character. This is obviously shown in states that find themselves in transition. The democratic political culture of citizens implies the achievement of a specific order, of their institutions, due to the fact that through their representatives in parliament they have participated in the adoption of laws that are in the function of the protection of the citizens and society as a whole. In the aim of the realization of designated trust and behaviour, the role of education and socialization of citizens in concordance with new democratic and social aspirations is large. Consequently, a coherent system of education for democratic political culture is indispensable, with all the particularities that follow social reality, including also all forms of deviant behaviour. Only civic and democratic models of political culture can create the suppositions that citizens express the necessary devotion to the fundamental values of democracy. In that context changes are necessary when the security culture of the citizens is in question. This as part of the civic culture needs to make possible the authentic and legitimate realization of the various interests of citizens, but the aim of operation is developed in the framework of constitutional legal regulations. Here, of essential significance is the question as to how and in which manner from a closed system at citizen level in a democratic society can a new concept of security culture be developed; more precisely, how to find a model with which civic

identity shall be able to form a quality of public life, to strengthen civil society, and that democratic institutions would be successful.

There is no doubt that before the professionally and politically protected structures of BiH stands large challenges and responsibilities, with consideration that in countries that have a long democratic and legal tradition the security policy has a specific place in the development of society, and represents one of the most significant security links that contributes to the creation of the necessary presuppositions for progressive and democratic development in all spheres of social life. This is especially the case as an unstable security paradigm, with a narrow and wide surrounding, directs the future of the more virtual activities of sub-national, trans-national criminal groups, which shall endeavour to strengthen and spread their illegal possibilities with the use of modern technology. All of this suggests the need of the organizational, academic-expert, operational, professional and technological redefinition of the security philosophy and practice in the work of the system of security. The presupposition for this is the formation of a democratic, objective, pragmatic, effective and executable security policy on a basis that shall yield a criminal intelligence and control strategy on a state level, in the work of the better coordination and harmonization of activities, and respectively the realization of the far more larger control and prevention of damaging effects that causes many security challenges. Thank you very much.

Mr. Dragomir Jovicic, Minister of Police
Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republika Srpska

Ladies and Gentlemen, esteemed organizers, it is a pleasure for me to be able to greet you in the name of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republika Srpska and personally, and I would like to express my belief that this gathering and the discussions that we shall hear today shall contribute to the improvement of the entire security situation on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Above all, I would like to state that throughout history there have existed different forms of legal (police) organizations that have been used in various objectives. Those objectives in undemocratic systems were in the function of the protection of a number of people who held authority in their own hands, while today in the time of democracy, when authority is obtained through elections and in the time of the protection of human rights, freedoms and status, the basic aims of the police are the protection of citizens without consideration to ethnicity, religion, race, gender, culture or with any kind of difference. The aim is clear and those who wish to live in a normal environment without consideration as to whether this concerns a town, entity or state, have to create the kind of police force that shall execute its work in accordance with the constitution and law. As to whether the police system is centralized or decentralized in a democratic society according to my opinion is not important anymore, rather it is important that the police executes its tasks in accordance with the legally respected foundation of democratic principles, and in order that this would be performed in that manner, there has to be secured a qualitative system of education, equipping and training, but as well the necessary police support.

When I mention necessary police support, this does not imply the interference of politics in the work of the police, rather sincere, moral support that every police officer would be clear that in their responsibilities and difficult tasks in every moment they will be protected and respected.

BiH is a complex state whose constitutional disposition stipulates the form of the organization of the police. With consideration that the entities make the foundation of BiH, we can freely say that the entity police, consequently the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RS and the Federation of BiH are the basis on which lies the security of BiH. However, besides the entity police it is necessary to point out that we also have the State Border Service as an exceptional subject of security, and the police of the district of Brcko. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RS every day performs exceptionally qualitative cooperation with these subjects. Moreover, I see the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RS as a professional, multiethnic organization, in accordance with the regulations of the Framework Agreement on the Reform, Reconstruction and Democratisation of the Police of the RS, whose basic aim is the protection of the individual and their basic human rights and freedoms, but as an organization that has good cooperation also with other security structures in accordance with the strict principles of territorial jurisdiction. Only with this type of police can the citizens of BiH

be citizens and members of Europe. It must be clear to all of us that respect of the constitution and laws is the only road that leads BiH into Europe.

According to my opinion, elements of the BiH Security Policy have to be based on the following: constitutionality and legality; the protection of citizens has to be the focus of the work of all police organizations without consideration of ethnicity, religion, race or whichever kind of difference; and in this certainly the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republika Srpska shall give a full contribution. Also, in the respect of the constitutionality of the entities and their territorial jurisdiction in accordance with the Dayton Agreement; permanent cooperation in the field of security between the various police organizations in BiH, which until now I would value with success; cooperation on an external bilateral and multilateral plane, but through the Stability Pact, SECI, the Adriatic Initiative, etc.

On the end, one of the principles as the final objective of BiH is entry into the EU, for which there needs to be the adaptation of law and regulations in the fields of security towards European standards. These are only some of the principles on which, according to my opinion, the BiH Security Policy needs to be based.

Here until now, through the discussions that we have heard, there were more principles expressed from a political and academic position, and I would like to say a few things of a practical nature, because I have until now been engaged with practice. Many of you shall recall the statement of Mr. Jacques Paul Klein, Chief of Mission of UNMiBH, who stated, "that the crime rate in BiH is lower."

I shall now produce data about the number of criminal activities executed on the territory of the Republika Srpska. I appreciate the need to point this out because I consider that this is very interesting data, with consideration in the media frequently it can be read how the level of threats to security in BiH is at an exceptionally low level but criminality represents a large threat. I definitely accept that this is the case – complex and serious – but I would like to state some facts from which you shall see that the statement of Mr. Klein has much point in fact, and I shall confirm that.

In the Republika Srpska per 100,000 citizens in 2001 there were executed 506 criminal acts, while in the Czech Republic per 100,000 citizens we have 1,100 criminal acts, in Serbia there were 1,356, in Bulgaria 1,673, in Slovenia 2,830, in Hungary 4,944, and in France 6,415 criminal acts.

Of these 506 criminal acts in the Republika Srpska, and with consideration to contacts with colleagues in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina the situation there is no different. From these facts it can be seen that the level of threat from crime in these territories is not so high, and in some segments it is even favourable if you take into consideration the data for these other states.

I also wish to point out the issue of the formation of a specific body that would be in the function of coordinating the work over the police for the time when international

organizations would not be here in the status in which they are now. Mr. Klamtchouk has spoken much about this, especially about our current results, common work and manner of organization; I would only like to say that my personal opinion is that the previous period and work that we conducted in cooperation with colleagues from the Federation, the State Border Service and with the police district of Brcko shows that we in a real manner of quality exchanged data and information, which made it easier to engage in specific tasks and to comply with the requests of security on the entire territory of BiH.

We had a number of cases of kidnapping that occurred in one entity and we prevented this in the other, and with cooperation with the police those cases were successfully resolved. This means, to voice my own opinion, that there is no need to form any kind of other special body with consideration that there exists a common working group on the territory of BiH that engages in issues in the fight against organized crime, illegal migration, prostitution and all other forms of criminality; and I think that on this manner this needs to be built upon and improved, and that is something that in practice really can efficiently function. This is also seen by the interest of foreign states from our neighbourhood, and that this kind of initiative is conveyed by their countries and about that which Mr. Klamtchouk spoke that in this initiative already are included the Republic of Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovenia have also shown their interest. This means that in this manner we can really counter all of these negative factors that stand before us. Thank you.

