

Nikola Radovanovic

SECURITY SECTOR EXPERT FORMATION: ACHIEVEMENTS AND NEEDS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

1.2 Assessment of Security Sector Expert Formation

1.2.1 Introduction

It goes without saying that the transition from one to another state system inevitably requires reforms in all state sectors. It has been generally accepted that reforms have to be comprehensive and total. Therefore, the reform process should consist of at least three co-existing processes: reform/adaptation of some elements, creation of new elements and disbandment of others; not to mention the harmonisation of mutual functions and procedures. The smooth managing of those processes requires successful workmanship and becomes even more complex if it is not supported with sufficient human, financial, time and other resources. Consequently, both knowledge and wisdom are necessary to reach the goal in this context. Previous experience has shown that security sector reform in transitional states, with regard to the parliamentary and market economy, are among the most demanding.

The security sector includes governmental organisations that have the authority to use, or order the use of force, detention and arrest, to protect the state and its citizens, as well as those civil structures that are responsible for their management and supervision:

- military;
- intelligence services;
- police forces;
- border guards;
- customs services;
- judicial systems (including court support and infrastructure);

- penal systems;
- parliamentary, judicial, and administrative management and oversight bodies.

Such a comprehensive definition of the security sector has been generally accepted in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter BiH). The concept clearly states that a lack of security, for the state or its citizens, presents a major obstacle to political, social and economic development.

Processes such as the final phase of the BiH security policy definition, the beginning of the BiH defence policy implementation, activities on the creation of military doctrine, reduction of the armed forces in BiH to an affordable level, reduction of compulsory military service to six months, introduction of the civil service, increased level of the democratic control of the armed forces, better defence budget planning and transparency, creation of the State Border Service and better cooperation among interior security services are some of the indicators of internal improvements already being achieved in the security sector reform in BiH.

Complementarily, the admission of BiH to the Council of Europe, the fulfilment of the EU Road Map conditions and the beginning of work at the Feasibility Study within EU Stabilisation and Association Process, the initiative for joining the Partnership for Peace Programme and improved relations with NATO as a whole (SEECAP, SEDM, SEESTUDY etc.), inclusion of military observers from BiH to the UN missions in Ethiopia/Eritrea and DR Congo, education of military officers at the Baltic Defence College in Estonia, the participation in number of activities within the Stability Pact for SEE in other areas of security, and contribution to the global fight against terrorism are some of the indicators of improvements at the international level that BiH has achieved, or is determined to pursue in the area of security sector reform.

Based on the current indicators of change, it is still questionable whether the conclusion can be made that the direction of the security sector reforms in BiH are certain and steady.

A positive conclusion would not reflect accurately on the real image or situation of the country. Most people who closely follow the development in BiH know very well that indicators exist that might lead to an opposite conclusion, meaning that the security sector reforms are slow and uncertain. Much work needs to be started at various levels and there is still plenty of work in progress which needs to be properly finished. Nevertheless, the modern world is dynamic, which makes permanent process of reforms immanent.

As a matter of fact, the strong and decisive presence of the international community plays a major role in the security sector reforms in BiH. Besides huge amounts of money that have been spent on the stabilisation process of BiH, tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers have worked passionately together with officials from BiH within the Office of High Representative (OHR), UN Mission to BiH (UNMIBH), OSCE, NATO-led Stabilisation Forces (IFOR/SFOR), EU, the World Bank (WB), just to mention the most important, to perform the reforms. They integrated their knowledge and experience into BiH and have been willing to share it at all times. Bilateral contributions of many world states have also been significant. For many years, from an internal point of view, an inexhaustible source of unchallengeable knowledge and experience has been available free of charge. A permanent transfer of knowledge and experience to individuals and institutions in BiH has also been provided.

However, since September 11, the dynamics of international relations have changed to a different focus of interest in the international community. As a result, the international presence in BiH has been reduced over the last three years. It seems this process will to be even more accelerated in the near future. However, the recent situation with the mandate of the UNMIBH, and the present situation about the official proposal of the US Government to BiH for signing the bilateral agreement about surrendering individuals to the International Criminal Court, outlines that BiH, though in a specific situation, is not immune to wider developments. Therefore, it can be realistically expected that by 2005 the presence and mandate of the international community in BiH will be significantly altered and reduced. In other words, BiH will maintain, more than ever before, with its own resources, including knowledge and experience, with its own always-ongoing reforms, and

with its determination to be a credible member of the international community.

After this consideration, we can hypothesise that the issue of expert formation in general, and the issue of expert formation in the security sector in BiH in particular, is important today, and will remain of critical importance in the near future.

1.2.2 The Security Sector Experts: Distribution and Attributes

BiH is characterised by a complex structure as well as complex relations in the security sector, which are the result of well-known circumstances. Therefore, BiH needs more competent officials in the security sector than countries of the same size, but with a simpler state organisation. In addition, the presence of international community institutions and their constant interaction with BiH representatives add to an already high need for competent officials. What are the elements, the number and formal status of BiH security structures which comprise security sector experts?

