

Democracy and Security

in Southeastern Europe

The (In)Security of Freedom

The Lead Story



Nerzuk Ćurak
Vlado Azinović
Kurt Bassuener
Bodo Weber
Toby Vogel
Jan Braathu
Yanko Yordanov
Vladimir Putin
Muhamed Jusić
Lester A. Brown
Ronald Roberts
Edina Bećirević

Price:
18KM / 9€

ISSN 1986-5708



Published by Atlantic Initiative, Sarajevo, Volume 2. Issue 8/9, December 2011.





Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe
• Volume 2 • Issue 8/9 • 2011

Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe is published by Atlantic Initiative, a non-governmental, non-partisan and non-profit organization for the promotion of Euro-Atlantic values in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Editor-in-Chief:

Vlado Azinović

Deputy Editor-in-Chief:

Edina Bećirević

Technical editor:

Sead Turčalo

Permanent Contributors:

Muhamed Jusić
Jasna Pekić
Asaf Alibegović

Editorial Board:

Nerzuk Ćurak, (Sarajevo), President
Kurt Bassuener, (Sarajevo)
Vlatko Cvrtila, (Zagreb)
Marko Attila Hoare, (London)
Tihomir Loza (London)
Danko Plevnik, (Zagreb)
Žarko Petrović, (Beograd)
Tanja Topić (Banja Luka)

Copy Editor:

Kimberly Storr

Design:

Alma Hrasnica

In cooperation with/supported by:



British Embassy, Sarajevo



Norwegian Embassy, Sarajevo

Disclaimer:

All the views expressed in the articles of this issue are those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe editorial board or of Atlantic Initiative.

Journal Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe is indexed and available in full text by Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL). (<http://www.ceeol.com>)

Content

EDITORIAL

3 Nerzuk Ćurak:
FULFILLING CONDITIONS UNTIL
OUR LAST BREATH

REGIONAL SECURITY

5 Vlado Azinović, Kurt Bassuener, Bodo Weber
ASSESING THE POTENTIAL FOR RENEWED ETHNIC
VIOLENCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

11 Toby Vogel
A HIGH-STAKES GAME IN THE BALKANS

13 Vlado Azinović
SERENDIPITY AND COINCIDENCE: THE
CORNERSTONES OF GENERAL SECURITY IN
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

17 Jan Braathu
STAYING THE COURSE

25 Yanko Yordanov
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN CHINESE FOREIGN
POLICY

GLOBAL SECURITY

29 Vladimir Putin
A NEW INTEGRATION PROJECT FOR EURASIA: THE
FUTURE IN THE MAKING

33 Muhamed Jusić
THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT MOVES TOWARD THE
“MUSLIM WORLD”

40 Lester R. Brown
THE NEW GEOPOLITICS OF FOOD

46 Ronald Roberts
LIBERATION BY ILLUSION: IMAGE AND REALITY IN
THE CONSTRUCTION OF SECURITY

BOOK REVIEW

50 Edina Bećirević
REPORT FROM A PERIPHERAL COUNTRY: THE
GRAMMAR OF GEOPOLITICS, BY NERZUK ĆURAK
(SARAJEVO: FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, 2011)



Atlantic Initiative

The Atlantic Initiative (AI) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization, established in Sarajevo in 2009 by a group of academics and journalists concerned about the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly the slow pace of its accession to NATO and the European Union.

We believe that Bosnia's integration into NATO and the EU is of crucial importance for the country, but are equally convinced that lively and informed public debate before and during this process is sine qua non for its successful completion. In that spirit, we wish to initiate, encourage and enable this debate through a wide range of activities on various platforms in order to reach and involve multiple audiences.

The journal "Democracy and Security in Southeastern Europe" is only one of our projects under this stated aim, carried out in partnership with the governments of the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Norway. We are thankful for the encouragement from several non-governmental organizations in the region and particularly grateful for the support of the NATO HQ Sarajevo, the Bosnian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Bosnian Ministry of Defense and the George Marshall Alumni Association in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

*For more information on the Atlantic Initiative, please visit our web page:
<http://www.atlantskainicijativa.org/>*

EDITORIAL



Nerzuk Ćurak

Fulfilling Conditions until Our Last Breath

*The book *Bosnia in Focus: the Second Political Challenge of Christian Schwarz-Schilling* was promoted in Bosnia in early December 2011. It was prepared and co-authored by Erich Rathfelder and Carl Bethke, and published by Kult B in Sarajevo. ¹*

This book is of exceptional importance; a sort of hagiography of Schwarz-Schilling on the occasion of his 80th birthday, it analyzes our contemporary history with documentary-like vision, offering an in-depth dissection of the failure of international politics in a country where the internal structure was initially designed by the international community as a political installation that would require constant imperial administration. The High Representative has been the instrument of international will in Bosnia and Herzegovina all these years, and in the vast constellation of foreign administrators, it was an important place occupied by the pleasant German whose de facto qualification for this demanding position was his history of authentic and friendly political engagement with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, as a player on the front lines of an international community internally divided, and without the consensus or political will to support him, Schilling was removed from the position of High Representative because, as the book lays out, he wanted to truly participate in building Bosnia and Herzegovina according to key European principles and values.

The union of ethics and politics that he tried to incorporate into the ambivalent world of international administration was referred to in jest by both local and PIC politicians, who scoffed at Schilling's position that the accession process for BiH was hypocritical. He felt the country could not develop as a self-sustainable political community while in the yoke of administration politics meant not to build the state and society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but to encourage the withdrawal of international institutions; the claim that a Dayton BiH could reach Brussels on its own seemed to him incongruent with this functional reality.