FIRST SESSION DISCUSSION PERIOD

Mr. Mirko Banjac, Delegate, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

Ladies and gentleman, esteemed guests, I understood this round-table from the theme of internal policy as a factor of the security policy. Naturally, a well-formulated theme depends upon also how we shall approach that subject; and I, believe it or not, understood this the way I have just said, which does not mean that you share the same opinion.

However, what I wish to say is that I shall precisely speak about this aspect of the security policy when the question of internal policy arises. Although you, whose memories go back to the “Maslov” period, are aware that the need for security is at the top of ones needs and we have to talk of this from that aspect, they are not solved if security is not resolved, we do not have anything that we could call a superstructure for the life of a man nor anything else important because one sets everything upon hierarchy. Following that direction, I have asked myself the question as to how to come to democracy in this area? This is how I understand it: the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became the Communist Alliance, the Communist Alliance went in factions, the factions became parties and then came democracy. Why do I look at it that way? There are several reasons why the current parties behave as divided parties, and I think that they have a very significant place within the security policy, and war made that situation even harder.

In favour of my theme, it is only required to comment on the titles of the newly-created parties in the time of democracy and you will see that quite a few of them gave an impression more of a citizens association rather than a political party, and even you can see the pleonasm within in the titles, so they obviously rather look for abbreviations than the title itself. Consequently, this is what is left of the recidivist communism present here. War made it harder, and it says “Run away from others who think differently because he is your enemy, if it is inside then it is internal and if it is somewhere else then it is an outside enemy.”

Therefore, this means that the first model functions here whether we want it or not, and I wish to defend it, and the time is such that it would not allow security through illegality as a model. Secondly, still looking for the illegal ways of appropriation of other’s property on all levels. That additionally destabilizes security alone. The second model I wish to mention here would be a form of theft as a model along with a sub-model of crime. Any attempt of opposing this second model and its sub-model produces the third model, and that is terrorism that would have two sub-models in this area: home and imported. Mistakes in managing internal policy in the sphere of the Legislature and Executive in addition destabilize the security. Why? Instead of creating the environment for work in the sense of security we are going in the direction of poor and non-productive irregularity and what is the consequence? The arranged economy from the socialist period has transformed now into arranged crime in the economy with the aim to bypass the law or misuse it for illegal acquisition.

This situation is right for whom? One who can prevent it, if it was not as such the situation would be directed in some other way. Consequences on a global plane – we have partially controlled chaos as a model and fear as a model. Why fear? Simple, the war, unfortunate and none needed it, additionally is being used in order to produce fear because this is how it is said “those on the other side, they are your enemies and you should fear them, and I am the one protecting you and we as political parties actually compete who would offer the better protection and not better life”. Better protection from the one out there who is dangerous. Of course I never take this as reality, but unfortunately such reality bothers me. For how long will this situation go on? Well let me tell you, those that come into power think as follows – firstly let me solve my needs and once I solve that I shall start resolving this situation because everybody knows it cannot stay as such. Unfortunately the period of mandate is so short that they do not manage to satisfy their own needs and they always lack time, for the people they never have time. Please where are the people? In this region no one ever asked people anything anyway and people are used to that. People here simply are used as election assistance and once elections are finished it is said, watch out carefully, if you do not listen to me you will be endangered and hard on you. People of course are used to obeying from the time of the communist period.

The functioning of the government bodies as a problem of security policy. The BiH Presidency - one member elected regularly, two elected according to the law only to be implemented in emergency situations. When we adopted this law, we adopted this for cases of irregular situations, and now two-thirds of the Presidency exists according to that law. Is the Presidency functioning? - In my opinion no. Does it have huge problems in functioning? – It has. Is there a way that a body without a head can function and live healthily? I think that there are too many surplus questions.

The National Assembly and House of Representatives of the Parliament of the Federation and the National Assembly of the RS function as two separate bodies, which is completely understandable in consideration of the constitutional arrangement, but it is not understandable that they never find the time and that a practice of coordinated work be established in order to meet up, talk and agree because they work in the same area. However, even the BiH Parliament does not use the opportunity to gather them and talk. This situation is the type that our people term, “horns in a bag”.

The Council of Ministers and Entity Governments – instead of making it a practice for these bodies to meet either periodically or constantly it becomes an excess well followed by the media as humoristic performance or some other excessive event, therefore they hide where they meet and why they meet, and what are the problems.

As a model we see how would it be if it were not the way it is. So here there is another model present in practice and that is the model of sophistry, and I do not use the worse term, the term of fraud - how to deceive someone else so I would have better.

How to start entering a more secure phase? Firstly, personally I think that the constitutional legal framework of BiH has to be accepted by the rulers. Why did I say

this, and this should not be needed to be stated in a legal state. I am convinced that if there would be a secret survey, many would not accept the constitutional legal model and that we would all want for our state to function. I can tell you that as long as we who adopt law do not start to fully implement the same, starting with constitution downwards, there will not be happiness in this state. Secondly, to accept the implemented functioning system of authority in BiH, and it is modelled in the constitutional legal arrangement of BiH. Thirdly, immediately to start the establishment of operational and executable systems of functioning authority on the ground. Do we have models for the functioning of authority in the system? I think that we do not.

How to start? Immediately. I think for these three points it would be necessary to organize a working meeting whose participants would be the most responsible entity officials, BiH senior individuals and institutions in the field of law from both entities in order to discuss if there is a problem in what I have just said or this is only poor guessing. You get an impression that resolving problems is left for better times and it is getting worse and worse. Thank you.

Mr. Antonio Prlenda, Military Analyst, Daily Newspaper “Oslobodenje”

I would emphasize the significance of public opinion and the media. We heard speeches on elements of internal security policy and the significance of democratic and parliamentary control over the means of coercion. We are also aware of the significance parliament has to have if we want a democratic society where the will of citizens would be heard, but our parliaments shall not satisfactorily work and articulate the will of the people if in parliament there does not exist the pressure of public opinion. I would say that the situation regarding the issue of public opinion is very bad. Frequently, towards the resolution of various issues that public opinion does not exist. Regarding this view, perhaps I would agree with Mr. Banjac who stated that parties use people as election assistance. There is no public opinion that would compel parliament to discuss some issues in a wider sense so that it does not come down to some secret meetings of politicians, make it a public debate in which the entire society would participate. One of the reasons I see, as a media official, is that there is an unsatisfactorily established system of communication between governmental institutions and citizens. Various ministries have various types of communications with the media, which comes to some disordered mixture in the means of communication that confuses citizens, and an issue would be whether they should generally trust what they see on television and read in the newspapers. How to make that communication system better? Some ministries started with a developed manner of communication with the media on a manner that they have permanent spokespersons and teams for public relations. However, many ministries, and in this moment precisely I am thinking about the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Defence, although they have departments that should communicate with the public they are not working very well. There does not exist a person that could be a spokesperson that would give precise information in order to avoid unnecessary guessing and passing on unchecked information. Too frequently personnel in Public Relations Departments search for information from only the Minister, and you know that a Minister

often does not have time to talk to the media and to answer I believe something in the region of ten questions daily. Consequently, that person has to follow the activities of the Minister and be able to know what information to pass on to the media whilst not revealing operative tasks. The present situation the way it is now is not satisfying - there is no permanent press conference regime, although, journalists have to rely upon friendly relations with those senior personnel in the Ministry or the Ministers themselves, which is a double-edged sword, he shall receive some information from the Minister, but under the condition that he would comment on something in the Ministers interest, otherwise he would not get the information next time. So these days what we have in the media is one scandal to the next, and you know that many of you do not like that kind of reporting, although there are many journalists it is mostly up to you – the people from ruling institutions – and you can do much more. This is the only way that we shall have a correctly informed public, and that we shall have a public and parliament that shall be forced to maintain control in quality manner. Thank you.

