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THE STATE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND DEMOCRACY

Translated into English by Gordana Ristić
IKD University Press, Sarajevo, 2017, 268 pages, Editio Politiko, book 6
ISBN 978-9958-673-53-3

The respected author, member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (further on BiH) as well as the member of the War Presidency is theorizing BiH throughout its history, more specifically from the years of 1943 till its European integration process, which officially began in 2008 and is the necessary result and solution for country's stabile and growing potential as well as future. Shaping and development of the BiH has been in place for centuries, country and its citizens have been equal for many years, now fighting with nationalism and disintegration process. During country historical development, the state of BiH became a historical, political, legal and cultural framework for the development of national identities in full political equality of the Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian peoples focused to equality.

The book is divided into four chapters, covering socio-historical foundations of the country's statehood to Dayton Peace accords and political

future of the country in the Europe union.

The first chapter elaborates the topics relevant for renewal of the statehood of Bosnia and Hercegovina in its socio-historical foundations from ZAVNOBiH in 1943 till Dayton Peace Accords in 1995. ZAVNOBiH was the highest political representation of the peoples of BiH and it was formed after AVNOJ as a result of national liberation and antifascist fight movement during the WWII. The definition of the country's statehood and its internal aspects is this is the state of equal people - Bosnians, Serbs and Croats. The fundamental document of the ZAVNOBiH sessions was the Resolution, which contains the notion that for the first time in the history the representatives of Serb, Muslim and Croat people met, connected with firm brotherhood, with an aim to make political decisions, on the basis of results of the armed struggle of peoples of Yugoslavia. After the political pluralization in 1990 when citizens voted for sovereign and independent country, BiH didn't witness peace. Milošević's re-

gime divided the statehood of BiH and partnership among three ethnic parties fell apart. After three and a half years of war, the state has been developing in peace on the basis of Dayton Peace Accords and moving towards the membership in the European Union (further on EU) and in the NATO Alliance.

The contributor of this book presents in the second chapter the EU and the political future of the researched state as a part of the European future. Pejanović presents ideas for acceleration of state integration into the EU, analyzing through observation in the historical context of Europeanization process and performing BiH as a strong century lasting country, where there were many years of successful economic development, especially in the time of socialism in the 20th century. Author explains how the will and expression of the citizens of BiH were stopped by the nationalist plans of Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić to establish Greater Serbia, where BiH between 1992-1995 has suffered vast destruction. Later in the 2008 with the signed agreement with the EU for the stabilization and association the integration process began. Geopolitical future of the state has been conditioned by unfolding the integration process in 2015 on the basis of the German - British initiative. The main question in post Dayton political and economic development is the acceleration of integration of BiH into the EU and NATO membership.

The analysis of the third chapter examines controversies and challenges in the development of parliamentary democracy in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Political pluralization of the BiH society in 1990 was going on in unfavorable and controversial social-historical circumstances. The author explains how political pluralization in 1990 when multiparty system was adopted and three single-ethnic in composition national parties won; the SDA, HDZ BiH and the SDS. The SDA represents the interests of the Bosnian people, the interests of the Croatian people are represented by the HDZ BiH, while the SDS represents the interests of the Serbian people. The political pluralism in BiH turned upside down and ethnic pluralism was introduced. Ethnic parties proclaimed themselves as the exclusive representatives of interests of their respective nations in the parliamentary decision-making process. The ethnic based pluralism showed its historical limitations very soon, when statehood of BiH was under negotiation and the political conflict was on fire. Controversies of parliamentary democracy have been possessed by partyocracy. Instead of political competition between the ruling majority and opposition parliamentary parties, political competition remained within the relations and disagreements of the ruling parties themselves. The party elites usurped the democratic role and the power of the Parliament. In order to avoid blockade of decision-making in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH about the laws which should en-

able the reforms and EU integration of the country, the missing consensus among the ruling parties in the post-Dayton period was replaced by enactment of laws by the High Representative of the International Community on the basis of Bonn powers. During all electoral mandates of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH in the post-Dayton period 1996-2002, the parliamentary majority with publicly proclaimed coalition agreement could not be formed. Therefore the governments were unable to influence shaping of reforms and changes. This was also the reason for delay in unfolding of the European integration process, particularly after 2008. The international community should significantly change its strategy towards the unfolding of the process of integration into the EU and the NATO Alliance by ensuring, through its influence, a geopolitical basis for the reform of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The final, fourth chapter bears the title: Democracy in Local Communities. Author explains socio-historical development of local self-government in the 20th century from liberalization committees established 1944 in ZAVNOBiH meeting till the organs of people's government in villages and cities (local government) after the liberalization of the country in 1945. Between 1960s and 1990s, 109 municipalities were established and they became leaders in local economic and infrastructural development of their regions. During the war 1992-1995, municipalities

in the territory under the control of the war Presidency of BiH were the leaders of civil organization of resistance and defense of the state. In the post-Dayton time, in fact in the last two decades, local self-government in BiH has been established and developed on the principles of the European Charter of Local Self-Government.

The authors delicate explanation of BiH is precise and reveals the history of a country centuries-long, established and developed during Middle Ages. Ottoman Empire penetrated the territory of the country in its kingdom till the 19th century, where it passed under the pressure of ethnic division between the two political-national elites. In the period of wars BiH was occupied and in the time strong antifascist national liberation movement was on the rise. The renewal of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's statehood is a milestone in historic right of citizens and peoples to independently decide on political constitutional status and its development.

The defense of integrity and sovereignty of BiH was made with political forces united within the framework of exercising the constitutional function of the war Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United States of America was the leader in achieving these two peace agreements. With the Dayton Peace Accords, signed in Paris in December 1995, the war was terminated and building of peace

and institutions of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina has started. On the grounds of the Dayton Peace Accords the internationalization of the Bosnian issue was introduced. The historic project of internationalization of the Bosnian issue will end at the moment when the state of BiH becomes a member of the NATO Alliance and the European Union.

Author's contribution to the EU development programs planned and organized in BiH will be useful for various target audiences, among

them the Brussels administration in particular. The book reveals detailed genealogy of country's development over the past decades and present state situation, accompanied with the practice of neighbor countries which had similar Europeanization path, but faster. Good knowledge and practice of this complex as well as complicated country's situation is relevant for the future stable development. Bosnia and Hercegovina was and will be the country of freedom, peace, tradition and qualitative perspective.