To answer these questions, the distribution and attributes of the security sector experts may be considered through the following segments which represent the security sector:

- (a) Executive: experts informal status of advisors
- (b) Executive: leading civil servants
- (c) Legislative: parliaments and parliamentary staff
- (d) Military, police and 'law enforcement agencies': leading representatives of these institutions
- (e) Educational institutions
- (f) NGOs
- (g) Media
- (h) Major international organisations in BiH: BiH citizens

(a) *Executive: Experts' Informal Status of Advisors*

The Law on Civil Service in the Institutions in BiH (the Law on Civil Service) contains provisions that certain individuals be appointed to the status of advisor to the Members of the Presidency (3), the Chair of the Council of Ministers (1), the Ministers (6) and the Deputy Ministers (12). According to the provisions of the Law, any persons appointed as advisors cannot be civil servants.

Similar law provisions anticipate similar opportunities within analogous institutions at the entity level, the F BiH, and also all ten Cantons.

In accordance with provisions of the Law on Civil Service, advisors are appointed by those they are advising. The advisors are not granted security of tenure. As a rule, the term of the advisor may not be longer than the term of the individual advisee, and under certain circumstances the term of the advisors can be shorter. The advisors have to be citizens of BiH, and have a fixed salary level by law.

The advisors are expected to be competent experts within the constitutional/legal area of responsibility of the institution they work for. Furthermore, it might be desirable that advisors at the top State level possess the capacity to provide more diverse expertise, including security issues.

As a rule, all officials who possess the right to appoint advisors make use of this right and hire persons appropriate to their mandate. Normally, a single advisor gets appointed, in some cases two, and as an exception three or more. For example, the Prime Minister of RS has employed five advisors. The particular advisers for military issues (military advisors) are nominated only by the members of the Presidency of BiH, and by the President of RS. In most other cases, advisors serve as 'general advisors', without having an area of specification. The military advisors are either active or retired military officers with ranks of brigadier/full colonel/major general.

Military advisors to the Members of the Presidency, as members of the Members' of Presidency Cabinets, have the opportunity to complete

corroborate their expert opinion with other advisors (for legal, political, or economic issues), and, on the other hand, to provide other advisers with security aspect issues. Their advantages lie in formal military education, experience and practice. The Standing Committee for Military Matters (hereafter SCMM) presents the supreme body in the area of defence in BiH. Military advisors are responsible for the work of the SCMM Secretariat, which has been recognised as a ‘point of contact’ in military matters by the international community representatives. Based on this capacity, military advisors play an active role in SCMM decision-making and decision implementation processes, as well as in military diplomacy. Therefore, military advisors play an outstanding role in the defence part of overall reforms. They have been well supported in their work by international community representatives and have passed through a number of different forms of training.

On the other hand, not only the levels of authority and responsibility have been extended, but expectations and requests have increased as well. For example, a detailed understanding of civil service logic and practice is expected, as well as the capacity to prepare and chair top-level decision-making meetings. General skills in diplomacy and military diplomacy in particular, as well as an increased capacity in the area of public relations (particularly with the electronic media), are also expected.

Due to an explicit ban on memberships to political parties, top level military advisors in general maintain less influential and developed social contacts, compared with other socially and politically established advisors.

Compared with his colleagues at the state level, the military advisor to the President of the RS has been significantly less visible in the public and has played more an ‘advisory’ role. However, he still has been active and has played an important factor in defence reforms.

The great majority of other non-military advisors have expert knowledge in economic law. To estimate and comment on their level of interest and competence regarding defence and security issues could be difficult and embarrassing. They indeed have taken part in seminars or some

activities dealing with security sector reforms. The most common characteristic of this group of advisors might be that almost all, with a few exceptions, are either politically active or politically affiliated. Being a significantly less coherent group than the military advisors, it nonetheless includes advisors with thirty years of working experience, as well as advisors who just finished their undergraduate studies. Furthermore, the group includes advisors who actively master four foreign languages and IT technologies, as well as those who have no such capacities.

Finally, advisors seem to be less interested in further and permanent education/training as well as in having increased political loyalty, than could be expected. On the one hand, they receive solid salaries, but their terms are limited (following the October 2002 elections, after which four-year terms will be introduced for the first time). Due to their relatively modest number, advisors are constantly on duty. On the other hand, they are aware that they have been elected by the most senior political leaders in the State.

(b) *Executive: Leading Civil Servants*

This category includes the following: civil servants, heads of departments and directors of directorates. They are employed at State level, in specific cases the F BiH, and canton level ministries which are responsible for some aspects of security sector reforms.