General Miroslav Nikolić (retired), former Presidential Military Advisor

When I looked at the agenda we received I asked myself a similar question as Mr. Banjac stated, and that is the subject itself, what is it we should discuss at this round table? Maybe it is clearer to me what is to be achieved because I have participated at several of these round tables organized by the Centre for Security Studies, and there are more aspects within the security policy as were mentioned by Mrs. Turkovic.

Today's subject is internal policy, but so far it seems to me it all came down to only one aspect of internal policy, police work. I think that internal policy has a wider sense besides the others: the influence of legislative rules and parliament, even the legal system. Talking of police and not to link it to jurisprudence, I do not know if it makes sense. I would mention other aspects that should be contained within internal policy, and those are: publicity, the promotion and acceptance of true values, because in BiH those values are muddled, and the internal policy should deal with taking true, right values to the appropriate level and position for which they belong.

I would also mention the development of civil society and organizations, and of them is certainly this Centre, and there are many other non-governmental organizations. The truth is some of them are quasi-civil organizations, because how can we call something a non-governmental organization if the Director of that organization plays a role in the government. In the countries of modern democracy people in the government serve the state and they consider this an honour, so they do not have any other functions; here in our country people in the government at the same time are directors or members of management boards, party representatives or university professors.

I think that civil protection should fall into this segment. Civil protection in the Federation is separated from the Ministry of Defence and it is not treated in the law on defence. Something should be said on the system of decentralization alone and internal policy should be discussed in the wider sense.

I would like to mention that Mrs. Turkovic stated in her speech that foreign countries view BiH as an extremely insecure country, and Minister Jovicic demonstrates something opposite, so it cannot be precisely determined in one sense. I think that individual security in BiH is far more higher than in some western countries, and at the same time corruption and organized crime as a threat to internal security is probably at much more higher level than in those mentioned countries. Thank you

SESSION II

**Sejfudin Tokic, Chairman of the House of Peoples of Bosnia
and Herzegovina**

**Rasim Kadic, Deputy Minister, Ministry of European
Integration BiH**

**Branislav Lolic, Delegate
Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Tomislav Mihalj, Director, State Border Service

Mr. Sejfudin Tokic, *Chairman of the House of Peoples*
Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Chairman of Session II

Ladies and Gentleman, it is a pleasure to chair the second session of today's round-table on the theme of internal policy in relation to the elaboration of the security policy. In this session we shall hear from Rasim Kadic, Deputy Minister of European Integration; Tomislav Mihalj, Director of the State Border Service; and Branislav Lolic, Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Without further delay I would now like to ask Mr. Kadic to take the floor. Thank you.

Mr. Rasim Kadic, Deputy Minister

Ministry of European Integration, Bosnia and Herzegovina

I would like to thank Mrs. Turkovic for having persistently invited me to a number of seminars that the CSS has organized, but this is the first time that I have come to hear and eventually say something in connection with what the Council of Ministers has done within this issue. Consequently, after the decision of the relevant organs of BiH about the inclusion into Euro-Atlantic integration - first and foremost the EU, also including the PfP - before BiH and her institutions stands very specific tasks, and one of those is the development of the comprehensive security policy of BiH, according to the possibilities in the first quarter of 2002. In this perspective and on the basis of the obligations that follow from our commitment to Euro-Atlantic integration, as well as the conclusion of the BiH Presidency, the Council of Ministers formed a working group for the elaboration of the security policy, in whose contents is found six Deputy Ministers, led by myself, and at the same time was formed also an expert group, in which there is found people that are professionally engaged in these issues from six state ministries.

The Security Policy of BiH, with the decision of the Council of Ministers, was confirmed as a strategic document, as well as a vision of the future of BiH, and that is at this moment a large challenge standing before us. Consequently, we did not establish a manner of development of this document, which in its elaboration would need to have introductory regulations, especially principles of the security policy. Then, the general regulations that would include the basis of the values of interests and objectives, security environment, and an estimation of threats and risks according to the security of BiH. The third part would represent an integral part of the security policy that according to our opinion has to include: foreign policy, internal policy, the Defence Policy (which as you know already is defined by the decision of the BiH Presidency), economic and financial policy (internal and external), the return of displaced persons, human rights and the protection of the environment.

Today's debate has opened a number of issues - the so-called sub-elements of some of those integral elements of security policy, and two issues dominate: firstly, is it necessary to address the issue of the inclusion of BiH in the fight against terrorism and organized crime; secondly, which is perhaps less significant but as already mentioned the liabilities of BiH, which could be an integral part of only one of these areas. Naturally, in the document we shall establish possibly also the manner of implementation of the security policy, as well as the possible closing considerations about this document. The working group has intensively worked in the previous months, but I have to say that we have met with specific issues for which it is possibly difficult to find quick solutions.

In the newspapers I found out that for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the development of the security policy - according to the order of the President of the Republic - was carried out by the excellent Geneva Centre for Democratic Control over Armed Forces. In BiH, unfortunately when I see the gravity of this issue and the significance that is attached, I am afraid that the closing of the elaboration of this

document within the current institutions of BiH is possibly too narrow; and I hope soon that the plan of this document has some kind of expert and scholarly qualification so that the document in its final phase would obtain elements of a document that can offer a long-term vision of our relations towards the issues on which it is defined.

The foundation of the problem is very simple. The BiH Security Policy, according to whichever country, has to be a document that shall attempt, on the basis of the constitution, law and regulations, to anticipate that which the document was implemented for and to predict variants as a long-term policy in this field.

I am afraid that in many elements we have more become captives of the existing situation rather than we are sometimes visionaries of that which would need to be in question for tomorrow. Due to this, non-governmental organizations, international organizations in BiH and especially I would like to stress that recognized international experts from this field, possibly shall be invited in the final version, if we have not already done that, to assist in the elaboration of the final document of the Security Policy of BiH. Our evaluation is that this document would need to be finished by the end of February, and that was the evaluation of the Council of Ministers a couple of months previously, but it is obvious that we shall not finish this document by that time. However, I can say that we stand before the finalized working version of the document and I hope that this shall be offered to the Council of Ministers in March. At that time the Council of Ministers shall begin a serious debate about it, and after that it will be referred to the BiH Presidency, as the competent organ for its adoption.

As you also know, the Standing Committee on Military Matters, which worked on the elaboration of the BiH Defence Policy, offered a shortened version of that document, which shall be an integral part of the BiH Security Policy, and we find ourselves within the final phase of the elaboration of this document.

When only the segment of the internal security policy of BiH is in question, then that is possibly one of the most challenging areas of the entire BiH Security Policy, which has the objective of the protection of the constitution order of the BiH democratic political system, human rights and fundamental freedoms, the establishment and development of security and lasting, self-sustaining peace and internal security, as well as other constitutionally established values that influence the internal security of this country.

The internal security policy of BiH is realized through the efficient activities of the legislative, executive and judicial institutions of BiH and her entities, in the framework of constitutionally established competencies, efficient economy, finance, social system, health and the realization of the rights of displaced persons, refugees, as a specific character of BiH.

BiH has to ensure the issue of the inter-ethnic relations of the three constituent peoples, and in connection with those activities of the subjects of internal policy of BiH they need to be directed towards the creation of conditions that shall be satisfactory to those interests.

The fight against all forms of violence, discrimination, and especially those based on ethnic and religious intolerance shall be a continuous objective of the security system in the narrower sense. In the realization of the internal policy it is especially needed to direct the fight against terrorism, organized crime and corruption. The successful fight with these destabilizing elements to the internal security of the country depends also upon the implementation of the policy of BiH in the fields of immigration and asylum, especially for the success of the fight against illegal migration, trafficking in human beings, which certainly implies the inclusion of BiH in the regional and Euro-Atlantic initiatives and councils that exist in this field.

