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TWENTY YEARS OF THE DAYTON AGREEMENT AND FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE IGMAN INITIATIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

WESTERN BALKANS BETWEEN DEEP CRISIS AND UNCERTAIN PERSPECTIVE

Jovan Teokrevic

- A series of obvious and significant delays and setbacks in reforms, as well as mutually reinforcing crises in Western Balkans – from the economic to the security crisis, and from the democratization crisis to the one in bilateral and regional cooperation – demand an undivided attention and an active joint approach of political actors in the states of the region, but also of all most important international partners, from the European Union, NATO and other international organizations, to the neighbouring and influential states. Western Balkans has already matured in many important ways and has evolved since the years of military conflicts, but it is still not capable of solving regional problems on its own, without the help and cooperation of other actors who have so far led in initiatives and aid to the region.
- Due to many different roles it has taken upon itself in the Western Balkan region, and also due to still respectable transformative power and trust it enjoys there, the European Union should play the leading role in bringing the region back to the top of its priorities, particularly by using instruments developed in the last years within its accession policy for the countries of the region. The EU should, on the basis of its positive experiences so far, continue to insist on the approach that puts emphasis on the „fundamentals first“, i.e. on the rule of law and respect of basic freedoms and rights in all states of the region, as the leading criterion for the accession to the EU.
- The EU should also insist that its partners from Western Balkans, i.e. governments of these countries, take full responsibility before their citizens for the struggle against multiple crises that have hit the region, certainly in tight cooperation with the Union and other international partners. Joint solutions reached by the EU and governments, as well as active bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region, are an indispensable condition for the overcoming of the crises, including the current refugee one. Governments in the region should speed up their



efforts towards the establishment of the highest possible ownership over joint initiatives and actions, on the basis of the approach that has been implemented within the Berlin Process, among others.

- Governments in the region should not use economic and other problems their countries are facing as an excuse for neglecting other issues, or for the imposition of nondemocratic ways of governing. Citizens of the region have to be active participants in the political process and in anti-crises strategies, and neither they nor the EU should tolerate the marginalisation of democracy and good governance. The EU can help in overcoming political crisis, as currently in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, but should not replace local political actors and their primary responsibility.
- The enlargement fatigue within the EU and the reform fatigue within Western Balkans are mutually supporting each other and have serious and long term negative consequences for the stabilisation and progress of the Western Balkan region. The dead end into which the region has been pushed due to this double negative influence demands not only more efforts, but new and more imaginative approaches for the solution of problems, too. In addition to local actors in the region and their international partners, a substantial contribution is expected from the neighbouring countries, too.

TWENTY YEARS OF THE DAYTON AGREEMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Nerzuk Curak

- Twenty years after signing the Dayton Peace Agreement, merely pointing out a notorious fact that this agreement brought peace and therefore is a good document, is burdensome. Peace agreements are signed to bring peace, yet if after twenty years of peace-building in B-H and the region it is stated as a predominant value, it shows that we are in a static field of interpretation in which the Peace Agreement for B-H is still observed in relation to the war. We recommend to decision-makers, opinion-makers, intellectuals, journalists and other public-opinion creators to affirm the approach leading from the Peace Agreement to peace and not to war, which requires putting an end to narratives according to which twenty years after the war an international agreement is good just because it ended the war. That is a *sui generis* tautology confining us to a state of permanent post-conflict tension void of a development paradigm.