*I was unpleasantly surprised to read Schilling's strong criticism of that intellectual guru of European foreign and security policy Robert Cooper, author of the acclaimed book *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. The High Representative made judgments on the "incompetence, vanity, and superficiality of European institutions" in reference to their bureaucratic procedures, which he claimed are higher on the EU agenda than the issue of whether BiH will survive and develop as a state. (The "dead end" of the EU is also discussed with fatal concern these days by philosopher of European federal utopia Jurgen Habermas, now desperate because European bureaucracy has abandoned substance.)*

Schilling's arguments openly confront us with the shadowy side of international administration in BiH and open up the question of how dramatically difficult and challenged the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina is. Requests from the RS for continuing negotiations with the European Union on two separate tracks (one agenda for Republika Srpska, another for

the Federation) pose the biggest challenge of late for the European mission in BiH. The logic of the European bureaucratic mind is not comfortable taking the position to, "let everything unfold as it may until division." This notion contains the risk of protracted violence, and EU opinion makers who think that division of BiH is the easiest option for ensuring European expansion into this new region, along with Islamophobic intellectual neanderthals, have tried to create an environment in which political elite from all sides will agree to division in order to avoid violence. That is the card played by the regimes in Banja Luka and Belgrade, and they have correctly concluded that they lose little by planting the seeds for and cultivating a new socio-cultural reality.

Schizophrenic constant dependence on and denial of the Dayton Peace Agreement has created a long term mechanism that torments the state. And the primitive political tool that Dayton represents unfortunately succeeds, because there is no adequate response to it that can prevent the country from finally verifying its social psychosis by collapsing in on itself. Stopping this process for now is one of the few mechanisms that remains an efficient force – the imposition of constitutional changes based in the logic that external administration is responsible for a country as long as the country finds itself in the position of threatened self-sustainability. Unfortunately, efforts at constitutional reform have failed so far, both due to the internal work of nationalistic forces in BiH and a real lack of interest on the part of the international community for true change in a disabled and frustrated state held captive by an unjust peace agreement that has forced it into hibernation for sixteen years already.

In 1795, Immanuel Kant established in Perpetual Peace that no Peace would be considered valid as such if it was made with the tacit reservation of matters meant for a future war. The Dayton Peace Agreement, by Kant's maxim, is invalid then, because it prevents true peace and teases with latent, unresolved issues. The negative peace we are living depletes our people, while the international community continues to send the message that this non-peace we live is our only peace, and we shouldn't expect it to change anytime soon.

There is nothing to do in light of this attitude but to constantly question stereotypes and prejudices, and to realistically produce new categories of thinking which challenge that the future and capability of the country be won through dedicated work, critical interpretation, intellectual dynamism, the new assertion of strong and committed civil society, transparent lobbying, and the encouragement of peace practices that will gain the interest of decision-makers internationally and domestically to open their eyes to what is right instead of what is wrong. If they remain blind, BiH will remain a symbol of violence. That would make the European continental utopia, from Iberia to the Caucasus, a disturbing illusion on the other side of Cooper's postmodern bliss. Hopefully the title of his book *The Breaking of Nations* is not a foreshadowing for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

NOTES:

¹ The book was originally published in German as *Bosnien im Fokus: Die zweite politische Herausforderung des Christian Schwarz-Schilling* (Berlin: Schiler Hans Verlag, 2010).

Assesing the potential for renewed ethnic violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Atlantic Initiative and Democratization Policy Council's security risk analysis, conducted Spring-Fall 2011, assesses a full range of factors in Bosnia and Herzegovina that have a bearing on the potential for interethnic violence and renewed armed conflict. The following is a brief summary of the study's conclusions.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ROLE – CREATING A RULES-FREE ENVIRONMENT

The assumptions that predicated the current international policy toward Bosnia and Herzegovina and the resulting shift posture since early 2006 were pivotal factors in creating the current political and social environment. The unwillingness to maintain and employ Dayton implementation and enforcement mechanisms – the OHR and EUFOR – and a move to a “soft power” approach have generated a rules-free environment, in which political leaders feel free to pursue their unfulfilled agendas without restraint. While the current approach is clearly not working, there is no collective political will to revisit its foundations. The result is an increasingly divided Peace Implementation Council Steering Board, divided between those members which believe the EU enlargement toolbox will be sufficient to prevent further deterioration (Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Russia and the EU institutions themselves) and those who are increasingly sceptical and frustrated by this approach (US, UK, Turkey, Japan, Canada, and sometimes the Netherlands). Lacking unity or leadership, the policy remains on bureaucratic autopilot with a course set in 2005. This has increased the likelihood, and potential gravity, of political miscalculation by Bosnia's leaders.

DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Inflammatory political rhetoric and hate speech

An analysis of hate speech and political rhetoric clearly shows that the political and public discourse in Bosnia has radicalized over the last three years (2009-2011), increasing sharply since the October 2010 elections. The political elites and most of the media in the

By: Vlado Azinović,
Kurt Bassuener, Bodo Weber

What is clear is that the substantial rise in inflammatory rhetoric, continued and deepening government dys-function, rising economic problems and social tensions have all put major additional pressure on the ruling elites and increase the possibility – and potential gravity – of political miscalculation

Vlado Azinović is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo

Kurt Bassuener is a Sarajevo – based policy analyst, and Senior Associate of the Democratization Policy Council

Bodo Weber is a Berlin – based policy analyst, and Senior Associate of the Democratization Policy Council

Journal „DEMOCRACY AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST-ERN EUROPE“ is available at Central and Eastern European Online Library (C.E.E.O.L.) (<http://www.ceeol.com>).