The coordination of the policy of asylum of BiH with relevant international conventions is also one of the basic tasks of BiH. Possibly some of today's participants have already mentioned this, but BiH is already a signatory to specific European initiatives, such as the Declaration against the Trade of Human Beings in Southeast Europe, etc. For BiH this problem is recognized as a problem of the violation of human rights, and this issue should be solved in cooperation with the region, and especially through the coordination of national action plans in the fight against the trade in human beings in this region, and the development of a regional mechanism for exchange of information according to issues of organized crime.

At the last session of the BiH Council of Ministers a working group for the fight against organized crime and corruption was formed, which shall be a part of a united mechanism of these initiatives in the space of Southeast Europe; and that needs to remain, and shall remain, a basis of the security policy of BiH, and the changes in the world environment.

After 11 September, the so-called territorial integrity of security of whichever country on the planet lost the sense that it had before this date. Consequently, we, after 11 September, especially have to find newer, more comprehensive principles of regional and trans-regional responses to issues of security – international as well as internal because one cannot go without the other. Especially in that perspective is the significance of cooperation in the region, and especially for BiH with neighbouring states, and in that perspective from crucial significance also for the internal security situation in BiH is the question of cooperation with neighbours and countries in the region, that is an absolute priority of BiH defined in the foreign policy document of BiH.

To conclude, the Council of Ministers shall, in my evaluation, come in March with the outline of the BiH security policy document; that shall be an open document for which I hope shall quickly accelerate the debate towards its finalization, but it remains to say that that document shall be developed exclusively by local experts in the institutions of BiH and ministries, and that shall be possibly after the Council of Ministers has established this in the form of a plan to confirmation in the BiH Presidency, and the debate in the Parliamentary Assembly shall be an opportunity to hear in condensed form the relevant opinions of non-governmental organizations in BiH and theorists, who shall probably be specially engaged on this topic.

At the end, I would like to say in this perspective that only the Council of Ministers would need to approve the financial resources for those experts that engage professionally in these affairs and who can assist in the finalities of this document so that it would really represent a vision of the security policy of BiH, and not just a description of the current situation and political situation in BiH. Thank you.

Mr. Branislav Lolic, Delegate

Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina

As a parliamentarian above all I would like to thank the organizer, and this is not a courtesy, rather I would like to say that the Centre has also pointed out what needs to be done in some other fields. This means that we have shown that an academic approach nevertheless has a significant place in this country, because I am convinced that whichever other political organization that made this gathering would not receive this type of response from the people here today. This is good as it means that all comprehend the significance of the academic approach and it is also good that here are gathered people from academia and professional occupations to present to politicians firstly the foundation in order to give the line of direction; and I think that it would especially be possible to express satisfaction that one day when these issues and some laws come onto the agenda that we will be able to discuss them with much more ease. I thank you and I think that you have set in motion a very significant issue. I can say that in the future we shall be able to talk with much more ease about these issues also in the OSCE.

I would like to turn attention to two important themes for which we shall speak; and those themes are migration and another issue of significance for the future of BiH, and that is the issue of the “brain drain”. I think that it would be good to discuss this issue. A country that wants to be stable, above all, has to have clever, young, professional people that shall in the future be able to contribute to the development of this country. I think that in the immediate future when the economy recovers we shall not have experts to lead these issues. I would like to appeal to the Council of Ministers, with consideration that this is an important subject, to include parliamentarians in its preparation. We are very unsatisfied that some solutions are delivered to parliamentarians when they have already been formulated, and frequently it happens that some problems could have been resolved in the phase of preparation, which results that the laws are removed from the agenda, which is not an objective to anyone.

I think that this was enough that I have pointed out some issues, and I would be very pleased on the end if we would obtain some concrete conclusions in connection with the internal security in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thank you.

Mr. Tomislav Mihalj, Director
State Border Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, I greet you all in the name of the State Border Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the name of the Presidency and Council of Ministers of BiH, and in the name of all members of the State Border Service.

My speech today shall begin with a presentation of the State Border Service, a service for which we can all be proud. I feel proud that the State Border Service in cooperation with the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency and Council of Ministers of BiH has come to this phase of development.

As I said, I shall now commence with the presentation of the State Border Service. Generally it is known that after the adoption of the Law on the State Border Service, which in the beginning was imposed by the Office of the High Representative in 2000, and commenced with the implementation of the project of the State Border Service. The selection of the three front-men was completed by the Presidency of BiH, and after that the operational work of the State Border Service commenced, taking possession of four characteristic points on the state border and respectively the airport in Sarajevo during 2000, and taking over units of the State Border Service in Zvornik, Doljana and Izacic. After that came a short pause, until the forth month of 2001 when the intensive development of the State Border Service began, and with four hundred workers that the State Border Service had at that time. Then the implementation of the entire project of the State Border Service commenced.

The state border of Bosnia and Herzegovina is 1600 kilometres long, out of that the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is 664 kilometres long, and the border with the Republic of Croatia is 936 kilometres long. In the project of implementation in a whole number of issues of control and protection of state borders and security of protected ports needs to be conducted by 2442 workers and the final projects of implementation would need to be finalized at the end of September in the coming year.

In which phase of development is the State Border Service now? Currently there are 1457 workers employed and they cover somewhere around 85% of the state border, and have control over fifteen units of the State Border Service on the ground and three airports. The airports are in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and in the first month of next year the airport in Mostar shall be taken over.

What remains to be implemented until the end of September next year? There remains to implement five units of the State Border Service on the border of BiH; there remains to implement five field-offices, including also a field-office for airports with its headquarters in Sarajevo, and remaining is to organize the work of a central investigations unit, which would also have its work place in Sarajevo. The work and tasks that are prescribed with the Law on the State Border Service, which the parliament adopted in one of its sessions, the State Border Service conducts in cooperation with the

Council of Ministers in concrete cases with the competent ministries. Here we have to highlight the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Civil Affairs and Communication, the Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees, Ministry for European Integration, and the Ministry for the Treasury. The same is the case with the entity governments. It is generally known that the state budget depends on the budget of the entity governments. Here I wish to point out that with thanks to the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and first and foremost, with thanks to Mr. Klein, on the fourteenth of May last year in the building of the UN was signed an agreement concerning the cooperation of all of the competent bodies in BiH, and that body carries the name of the Ministerial Forum. This body, in its content has representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of both the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, representatives of the State Border Service, as well as the Ministers of Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia. There also exists the wish from other countries in our environment to be included in this Ministerial Forum, for example, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary. The founding role of the Ministerial Forum is the fight against organized crime, illegal migration and terrorism.

How to realize cooperation with the competent bodies in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Firstly, the State Border Service after much time, consideration and negotiation, signed an agreement concerning the cooperation of service with the police forces of the entities and the Brcko District police, and at the same time the Council of Ministers signed an agreement concerning the cooperation of the State Border Service with customs bodies in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The second part of my speech needs to serve as a sign of support, above all, to the expert working group that the Council of Ministers formed to elaborate a draft document about the security policy.

It is especially important to create trust between the citizens of BiH and to allow with that the return of all refugees. Besides the financial problems, it was very difficult to commence with the implementation of the project in 2000, due to that which was the nation at that time and it was difficult to lead Cyrillic into Doljana and the same for Latin script in Zvornik. Especially the problem of how to execute a full border service towards the ethnic balance was difficult – towards the Dayton Constitution census of the population from 1991.

Preventative work on the control and protection of borders, in the first place the prevention of organized crime and the smuggling of high-excite goods; and the further prevention of illegal emigration with the quality control of all persons who enter into BiH. The regulation of the visa system and system of induction of persons that have illegally attempted to pass the state border of neighbouring countries; consequently, also the trade in human beings, trade in intoxicating goods. I would just like to mention that in 2001 somewhere around 200kg of intoxicating goods were ceased. Then as well we have the protection of entity budgets. Here I would like to mention that in accordance with Article 1 of the Law on the State Border Service, the State Border Service in its

composition accepts workers from the police forces of the entities, although that is not exclusive.