Similar to other transitional states, BiH incorporates a request for permanent adequate governance and institution building. To meet the basic legal principles set out in Law on Civil Service, which are legality, transparency, publicity, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness, as well as professional impartiality, an expert level is expected from civil servants at all levels and positions. This process is boldly supported by different international community institutions.

Regarding the beginning of the institution building process in BiH, a significant distinction between the ideal situation and reality can be noticed.

At the state level defence sector, the SCMM Secretariat exerts its functions, currently with four directors/heads of departments who are important for reform processes. They predominantly have military backgrounds. The entity level consists of two Ministries of Defence (MoDs – the MoD/RS and the MoD/F BiH), as fully developed structures. Each MoD includes up to ten deputies, directors and heads of departments who are important for defence reforms. Most of them are civil servants. The department for defence planning is much more developed in the MoD /F BiH than it is in the MoD/RS. Most representatives of the former MoD actively participate in all activities (seminars, courses, working groups etc.), while representatives of the latter group are barely present at any activities, especially not in the international scene. Generally, MoD/F BiH departments consist of twice or three times the number of people as the RS/MoD departments. The Br_ko District of BiH has been demilitarised.

The sector of interior affairs at state level includes a special department for cooperation with INTERPOL. The department itself serves as an operational body with no reform planning activities. The entity level consists of the two Ministries of Interior (MoIs – the MoI/RS and the MoI/F BiH), as fully developed structures. Each MoI then comprises up to six deputies and directors/heads of departments, who are important for security sector reforms. Activities of the MoIs include professional development and regional cooperation. The activities are mutually more developed than activities of the MoDs. Special cases represent the Cantonal MoIs (10) in F BiH. Those structures are well developed and enjoy a relatively high level of independence from the MoI/F BiH. There are at least another 20–30 deputies, directors/heads of departments who are of importance for the security sector reforms. The Br_ko District of BiH has its own structure for interior affairs, with five to six experts being of importance for the reforms. Due to specific constitutional positions in BiH, representatives of the Br_ko District Government do not always participate in state level planning activities with their full capacity.

Being established as a project of the UNMIBH and with extensive overall support from different international resources, the State Border Service (SBS) forms the new structure in BiH's security community, predominantly on-task oriented. Whenever necessary, expertise is provided by foreign experts. Currently, it is difficult to estimate how many important experts for the reform in the SBS there are.

Established at the entity level, the Custom Services (CSs- the CS/RS and the CS/F BiH) represent other structures devoted to border control. Both are under the authority of the entity Ministries of Finances and at least ten experts in each CS play an important role in security sector reforms. It is important that regional cooperation in the area of border control has been significantly increased.

No other ministries obtain departments that are devoted to the security sector. If they deal with security sector reforms, other departments follow a more general approach.

(c) *Legislative: Parliaments and Parliamentary Staffers*

This category includes elected members of the parliaments (MPs) at the State, entity, canton and the Brčko District level. Parliamentary staffers are civil servant employees in different parliaments. Advisors to the Members of the Parliamentary Assembly can be appointed in accordance with provisions of the Law on Civil Service.

MPs who are of interest for this report possess either knowledge/experience in the security sector, are members or participate in the work of the different councils, committees and delegations to the international organisations, or actively publish on security subjects that are of interest for this report.

It has taken many years for the political and public awareness of the importance and role of the MPs in security sector, either in the democratic control of the armed forces or in the area of reforms, to be recognised. However, it cannot be said that during those years most

official or potential MPs have spent enough energy and time on their personal education as security sector experts.

In accordance with provisions of the Constitution of BiH, the Parliamentary Assembly (two cameral, 57 seats in aggregate) does not have direct authority over most aspects of security, including defence issues. However, due to having the Parliamentarian Committee for Foreign and Trade Affairs in the House of Peoples, as well as the Parliamentarian Commission for foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives, they inevitably deal with foreign and economic security aspects. The Delegation of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly to the OSCE is the other example of the legislature's indirect dealing with security issues at State level. Different hearings on behalf of the Parliamentary commissions have been predicted in their rules of procedures.

Both the F BiH Parliament (bicameral, 214 seats in aggregate) and the RS Parliamentary Assembly (monocameral, 83 seats) play a direct role in security sector issues. Different committees, including committees for security and/or defence, have been established. On this level, the rules of procedure offered an opportunity for hearings on behalf of the Parliamentary commissions.

Retired generals or high-ranking military officers, as well as demobilised military officers, can be found in a limited number among MPs in the BiH Parliamentary Assembly and in the F BiH Parliament, but not in the RS Assembly.

The Brčko District Parliament and the Parliaments at the canton level lack specialised bodies to cope with security sector issues.

Although, the opportunity exists among provisions of the Law on Civil Service, it is uncertain whether MPs have professional advisors. Lacking appropriate resources even at work, it is possible that advisors to the MPs, if there are some, work at premises for the Parliament (for example at universities, seats of political parties etc.)