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- We encourage various players in the political and social sphere of the states and societies of our region to be courageous in facing the demons of our recent past which would enable the culture of responsible remembrance to prevail the dangerous, warmongering culture of denial. In this context, we invite the international community and authorities in the countries of the region not to prevent; on the contrary, to assist the development of culture of responsible remembrance for which it is not sufficient, although is badly needed, to try war crimes, crimes against humanity and crime of genocide. The culture of responsible remembrance requires facing the past with no fingers crossing, which could be easier to achieve through processes of public promotion of the most courageous and upright figures in all communities, who are not prone to relativization of the truth for the sake of the so called state and national interests.
- We invite political and cultural institutions in the countries of the region to stop the practice of discrimination of anyone and on any grounds. In this context, a devastating nationalistic instrument is any instrument that threatens any individual, religious, ethnic, national or other group with its self-generated right to discriminate and humiliate on cultural, linguistic, religious or any other grounds. Such approach is particularly dangerous if demonstrated by institutions which, by definition should, being "temples of science, art, culture and knowledge", oppose any discrimination. In this context we point out an irresponsible denial of any language by privileged institutions of social power as an unacceptable practice of discrimination.
- We encourage civil society in all countries of the region to actively participate in the promotion of culture of peace and non-violence through creative practice aimed, in addition to search for truth in different spheres of the society, to hard work on development of regional civil society as an interstate form of horizontal networking of social capital of the Western Balkans.
- We invite representatives of international community involved through their active policies in the region, to strongly support further development of independent thought in our countries which would expose the devoted servants of nationalistic political ideas with their dangerous, demonic narratives to radical and authentic criticism. In that sense, the support to regular annual gathering of the most outstanding independent intellectual authorities in the region aimed at debating the most important and most current issues falls within the category of common sense.
- It is of vital importance to foster capacities of secular state without violating anyone's right to free practice of religion or to non-religious beliefs, however without an *a priori* favouritism



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of any of, as a rule, dominating religious community. We point out this recommendation to prevent, under the disguise of freedom of religion, strengthening of the concept of clericalisation of the societies in the region and a subtle discrimination of atheism as a world view.

- Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a core country of the General Peace Framework Agreement, deserves much bigger support, both from the countries of the region and the international community. As a country in which various political experiments were possible in the past 20 years, B-H and its citizens deserve more respect shown by the decision-makers from B-H and the countries of the region, Europe and worldwide alike. Such support, due to a specific political design of B-H generated both by the countries of the region and international community, should be in economic and political terms on a very high level, including the obligation of Serbia and Croatia to assume the most constructive possible role and against Belgrade and Zagreb conceding that they made mistakes when B-H is concerned and that in the following post-Dayton decade they will do their best to abolish wrong policies and promote policies of friendship and cooperation.
- We invite political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina, OHR and Peace Implementation Council to create conditions for constitutional changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina which would put an end to discrimination of citizens of B-H and any other discrimination and enable B-H to become a functional state and model civil service of all its citizens.
- If Montenegro gets an invitation to NATO membership soon, we invite political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia to take this new geopolitical fact in consideration in a responsible way. As elected representatives of people, members of the B-H Presidency reached in 2005 a consensus and decided that B-H determination was to join the NATO, and that decision has not been changed; therefore, in the light of a possible NATO membership of Montenegro, we encourage B-H officials to make efforts in fulfilling conditions for the Alliance membership and political representatives of Serbia not to block the process if Serbia decides not to join the Alliance. Due to dynamic geopolitical processes in the modern world, our small region has to decide, i.e. choose its position. We believe that in this moment, and on the basis of analysis of economic, political, geographic, geopolitical, geo-economic and other parameters, our place in civilization and pragmatic terms, is in the West, European Union and NATO.
- Due to an unchangeable structure of political order in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a long standing presence of international community in this country cannot be excluded. Only creation of conditions which would make impossible dissolution of the country or its long-term agony in legal and political terms would enable a gradual recovery of Bosnia and



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Herzegovina. In that context, building up capacities of the B-H Constitutional Court as an instance the decisions of which are actually binding for political and other institutions seems to be a right process to be initiated. The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina should assume the executive capacity of the OHR to make possible the extinguishing of the OHR.

- Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of two entities, whereby names of both of them are arguable from logical, legal and political aspects. The name of one entity is Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, implying that it is about a federation of two parts of B-H, Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the name of the entity does not refer to two provincial components, an entity may be either the Federation in Bosnia and Herzegovina or Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina. The former title implies what is the fact and the latter the intention of the Washington Agreement that one day the entire B-H would be the Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, irrespective of the constitutional provision on constitutive attributes when Croats, Bosnjaks and Serbs in Republika Srpska are concerned, the name of the entity is mono-ethnic. If the name is to be kept in the longer run, as it cannot be changed, then the content of the entity must not be discriminatory. Defining the Bosnian language the language of the Bosnjak people, Croatian the language of the Croat people and Serbian the language of the Serbian people, which is a way of preventing the use of the Bosnian language as a constitutional norm, also implies creation of conditions to term the entity the Entity of Croat, Bosnjak and Serbian people and not Republika Srpska. We encourage the political authorities in the entity Republika Srpska to cease their discriminatory practice.