The State Border Service directly and indirectly participates in the implementation of a quality customs duty policy in BiH. I would like to mention that in 2001 the service controlled somewhere around 32 million persons that entered and exited from BiH, 12 million travel vehicles, 700.000 freight vehicles, 200.000 coaches, 6.600 airplanes, 6.000 trains and 9 boats. It is especially necessary to point out that there came a reduction of those illegal crossings, for somewhere between 55 to 62%. In 2000 we had somewhere around 30.000 entries; from that only 6.000 left the country, which means that data shows that there are around 24.000 potential migrants in 2000.

After all these undertaken measures and activities of the Council of Ministers in the last year towards the documentation that we led in the airport in Sarajevo, 14.000 were entries and 8.000 were exits, which again gives us information that nevertheless there exists somewhere around 6.000 potential migrants. When to that are added 2.417 migrants that were taken from the Republic of Croatia in the attempt of crossing the state border there remains to us a still harder task and fight concerning illegal migration.

As far as the organized trade of goods is concerned, 70 criminal reports were raised. When we speak about the value of excluded goods, the State Border Service handles numbers from 3.5 million, which here for the average person does not mean much. However, in an ordered society those effects would be much less because those are indicators that customs are doing their job, that the tax administration is doing its job, as well as the courts and police. The same was in 2001 where a large amount of ammunition and weapons were uncovered in the attempt to smuggle them over the state border.

What are the decreed activities of the State Border Service? Above all, this is the promotion of professional and responsible work in the solution of tasks that are set by the law. Furthermore, to implement the project of the development of the State Border Service in the form that it is and has been arranged until the end of September in the coming year. To contribute to the development of good relations with neighbouring countries. It is useful to mention a project that shall in every case require a comprehensive action and a wide agreement on a state and entity level; and that is the prevention of illegal places of entry on the border with neighbouring countries. In cooperation with SFOR we have come to the fact that currently on the border of BiH there exists 432 possible places to cross the state border. The State Commission has verified ninety border crossings of different categories; there remains the fact that four-fifths of those possible crossing points shall have to be prevented. A step has been made in cooperation with the Republic of Croatia that has come to the fact that there would need to be prevented 159 possible places of entry, and the same is with the UNMiBH. SFOR in cooperation with the State Border Service and the Council of Ministers of priority specified fifty places of illegal entry on the state border.

In the end we think that the expert working group responsible for the elaboration of the BiH Security Policy in its composition needs to have parliamentarians because

unfortunately also representatives of the State Border Service are not members of that group and I hope that this mistake shall be corrected in the future. Thank you for your attention.

SECOND SESSION DISCUSSION PERIOD

Dr. Anton Jekauc, Professor, University of Mostar

Mr. Kadic and Mr. Vejnovic have mentioned a number of determinants of internal policy; I would mention four basic directions so that through economic parameters security could be strengthened. The mentioned economic policy led in BiH contains numerous defects. Recently, in preparing the economic programme of one political party, I counted sixteen major causes of economic instability in BiH. Allow me to name a few: above all the exchange rate policy led by the Currency Board is so rigid and limited for the economic development of BiH – this I tried to point out to Peter Nichol and other people from the Central Bank. Such an exchange rate policy is not appropriate for BiH, like keeping it in connection with the German Mark or EURO now. The exchange rate has to be realistic.

In every case, I pledge for the convertibility of the domestic currency, but not so strong, that is making BiH look unrealistic because it has no domestic production. I would mention that the coverage of imports by exports is only 25% - potatoes, onions, peppers and all other products are being imported - and the total land used as a resource according to my evaluations would be 30%. All of this means that production is without perspective; and production, consumption and exchange have to be in accordance with one another – not only according to quality but also by prices, which is where numerous problems arise that invalidate the BiH economy.

Another factor that continuously produces the instability of the BiH economy is the interest rate. Interest rates in BiH are extremely high and inappropriate for a country in the process of reconstruction and development, also to mention that industry in BiH compared to industry before the war covered from 10 to 12%. I would also refer, within industry, to the problem of unemployment of young people, and in general the problem of unemployment. We are not able to produce a product and export it to other countries, due to the strict ISO standards, the interest rate is not realistic and that is the essence of the defect in our economy.

I am familiar with the examples of other countries in transition where those interest rates are not higher than 4-5%, if the profits were 7 -8%, which again is extremely high for BiH, and it is generally known that the interest rate cannot be higher than the rate of profit and that would be one of the major defects.

I would mention another defect in the BiH economy, the high wages of employed people. If we compare wages of our people to some countries in the transition process, for example Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, it shows that wages in BiH are higher, which is unsustainable in connection with economic frameworks because production and consumption have to be in accordance with each other, and not in any case with these determinants given as a starting foundation. We can carry on: problems in production, privatisation, and not to mention all those problems that cause insecurity and require the establishment of any kind of economic system.

It is known that BiH cannot lead an independent economy policy, because this large problem drags along the monetary policy that we prefer, while the Currency Board have rejected others as stupidity. In connection with this are also the problems of the customs and tax policy.

The government started the fight against the non-payment of taxes and customs duties, but that fight requires the respect of the habitual custom that those that earn more should pay more, should pay more in financing the state. The state should arrange those relations. I would love to see the implementation of strict control in order to be able to see if our leading politicians are paying tax and to confirm that situation.

Additionally, I would mention the ecology policy that Mr. Kadic emphasized and I think that that situation is also unsustainable. I will state the examples of two aluminium factories - the first factory in Zvornik that has six million tonnes of black slough, and that is an exceptionally dangerous poison, which could in some accident seep into the Drina. The usual ground defences protect the slough but if there were some earthquake you can imagine what would happen if that were to overflow and what the consequences of this would be.

What I would like to finish my speech with refers to corruption. I would like to turn attention to that which the press is writing that some individuals have such high debts and illegal activities, and that is a problem that deserves for society to publicly speak out as to whether that is the truth.

To conclude I would express my hope that every society that turns and runs away from a situation of the lack of development has the hope that tomorrow will be better. Thank you.

Mr. Marko Amidzic, Delegate, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

First of all, I shall outline two points. I would like to congratulate these two Centres for the activities they are undertaking in elaborating the BiH Security Policy; and secondly I wish to define my position here as a representative of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH – without orientation of political grouping because we are talking of a round-table.

Allow me with a couple of points to contribute to our discussion. Firstly, my motto in considering these issues is the relation of democracy to the system of security. Looking at the list of participants of today's debate, if I could downsize this motto then it would be the relation of parliament to the system of security policy of BiH.

Certainly at the end I shall suggest further activities within this field so that people of other profiles would give their contribution in defining their tasks. I needed this as an illustration of what I shall say respectively as an orientation of parliamentarians.

The foundation of my approach is the Constitution of BiH, Book of Procedures of the House of Representatives of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly and my personal experience in parliamentary work, which is very long from three mandates in different parliaments.

I consider that I am obliged to define the situation in this field, and it looks like this: today's discussion confirms that BiH has no strategic document on security policy even six years after the Dayton Agreement. The Council of Ministers is working on this; the aims are defined, as is the model, and I hope at least as well the key elements. In the start I support these activities and I expect that we shall adopt that document. What is namely to be done?