Generally, parliaments at all levels are understaffed. Technical and administrative staffers only provide functional elements to the parliaments and basic technical support to the MPs.

(d) *Military, Police and 'Law Enforcement Agencies': Leading Representatives*

Professional technical expertise is normally expected from every professional military or police officer in institutions devoted to law enforcement. Theoretically, all professional members within these structures can be considered experts. The level of skills and professionalism developed at lower executive levels plays an important role in senior leaders to foresee, plan and lead through the process of security sector reforms.

Considering reforms of the military structures in BiH, it seems that the General Staff (GS ARS-in the Army of the RS) and/or Joint Command (JC AF BiH-in the Army of F BiH), as well as the Corp HQs (C HQ) level decisively participate in the process.

At those levels, commanding officers normally rank as generals, being appointed after passing through a legally established procedure, which includes structures in both executive and legal branches. In comparison to procedures in other states, the nomination and appointment of commanding officers at the rank of general include the specific role of the SFOR Commander (COMSFOR). The COMSFOR has the authority to approve or disapprove the nomination of every military officer, after considering certain data. Further, the COMSFOR has the right to suspend any military person from duty who disrupts the implementation of the Peace Accords. The COMSFOR uses but never misuses its rights.

For that reason, professional careers of top military officers in BiH currently depend on the following three factors: professional qualities and past career records, share of the political power and COMSFOR records.

All generals have completed their studies at military academies (in ex-Yugoslavia), staff academies and the School of National Defence in FR Yugoslavia. This education has prepared them to plan and conduct joint military operations. Unfortunately, their accessible educational programmes have not provided complete knowledge to plan and implement changes in the security sector, or for the development of new strategic concepts. An additional system for further/permanent education in ARS has not yet been developed. International seminars and courses, as well as direct work on reforms, together with international experts currently only provide an opportunity for professional development in accordance with international standards in the ARS. Another system of further/permanent education in AF BiH has been developed.

On the other hand, the AF BiH generals have completed their studies at military school and courses in almost a dozen different countries, which are all compatible with NATO-procedures and standards.

The staff officers – important for the security sector reforms – at the above mentioned levels deal with people ranking from major to major general. A wide variety in education, age difference, experience and professional as well as life priorities are factors that portray this category rather incoherently. Thus, significant differences in understanding and approach to reforms can be detected. Staff officers generally work directly on reforms with foreign experts, attend international seminars and courses, and have a relatively solid approach to information.

It is difficult to estimate an aggregate number of military officers essential for the security sector reforms. There are probably 15–20 decision-makers, and a total of up to 80 persons included in military reform management.

On the one hand, military experts are small in number and face professional as well as political pressure regarding their work on reforms. On the other hand, they are too numerous to be additionally and effectively educated/trained within a short period of time. Research could be done on whether resources and focus for military reforms can be found within the armed forces alone.

The system of education and training in other security sector structures/law enforcement agencies has been more civil-university-based (law, economy, political science etc.). In addition, modules and institutions for further or supplementary education, as well as for the professional development, have been much more developed than in the armed forces. The number of high-ranked leaders who actively participate in the security sector reforms is significantly smaller than in the armed forces.

(e) *Educational Institutions*

In ex-Yugoslavia, an extensive number of security sector educational institutions were situated on the territory of BiH. The Faculty of Defence had been members of the Sarajevo University since 1974. Being an integral part of the overall system of military education, military academies were located in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Rajlovac; Military high schools and schools for reserve officers were placed in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar and Rajlovac. The Police High School was situated in Sarajevo.

A number of experts and scholars had been employed at those institutions. They educated students ranging from high school to PhD level. They further provided an extensive institutional framework for research and editing. However, most of the previously mentioned factors portray an ideological perspective.

After 1992, those institutions ceased to exist. Generally, facilities were destroyed, scholars and experts dispersed, and the tradition was lost. In contrary to other states of former Yugoslavia, most of the security sector scholars of this period have not succeeded in re-establishing their academic authority. Reasons are: resistance accepting changes, staying out of science for an extensive period of time, sanctions, isolation and low salaries.

Today, BiH maintains seven universities (Banja Luka, Bihać, East Mostar, West Mostar, Sarajevo, Srpsko Sarajevo, and Tuzla). The Sarajevo University exclusively offers programmes (at the department of

criminal sciences) that are directly devoted to the security sector. Law departments exist at almost all BiH universities and provide an indirect approach to security sector issues, such as international law.

Educational institutions outside the university sector offer basic courses with a maximum duration of 18 months. Examples are the following: police academies –Sarajevo, Banja Luka; the School of SBS; Custom Service courses etc. However, such a cadre lacks the ability to immediately take over leading positions in the reform process.

Due to the fact that most universities suffer from a lack of resources and capacities to act independently, a very low level of cooperation among them has been established. Often, much better relations can be established with foreign universities than with universities within the country.