I consider that it is our responsibility today to define at least the subjects of the BiH Security Policy; in fact, who does what in this field? It is necessary to have the regulations of the Constitution of BiH as it is in all this; secondly, make that which is possible and make everything not forbidden by the Constitution; thirdly, it is necessary to have in mind a basic idea that should follow the security policy document, and that would be democratic control and managing positive processes. Therefore it is necessary to have a parliament that would deal with its constitutional position and would be aware of it. It is necessary to have an Executive that understands its domain and responsibilities, and which is not prepared to step over the line. It is necessary to have a judiciary and civil society, in fact, a very conscious public.

What are the limitations and problems along these lines that should be defined and what are the chances to strengthen the constitutional position of the BiH institutions? I consider necessary for the Council of Ministers, while elaborating this document or suggesting to the Parliament, to do an inventory of existing legislature in this field. Especially, I consider with importance the CIPS law package, which is an expert for these issues. In order to clear the request package for accession to the Council of Europe, the requirements of the Stability Pact to work on the adoption of specific regulations and the harmonization of relations in BiH, the role of parliamentary bodies, the legislature and procedures in accordance with the Constitution of BiH and the BiH Parliamentary Book of Procedures.

In this part I consider that the issue of the security policy should be situated in some of the parliamentary bodies or to develop a specific parliamentary body for this field, which would be the best solution.

The House of Representatives is very interested in the report on this field by the State Border Service, Council of Ministers, and the Presidency. Maybe the question of all questions is interpellation as a form of parliamentary life, which we do not have in the practice of today's parliament. We never had a situation where there would be a report presented to parliament on the situation of the policy and implementation of laws adopted by parliament.

On the end I would suggest to the organiser to organise working tables on this subject, on the legal aspect of the security policy, maybe even a round-table on the roles of the media and public. Thank you.

Mr. Dragutin Ilic, Socialist Party of the Republika Srpska

With consideration that Professor Jekauc spoke concerning the economic aspects of the stability of a country, I shall talk about the social security of citizens of a country. Perhaps that social aspect of the security of citizens would be the most important as a factor of stability, if we were in the situation that Professor Jekauc spoke about.

The gross national income per head would be \$1000, 30 - 40% of citizens do not have health insurance, 420000 pensioners live on the edge of existence, we still have collective centres for displaced persons and refugees and it is certain that this does affect stability. Naturally, such a situation is a foundation for different criminal acts that causes the insecurity of citizens to rise to a maximum. Corruption, theft, trafficking in human beings and so on would be the things that our citizens are confronted with and I think it would be good to devote a session or round-table to this subject, and that is my suggestion to the Centre for Security Studies.

Mrs. Ljiljana Marinkovic, Advisor, Centre for Geostrategic Studies, Banja Luka

I shall speak about international relations, human rights and the security of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The manner in which today's government are treating their citizens is not their internal matter. International protection of individual and the collective rights of citizens does not present more involvement into governmental matters of a country. Genocide, torture, massive executions of citizens fall into the category of high violation of international law and as such they represent a disturbance of the peace and stability of the entire world community.

Country members of the international community have the right and obligation to react in order to protect the foundation of human rights, and on that manner to prevent them from producing internal crises and catastrophes that could destabilize certain regions.

Not only high violations of human rights would be the reason for the concern of the international community. The foundation for the above mentioned is the international system of protection and promotion of human rights, established upon the UN Declaration, the General Declaration of Human Rights, pacts on various kinds of rights and a number of conventions and declarations on human rights.

Today, there is no state that fully respects the standards of human rights, and especially there does not exist any government that publicly declares their non-acceptance. At an international level this could mean total international isolation or the refusal of membership in numerous international and political institutions.

The Council of Europe would be the foundation for the respect of human rights. Today, the legitimacy of one government is not based upon overcome human values such as, holy rights, revolutionary inheritance or charismatic authority. A country that seeks membership in the Council of Europe has to fulfil three basic conditions:

- Belonging to the European identity
- Democratic status
- Respect of human rights

On the international scene to the fortunate of individuals and their human rights there are no longer exclusively independent sovereign states as creators of international relations, there are already newly opened processes for the mutual connection and common activities of states and governmental and non-governmental organisations. This is the only way to solve the developing societal problems at the beginning of the 21st century.

Where is Bosnia and Herzegovina in all of this? Shall it continue to appear in international relations only as a country fulfilling minimum requirements in the respect of human rights set by the international community or shall it turn into a practice of promises from the programme of the BiH government referring to the creation of civil, parliamentary and democratic society and undertaking its part of responsibilities for the security and stability of this region of Europe.

In my opinion non-governmental organisations for human rights and peace organisations in BiH are far more advanced, so their experience and international contacts could be used as obvious examples for the resolution of problems in some fields where, according to my evaluation, BiH is at the beginning. Those would be: return of refugees, the establishment and promotion of cultural human rights through a precise programme of education. However, one more important question should be answered, as to whether human rights would be one of the national interests of the RS and BiH, which was not the case in the past couple of years, nor could you say that for the present policy. Thank you.

Mr. Geoffrey Beaumont, Border Service Department Coordinator, UNMiBH

I would like to offer a perspective of the BiH Border Service from the viewpoint of the UNMiBH Border Service Department, and this is a function that I have – to coordinate the work of the department and work very closely with the leadership of the State Border Service, and advise them as to how they should equip and train the service.

Many actions of the State Border Service have been efficiently elaborated and they are perhaps not sufficiently generally well known to the populous of this country. The State Border Service is the first state-level, multi-ethnic, law-enforcement agency to control the borders, thus contributing to BiH sovereignty, state identity, territorial integrity, and international personality. The BiH State Border Service is, in our view, the most advanced border service in the region; compared to all former Yugoslavian states, BiH is the best and most effective border control management concept. This integrated system is based upon European standards in every respect; however, the key words are ‘integrated’

and 'system'. To be maximally effective, all the component parts must be deployed, trained and fully equipped and, most importantly, interact efficiently with other law enforcement agencies. This interaction is growing constantly, stemming from UNMiBH's BiH and regional-cooperative initiatives, strategies are being developed and operations mounted to combat terrorism, organised crime, trafficking, illegal migration and smuggling – as my colleague Fedor Klamtchouk mentioned earlier. This is welcome and I am sure that such cooperation shall continued to be enhanced and pay dividends for BiH and its citizens.

However, as regards to the State Border Service, the system that I mentioned earlier is not yet complete. During 2001 the multi-ethnic State Border Service expanded enormously from controlling 10% of the border, with 400 personnel, to 75%, with nearly 1500 personnel; from having four units to fifteen, including at three airports, a training centre and a special mobile unit. This is a remarkable achievement, but much remains to be done. The eyes and ears of the service, that is its intelligence components, the Central Investigations Office, surveillance units, as well as more mobile units and border units must be deployed – only then will the system be complete, only then will BiH have an effective system to completely control its borders and achieve the objectives that it was set out to do.

The strategic cooperation, turning to another aspect, between the State Border Service, the entity police forces and the Brcko police district already exists, but at a tactical level there is room for improvement, and this cannot wait for the full deployment of the service. The first step has been taken with the signing of cooperative agreements between the State Border Service and the entity and Brcko police forces, and between the State Border Service and the respective entity customs authorities. The customs agreement needs to be urgently endorsed by the entity governments before it can be put into place, whilst the police agreement is already in force; however, signing agreements is only the first step, let this not be another agreement that sits on the shelf and gathers dust. There must now be practical steps that make them work on the ground, and I call upon the customs authorities and the police forces to meet with the State Border Service and agree practical implementation measures.

There is a good chance that the State Border Service, working in conjunction with all law enforcement agencies in BiH, can be a role model for the region and assist in the preparations of Southeast Europe to fulfil the requirement with regard to border security in the light of new security challenges in the world. The project is well advanced and now it is time to complete the process, to complete the system. A front-end investment now will very quickly pay back for BiH and its citizens, whilst also being a standard bearer towards Europe. If the necessary support is not forthcoming the penalties will be severe in terms of questionable border security, and all of that implies, lost revenues, uncontrolled cross-border organised crime – including trafficking and continued illegal migration.

The State Border Service is at the forefront to address many of the concerns addressed by several of the speakers here today, and I suggest that it needs your maximum support. On

the other hand, I pay respect to the BiH Council of Ministers and the entity governments for their support thus far. I also pay tribute to the State Border Service leadership and to the men and women of the service for their work under very difficult conditions. I also welcome the entity–Brcko police cooperation with the State Border Service, but call for redoubled efforts to make the State Border Service a reality during 2002 and to further enhance the cooperation of the service - the citizens of this country deserve no less. Thank you very much.

Mr. Vaso Bojanic, President, Forum of Non-governmental Organisations of the RS

If one word deserves attention in the world then that would be freedom. We all know precisely what we mean when we use the term freedom in our country, and we know what was freedom during the time of Yugoslavia, during the war, and what is the kind of freedom that we now have. I think that there exists a desire of non-governmental organisations in both entities for that freedom to really gain the significance that it deserves.

Mr. Sead Buturovic, Delegate, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

The important element of internal policy would be human rights and the respect for such. Human rights were proclaimed by the Universal Declaration in 1948, and it states that the exclusive guardian of human rights is the state, and it is very important to emphasize these in further constitutional changes and solutions. Today we have heard much about democracy but let us see the implementation of democracy.

CONCLUSION

Istvan Gyarmati, East-West Institute, New York

Ambassador Dr. Istvan Gyarmati, Vice-President

East-West Institute, Washington, USA

Thank you Mr. Chairman. I am very glad to be here on this occasion. We have met several times in Sarajevo, and I was looking forward to coming here to Banja Luka.

Minister Kadic made a remark that made me think about my intervention here. He was talking about the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which gathered international experts to work on its National Security Strategy.

I would like to start by telling you that national security strategy is a very complex phenomenon. I always quote the United Kingdom, which is a little more stable and advanced than most of the countries in this region, where a strategic review took fifteen months and involved about 2500 experts and politicians to complete; and still the British acknowledged that this was far from complete. So do not be ashamed that you cannot finish this by the end of February. If you are two weeks or a month late, that is not a big delay.

The second remark is that I just have to amend your statement, that the work for President Kostunica and Prime Minister Dindic is carried out by the my institute in cooperation with the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control over Armed Forces. I am the Project Leader together with Ambassador Winkler; and the most important message that I would like to deliver on this occasion is that if you need the same kind of expertise and support, I am offering it to you right now. If you give me a letter of request from your Government or Presidency the day after tomorrow when we meet in Sarajevo, you will get about a hundred pages of background material by Monday. If you would like I can bring an expert group for you in two weeks time to Sarajevo if you want us to help. However, there is one very important point that I would like to make: what we provide to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and what we are ready to provide you with is analysis and advice; but the decision about your national security strategy must be yours, and do not listen to others, listen to the advice and analysis but make your own decisions. It is indispensable to collect other perspectives and it is possible to collect foreign expertise and experience, but it must be your National Security Strategy and only you can determine what you need.

My second point on this process is that I think what the national security strategy must contain is two things: first, basic principles of national security; and secondly, the process of its implementation. My advice would be, if I may, that the basic principles of national security must ensure consensus; therefore, they are best adopted by the parliament. Do not make it a governmental decision – governments come and go but parliaments reflect much more consensus and long-term perspectives. The government should decide on the implementation of it, including the at least yearly report to the parliament on its implementation. On the side of the parliament, I think that it is essential that the parliament has the instruments to deal with this – in the forms of expert committees such as committees on foreign relations, defence, intelligence, and several others.

My third point on a national security strategy is if you want to have a coherent strategy implemented then you need to have a coordinating body. If you leave it to any one ministry or the government it will be flawed. So, some kind of coordinating body like a National Security Council is something that is very essential if you really want to implement something for this country; especially in your situation when the coordination is not only inter-agency coordination but it is also coordination between state and entities. Therefore, I think that a coordination body is essential.

Now, what is security? I think it is very essential also for you to determine this. National security strategies of transition countries, especially, seem to look like Christmas trees – that everybody has an idea what must be in and puts it into the strategy – and what you get is a very eclectic document, which includes everything and covers nothing. Consequently, try to avoid the Christmas tree effect, and limit your national security strategy to the most important parts; but do not limit it to external security. That is why I am so happy to see this round-table discussing internal security issues of this country.

Manfred Werner, the late Secretary General of NATO, said once that security is oxygen for democracy; and I do not think that you can create a democratic country that is not secure and does not feel secure. This also works the other way; there is no security without democracy in the long run. Only a country that is democratic in the long run can be stable and feel secure; and it is very important that the citizens of the countries also feel secure, not only that the country is secure – perception in security is extremely important.

Internal security is a very strange phenomenon, external security is relatively easy to determine; internal security is much more difficult, it is a relationship between the state and its citizens. I think in our region historical events have crossed each other many times, so the role of the state in this region must be redefined – it is not the citizens that serve the state but the state that serves the citizens. Somebody said, and I very much agree, that the state is the most important protector of human rights and of its citizens; but it must behave like that. The police must not be feared by the citizens, it must be seen as an institution that serves them. The same goes for all state institutions. Consequently, the state must serve its citizens and not other way round. Legislation must also express this; human rights are not granted to the citizen by the state, human rights are granted to citizens by birth, and the state must just protect these rights and create the necessary legislation and institutions to observe and enforce them.

Consequently, I think that when you talk about internal security you have to establish a few principles upon which they are based. That is not very difficult in general terms because you have all the declarations of human rights and others, it is much more difficult to make it more concrete and applicable to your country. However, the first requirement should be the recognition that the state must protect human rights; that its institutions and legislation must serve as a protector of the security of its citizens, and everything must be subordinated to it. There is no reason for the state to violate this basic principle, except in extraordinary situations such as war; otherwise, state legislation and institutions must be centred round this principle. The second requirement is the rule of

law. It is not enough to have laws and institutions, you must also implement them; so, you need the guarantees to implement, and nobody must be exempt from the rule of law – including those who create the law. In the long run this also means that the sovereignty of this country will be restored fully.

In the process of transition it is extremely difficult to preserve internal stability because you must endure many changes, and to provide for stability during change is a very challenging task. However, again, there must be some basic principles that govern this change; you must know where you are going in order to determine how you will arrive there.

I think that it is also very important to see internal security as an international undertaking. It is absolutely impossible in the twenty-first century to offer internal security to your citizens without international cooperation. Communism always proclaimed international solidarity; however, those who created international solidarity without borders are criminals and terrorist because they are much better at this than anyone else. Therefore, there is no other answer other than international cooperation if you want to combat organized crime and international terrorism. This starts with an exchange of information, but will continue with cooperation. In order to be able to exchange information and to cooperate you of course need your national institutions; otherwise there will be nobody to cooperate. Therefore, I very much oppose those idealistic views from much of Western Europe that say not to build your own border because you will have to integrate regionally, and in Europe you cannot integrate before building your state. That is what Western Europeans did too; so you build a strong state that serves its citizens, and then you can cooperate and integrate – I think that is the only way to proceed.

Finally, I would like to emphasize again that when you create a national security strategy, in addition to the principles adopted by parliament, the process of implementation and regular review is also very important. The reason why I think that it is important to have a principle part and an implementation part is because principles do not change very frequently, but the implementation part does. So, if you do not want to go to parliament every year with changes then you should keep the implementation within the mandate of the government, but it must be based on a legal basis, to bear legitimacy, and this is only given in a democratic country by parliament.