As an effort to stimulate joint research in the security sector, the OSCE Mission to BiH has supported the creation and work of the Inter-University Steering Committee on Security Studies. So far, the committee has achieved modest results.

(f) *NGOs*

NGOs that pertain to the security sector began serious and systematic work during the year 2000 significantly later than in other states of the region.

Most university centres in ex-Yugoslavia, such as Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade or Skopje, had networks of research centres or institutes that continued with their work even during war years. Later, during the democratisation process they served as the nucleus for the first NGOs by providing accumulated knowledge and personnel. Even if those centres had existed, work or existence of such research centres and institutes in BiH would have been made impossible during the BiH conflict. Knowledge, experience and practice would have been lost, too.

It took years before enough confidence in BiH arose to realise the work of NGOs with regard to the interest of security sector issues. Even today, security sector issues are kept under a certain level of secrecy.

Most NGOs comprise a director, usually an MA or PhD holder, and a minimal number of staffers. In the case of leading NGOs, the Steering Board and Academic Committee comprise a number of influential persons from abroad and/or other NGOs. Nonetheless, the system of higher education in security studies does not produce a surplus of experts, who ultimately affirm themselves through engagement in NGOs. In conjunction with modest NGO finances, an extremely small number of experts have been employed with NGOs as contractors. Furthermore, the small number of experts has prevented a possible creation of at least one think tank in the security sector area. As a final consequence, free competition of ideas or a market of expertise has not come to fruition in BiH.

In contrast to advisors in the executive and legal branch, the existing small number of experts in NGOs demonstrate a high amount of motivation to learn and advance in the field of international competence and competitiveness.

Possibly, NGOs in BiH are of even higher importance than in other transitional states. Due to a significant lack of confidence, animosity and strongly opposed political programmes, NGOs provide opportunities for unofficial dialogue and communication among policy-makers of all levels, scholars, military personnel, representatives of different law enforcement agencies and all different experts. Such activities attract interest and are regularly well attended.

(g) *Media*

The media in BiH has been a subject of major interest for years, and huge efforts have been dedicated to their development and independence. Besides the high representative interventions in this area from time to time, positive changes can be detected in the intention to reach international standards.

Electronic and print media pay significant attention to information from the security sector. News reporting and descriptive journalism prevail in both groups, while analytical and research journalism have been less developed. An extremely short period of time has been devoted to the specialised programmes of the electronic media. There exist no specialised in-country edited journals or magazines, while some foreign journals on security issues can be found in BiH. There are many reasons why such a small number of items are sold, lack of financial means being the most important.

Most institutions attempt to apply certain public relations principles and practices to develop whole strategies. It must be noticed that MoDs tend to become more and more open to the public. Efforts have been made to edit military magazines, which still predominantly aim to improve intra-army information systems. The quality level is higher in F BiH than in RS, while, at the same time, both quality and number of issues being treated are significantly smaller than in neighbouring countries. As a rule, higher ranked officials or scholars do not publish in military magazines. Basically, most of the social elite still try to stay away from practical defence or security issues.

A focal point in the process of professionalising the media has been the training of young journalists. In a second step, an attempt to include them in public life has been undertaken. However, there are too many journalists who sign reports on security subjects, and an insufficient number of them have had a chance to specialise in this area, mostly due to weaknesses in the educational system. Additionally, media enterprises tend to be chronically understaffed. Therefore, journalists often have to report on very distant issues. Internal political sensitivity to security issues in BiH may cause journalists not to dedicate their professional careers to security issues.

The possibility of studying journalism exists in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar, while the international contribution has been of decisive importance. OSCE offers modest opportunities for journalist specialisation on security issues.

(h) *Major International Organisations in BiH: BiH Citizens*

All major international organisations in BiH have been employing a certain number of local staffers, some of them at mid and a small number at senior level, providing them with the unique opportunity to work with foreign experts. Many local staffers hold graduate diplomas, are fluent in English, and have been trained in IT technologies. They have worked for years (some of them over five) in the international, less stressful and advanced professional environment. Citizens of BiH have acquired knowledge and skills which might be comparable with that of international experts.

It is surprising that this group of experts has not been paid more attention by the surrounding environment. The truth is that many of them would rather leave BiH or proceed with private initiatives, because they have developed a significantly different professional culture and habits, as well as more refined private needs on much higher salaries than civil servants at any position in BiH. However, some must remain in BiH and contribute to a positive development, as well as those that positively contribute to the process from abroad.

1.2.3 Possibilities for Security Sector Expert Formation

The possibilities for security sector expert formation are modest in Southeast Europe.