The last piece of advice would be that if I were you I would try to run a quick check of your draft with international experts before I present this to the government. It is very difficult to discuss something with international experts that was opposed by the government, and you might get a better product if you do it before. That is not exclusive but I think that you would gain a much better starting point, and of course a national debate of the national security strategy after the government has approved its basic principles, including in parliament, as well as in the media and other places, is very essential; and if you look at our support to the Yugoslav government, this also includes support in helping to organize this debate. It is not cheap, last year we spent about six hundred thousand dollars of Swiss and American money to support this process in the

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and we are ready to provide you with the results and similar support – I do not promise similar amounts of money but we are really very much committed to support this process in any country of this region, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thank you very much.

APPENDIX I

AGENDA

ROUND-TABLE ON ELEMENTS OF SECURITY POLICY: INTERNAL POLICY

Banja Luka, 19 February 2002

**Round-table organised by the Centre for Security Studies, Sarajevo and the Centre
for Geostrategic Research, Banja Luka**

Tuesday 19 February 2002

13.30 - 14.00 Opening

Bisera Turkovic, Director, Centre for Security Studies, Sarajevo

Dusko Vejnovic, Director, Centre for Geostrategic Research, Banja Luka

Zivko Radisic, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dragan Kalinic, Chairman of the National Assembly of the Republika
Srpska

14.00 – 16.00 SESSION I

Chair: *Marko Amidzic*, Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and
Herzegovina

Fedor Klamtchouk, Representative, UNMiBH

Petar Kunic, Vice-president of the Government of the Republika Srpska

Ramo Maslesa, Minister of Police, Ministry of Internal Affairs, FBiH

Dragomir Jovicic, Minister of Police, Ministry of Internal Affairs, RS

DISCUSSION

16.00 – 16.30 Coffee Break

16.30 – 18.00 **SESSION II**

Chair: Sejfidin Tokic, Chairman of the House of Peoples Bosnia and Herzegovina

Rasim Kadic, Deputy Minister, Minister of European Integration BiH

Branislav Lolic, Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH

Tomislav Mihalj, Director, State Border Service

DISCUSSION

18.00 – 18.30 **CONCLUSION**

Istvan Gyarmati, East West Institute, New York

19.00 – 21.00 **DINNER**

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Adžajlić-Dedović, Azra, Ms

Assistant

Faculty of Criminalistic Science, University of Sarajevo

Amidžić, Marko, Mr

Deputy

House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly, BiH

Badnjak, Radoje, Mr

Member

Expert Group for the Development of the Security Policy of BiH – Council of Ministers BiH

Bajić, Srećko, Mr

Embassy of Switzerland, Sarajevo

Banjac, Mirko, Mr

Deputy

House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

Beaumont, Geoffrey, Mr

Border Service Department Coordinator

UNMiBH

Bešić, Muhammed, Mr

Minister

Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federation of BiH

Bilbija, Željko, Mr

Delegate

Parliamentary Assembly, BiH

Blažanovic, Jovo, General

Military Advisor to Member of the Presidency

Blagojević, Branislav, Mr

Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

Bogdahn, Marc, Mr
Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany

Bojanić, Vaso, Mr
President
Forum of Nongovernmental Organisations of Republika Srpska

Barlica, Čedomir, Mr
Dean
Faculty of Forestry, Banja Luka

Bogunić, Vahid, Mr
Joint Command of the Army of the Federation of BiH

Buturović, Sead, Mr
Delegate
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

Davidović, Dragoljub, Mr
Mayor
Banja Luka

Ćosić, Kanita, Ms
Researcher
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Filipović, Omer, Mr
Delegate
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

Fitzgerald, Jeff, Mr
Political Analyst and Researcher
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Fočo, Salih, Mr
Professor
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo

Gyarmati, Istvan, Dr
Vice-President
East West Institute, New York

Hadžović, Denis, Mr
General Secretary
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Heiskanen, Jonas, Mr
Office of the High Representative, Banja Luka

Hodžić, Ragib, Mr
Political Advisor
Party for BiH

Huseljić, Mirsad, Mr
Deputy Chief of Police
Police District of Brcko, BiH

Ilić, Dragutin, Mr
Socialist Party Republika Srpska

Jekauc, Anton, Mr
Professor
University of Mostar

Jovičić, Dragomir, Mr
Minister
Ministry of Internal Affairs, Republika Srpska

Kadić, Amel, Mr
Technical Assistant
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Kadić, Rasim, Mr
Deputy Minister
Ministry of European Integration, BiH

Kalinić, Dragan, Mr
Representative
National Assembly, Republika Srpska

Kamberović, Violeta, Ms
Delegate
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

Klamtchouk, Fedor, Mr
Representative
UNMiBH

Kokanovic, Dušan, Mr
Chief of Police
Police District Brcko, BiH

Ković, Gordana, Mrs
Deputy Minister
Ministry of the Treasury, BiH

Krolj, Slavko, Colonel
Ministry of Defence of the Republika Srpska

Kržalić, Armin, Mr
Technical Assistant
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Kunić, Petar, Mr
Vice-President
Government of the Republika Srpska

Limov, Tomislav, Mr
Deputy Minister
Ministry of Internal Affairs, FBiH

Lolić, Branislav, Mr
Delegate
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly, BiH

Ljubičić, Sanja, Ms
Assistant
Faculty of Criminalistic Science, University of Sarajevo

Lukić, Vlado, Mr
Professor
University of Banja Luka

Masleša, Ramo, Mr
Minister
Ministry of Internal Affairs, FBiH

Mašić, Damir, Mr
Delegate
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly, BiH

McMahon, Peter, Lt. Col.
LNO to OSCE
Stabilisation Force – SFOR

Mihalj, Tomislav, Mr
Deputy Director
State Border Service, BiH

Milutinović, Milovan, Mr
Advisor
Cabinet of the Presidential Member, BiH

Marinković, Ljiljana, Mrs
Advisor
Centre for Geostrategic Research, Banja Luka

Mirjanić, Željko, Mr
Chairman
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly, BiH

Misirača, Dalibor, Mr
Professor
University of Banja Luka

Muratbegović, Elvedin, Mr
Assistant
Faculty of Criminalistic Science, University of Sarajevo

Nikolić, Miroslav, General (R'td)

Osmanović, Bahrija, Mr
Delegate
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly, BiH

Pavić, Marko, Mr
National Assembly Republika Srpska

Perić, Vinko, Mr
Director
VICOM Television

Prlenda, Antonio, Mr
Military Analyst
Oslobodenje

Radeljaš, Elvir, Mr
Technical Assistant
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Radišić, Živko, Mr
Member of the Presidency
Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Radovanović, Nikola, Mr
Chief of Department
Department of Peace and Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Šabanović, Fazlija (R'td)
Army of the Federation of BiH

Šahurić, Arnel, Mr
Technical Assistant
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Savić, Slobodan, Mr
Professor
University of Banja Luka

Stanimirović, Dragi, Mr
Delegate
Parliamentary Assembly BiH

Starčević, Ivan Velimir, Mr
Charges d'affaires
Embassy of the Republic of Croatia, Sarajevo

Sunberg, Robert, Mr
Office of the High Representative, Banja Luka

Tokić, Sejfudin, Mr
Chairman
House of Peoples, Parliamentary Assembly BiH

Tošić, Momir, Mr
Delegate
House of Representatives, Parliamentary Assembly, BiH

Turković, Bisera, Dr
Executive Director
Centre for Security Studies, BiH

Vasić, Dragomir, Mr
Delegate
National Assembly, Republika Srpska

Vejnović, Duško, Mr
Director
Centre for Geostrategic Research, Banja Luka

Voltman, Dieter, Mr
Deputy Chief of Mission
Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, BiH

Wilson, Roy, Mr
Head of Office
Embassy of the United Kingdom, Banja Luka Office