It is crucial to notice that the Department of Criminal Sciences at Sarajevo University is the only institution offering four years of undergraduate, as well as postgraduate, studies directly devoted to specific security sector issues. Postgraduate studies in international relations and diplomacy are both offered at the Faculties of Law at Banja Luka and Sarajevo University. Furthermore, postgraduate studies in international relations are offered at the Faculty of Political Sciences at Sarajevo University, which are partially related to the security sector. More modern methods and subjects are being studied at the Centre for European Studies in Sarajevo with regard to international relations and

democracy. Those activities have been established and developed through EU Tempus programmes, which portray a new trend in the education process of BiH. Specialised courses and schools have been developed to meet the needs of police, the SBS and customs. They aim to supplement acquired knowledge at civil faculties (law, economy) to the previously mentioned institutions. However, it would be wrong to expect that they provide sufficient professionals with lifelong dedication to those fields.

Although employing a small number of non-governmental experts, NGOs are becoming one of the leading factors in the security sector expert formation.

International efforts, both multilateral and bilateral, push the reform processes forward. The OSCE and the Stability Pact for SEE provide multilateral frameworks with a number of opportunities for expert formation. The bilateral contribution includes a number of often modest projects that were arranged through bilateral agreements. Due to their number, and relatively distant character to third parties, such projects were not subject to consideration in this report.

An overview of the security sector expert formation programmes offered in BiH is provided in the Appendix.

1.2.4 Main Gaps in Expert Formation

(a) Dissemination of Knowledge/Information

Too many security sector experts lack active knowledge of the English language; a smaller number are not even familiar with the use of IT technologies either. The situation is more promising and satisfactory among younger generation experts. Therefore, this problem might be expected to disappear in the next ten years.

Currently, the majority of senior experts (decision-makers and advisors) depend on secondhand information, being unable to access any up-to-date sources of information.

In addition, the major international politically binding documents (UN resolutions, OSCE documents, regional and subregional agreements and statements) remain untranslated, not disseminated to the institutions and persons of interest in the security sector, or are publicly unavailable in local languages to those who might be interested.

Internationally legal binding documents, as well as state-level documents, are translated and published in the *Official Gazette of BiH*, whereas legally binding documents adopted at the entity level are published in the RS and F BiH official gazettes. Unfortunately, the gazettes are not available online, and cannot be obtained free of charge.

For different reasons, there are no libraries, specialised collections, or archives available in the parliaments, the Council of Ministers of BiH, the entity governments, or any particular ministry. The university libraries are supplied with a limited number of predominantly outdated items. It is almost impossible for students to find daily newspapers and magazines devoted to foreign security sector reforms. Also, day-to-day press releases by the media and specialised on-line databases cannot be expected. Here, Sarajevo presents itself as the one exception, where the first multimedia library was established.

The parliamentary committees dealing with security issues do not produce internal or public reports, as well as materials. The few experts that actively participate in public academic life, with some exceptions, have no habit of publishing or contributing their opinions and articles in different newspapers or magazines.

Most institutions in both the executive and legislative branch have no Web-presentations, while existing presentations might be more professionally organised and informative.

(b) *Academic Education*

The current organisation of the academic education system already poses a serious threat to the prosperity and stability of BiH, and will continue

to do so in the future if not significantly changed. Therefore, the task of improving the unsatisfactory situation in the education sector, especially regarding higher education, presents one of the new priorities of the international community agencies in BiH. The principles of the Bologna Declaration provide a framework for this project. However, there is still no convergence to a '3-5-8' model of higher education, to academic credits, to modular education, and so on.

The academic education in the security sector ranks among the most critical areas of higher education. Opportunities for graduate and postgraduate studies in the area of security are limited, and existing programmes very often outdated or incomplete. There exist no military schools or academies.

As a result of the displayed conditions in BiH, it is evident that there is no systematic education of the security sector cadre. Only a small number of research projects have been launched. As a consequence, the knowledge of available scholars has been outdated, the number of young researchers has been insufficient, translating and editorial activities have been insufficient, the number of NGOs has been relatively small, and the presence of BiH experts in international projects has been poor. Over time, an imbalance between military, technical and social science aspects of education has come about.

Students from BiH already attend security-related undergraduate studies in different countries, but lack further opportunities in postgraduate and doctoral studies in the area of security at leading universities. The majority of all offered multilateral programmes and some of the bilateral programmes are ad-hoc programmes (from case to case) and are not part of the longitudinal programmes of assistance or curriculum.

A notion exists in BiH that the majority of existing programmes only offer basic training, while senior and top executive programmes are represented on a much lower level. This approach inevitably leads to a protracted dependence on foreign experts and their expertise. If the assumption of the notion is correct, then part of the reason is given by the truth that foreign experts are easier accessible and more reliable than the development of domestic experts. Of course, this will not be the best strategy in the long run.

Today's tendency predicts that more technical experts are available who are able to implement decisions, than experts who are able to create long-term development strategies.

(c) *Executive Education*

Although benefits from the executive education (such as on-problem focused programmes), easy arrangements with the best teachers from BiH and abroad, the opportunity for use of modern education methods (such as Advanced Distance Learning, Distance Learning, summer schools etc.), the opportunity of verification of diplomas and certificates already held from courses/schools abroad, financial benefits, faster professional development, permanent education, are well known, the system of the executive education is still not well developed in BiH.

The demanding/needy area of the security sector is unable to release a clear definition on expert profiles at any level, and consequently, there exist no clear definitions of programmes needed to improve this specific sector. Unclear as well are the time dimensions. Obviously, not much research has been done in this field.

The supply side, which could be identified as universities and other educational institutions, have not been able to develop any modular programmes. On the contrary, the fact that such modules do exist in other areas and function well (for example modules for foreign languages training or IT-training) indicates that the real problem is based on a lack of sound and clear requests on the part of the demanding side. Furthermore it is unclear which institutions should define/formulate such requests or appropriate curricula.

(d) *Public Administration and the Civil Service*

The basic principles of efficient public administration and civil service in BiH have been defined in accordance with EU standards. There is bold support to the ongoing process of institution building at all levels. It

might be expected that the EU SAP programme will further contribute to the process. At the same time, there are no modules offered for public training.

The main part of the security sector community (military, police, intelligence), for different reasons still maintains specific characteristics (enhanced position in society, higher importance and responsibility, secrecy etc.). This tendency negatively impacts the melting process between security sector and society. Experiences from the previous state system show how dangerous such exclusions of the security sector from society can be. Therefore, it is crucial that experts from the security sector receive training in public administration and public service. If they lack such training, they will be unable to cope properly with challenges in higher positions.

(e) *Teamwork*

Current tendencies show that problems of the modern world become more and more complex, the available time to find optimal solutions more and more limited, experts tend to be more and more specialised, and small countries suffer more and more from a lack of necessary resources. The only way to deal with those problems, for BiH and other small states, is by developing knowledge, skills and work culture, in ad hoc, problem-oriented, intersector meetings. Those include the governmental-civil society as well as other groups. The composition of those meetings helps to produce the best expertise or solution possible. However, currently, officials at the mid, senior and top level are unable to receive practical training on important techniques such as teamwork, negotiations, consultation of advisors, decision-making process, management of changes, public relations, the media etc.

1.2.5 Conclusion

Bosnia and Herzegovina has a strong need for comprehensive and total reform of the security sector. The situation asks for the help of institutions of the international community, which are responsible for the

implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords. As of now, the main reform initiators have been international experts with a modest contribution of country (BiH) internal experts.

Events on the international scene, after September 11, indicate a shift of interest to new problem areas. This fact, combined with the progress of the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords' provisions, will inevitably lead to an increased dependence of the process of security sector reforms on BiH experts.

Due to its complex structure, the number of needed security sector experts in BiH is relatively large, especially if compared with other, similar states. Additionally, the following gaps in the process of security sector expert formation exist: poor dissemination of knowledge and information; inappropriate system of academic education; under-developed system of executive education; divergence between civil service principles and practice of governance in the military; police and law enforcement agencies; and the lack of knowledge and experience in modern work methods.

In order to overcome the identified gaps, long-lasting efforts to cover the wide range of problem aspects will be needed.

1.2.6 Recommendations

To fill the identified gaps in the security sector expert formation, prolonged and diligent work must be done. Special attention needs to be paid to the existing and future expert community in BiH, both at state administration and civil society level.

To support this work, further efforts, initiatives and potential projects could be recommended within two interconnected strategies: first, to render BiH's presence in the international security sector expert community more significant (foreign aspect); and, secondly, to support internal developments aimed at the security sector reforms in general, and particularly at the security sector expert formation level (internal aspect):

(a) *Foreign Aspect*

- To establish permanent research processes and to obtain reliable, available and active partners in BiH, it is of crucial importance that 1–2 ‘think-tanks’ devoted to the security sector be established in BiH.
- To establish regular scholarship programmes eligible throughout the next 5–7 years, which should allow postgraduate and PhD studies for BiH experts at leading universities. The programmes would aim to establish a cadre with the goal of independent development within BiH.
- To support the evaluation and certification of security related courses already completed by BiH citizens at different institutions worldwide. For example, at the Baltic Defence College, the George Marshall European Centre for Security Studies, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, the Royal College for Defence Studies, etc. Individuals who achieved a certain academic credit level would be eligible for a special curriculum to achieve a MA diploma. As a result, the number of necessary scholarships could be reduced, and a critical balance of verified experts in BiH be established. Further, in-system experts should be motivated to join international courses and programmes that are being offered.
- To secure a better display of what has already been achieved in BiH, as well as to expose legally and politically binding documents that were created in BiH to an international expert community for analysis and feedback. A further contribution to the process would be the establishment of support programmes for the translation of documents from local languages into the English language. Finally, the documents could be posted at specialised websites.

- To open a channel of communication between the international expert community and BiH's NGOs working in the security area. First, this process could be encouraged by the creation and maintenance of BiH's NGOs' web-presentations. Secondly, by making them more professional and informative.
- All projects that are oriented towards the improvement of the cooperation in SEE should be strongly encouraged.

(b) *Internal Aspect*

The following steps should be applied to enhance the level of security issues and the presence of international security sector experts in BiH.

- Develop and support programmes of translation into local languages of the relevant UN, NATO, OSCE and other international organisation and initiative documents, as well as the translation of relevant periodic publications, leading newspaper articles, and selected materials from specialised databases, in order to make these materials accessible to experts and other interested persons in printed form or via the Internet.
- Support the translation of books and brochures dealing with security issues into local languages. Support the project of developing specialised, publicly accessible classical or multimedia libraries at parliaments and universities.
- Encourage international security experts to publish their articles in BiH publications.
- Based on the experience of other transitional states, develop a curriculum with focus on security expert formation in BiH through summer schools, and the use of existing distance learning centres (Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla) as well as through access to ADL modules.

In order to support institution building in BiH:

- Senior level decision-makers and their assistants:

IT courses: organise IT courses two times a year at which the existing websites related to security are being presented and access to specialised databases is being secured.

Secure courses and practical exercises in negotiation techniques, modern decision-making process and management of changes.

Presentation of experience in the making and providing of expertise and use of advisors in states with a long tradition of parliamentary democracy and states in transition.

- Parliamentary assistance:

Support establishment of specialised parliamentary committees devoted to different aspects of security.

Support to parliamentary staff training courses.

Training support programmes of new members of parliaments in accordance with parliamentary procedures.

- Assistance to military, police and law enforcement agencies:

Inclusion into EU programmes of courses on civil administration.

Support to the establishment and functioning of policy planning departments.

APPENDIX 1 SECURITY SECTOR EXPERT FORMATION: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – PROGRAMMES OFFERED

A1.2.1 Programmes Offered by BiH Agents

- Faculty of Criminal Sciences/University of Sarajevo (<http://unsa.ba>)
Two and four-year undergraduate study
Postgraduate study
- Faculty of Law / University of Banja Luka (<http://www.unc.bl.ac.yu>)
Postgraduate study of diplomacy and international law.
- University of Banja Luka (<http://www.unc.bl.ac.yu>)
University Centre for Distance Learning

The project is developing in cooperation with the World University Service-BiH (<http://www.sus.ba>), and auspices of the World University Service-Austria (<http://www.wus-austria.org>). The pilot sub-project of e-learning/distance learning of the international law is under development.

The project offers the window-of-opportunity for including programmes from area of the security sector as well.

- Police Academy / Sarajevo and Banja Luka
Undergraduate two-year study
Basic police education
- School of the State Border Service/Sarajevo
Undergraduate 18-month study
Basic border service education

- University of Tuzla (<http://www.untz.ba>)
University Centre for Distance Learning

The project is being developed in cooperation with the World University Service – BiH (<http://www.sus.ba>), and auspices of the World University Service – Austria (<http://www.wus-austria.org>). The project offers the window-of-opportunity for including some programmes from area of the security sector as well.

- Centre for Security Studies-Bosnia and Herzegovina/Sarajevo (<http://www.css.ba>)

Founded in 2001, the CSS is an independent research, educational and training enterprise dedicated to encouraging informed debate on security matters and to promoting democratic structures and processes in foreign and security policy in BiH, and in the SEE region. Main objectives and projects:

development of the security policy of BiH;

preparation for integration into PfP and NATO;

improvement of inter-entity cooperation;

re-establishment of legislative framework.

- Centre for Strategic Studies / International Forum Bosnia-Sarajevo (<http://ifbosna.org.ba>)

Founded in December 2000, the aim of the Centre is to be a sound and genuine nucleus of strategic and geopolitical thought in BiH and to assist the development of BiH through:

ongoing analysis of the regional and global political, security, economic and cultural reality of BiH, with an interpretation of trends and interactions;

interpretation, evaluation and forecasting the strategies of our neighbouring states and their impact on BiH; and

contribution to deliberations by the local and foreign public on issues of significance for the future of BiH

- Association of Defendologists (+387 51 343 367)

As a part of the wider EU project of the transition states democratisation, the Association was established in 1998 with the predominantly sociological approach to issues such as:

internal affairs and security;

democratisation of police and policing;

citizens and police.

The Association's activities include organisation of seminars and publication of the magazine 'Defendology'.

Support Service Providers

- Academic Cooperation Centre for Students in Sarajevo (<http://www.access.ba>)
 - The first multimedia library
 - Centre for distance learning
 - For university professors and students only
- Mr Dalibor Kesic, Freelance Interpreter and Authorised Court Interpreter specialising in legal and security matters (bore@blic.net)
- GAMA Prevodi Translating Agency (mirjanag@gamaprevodi.com)
GAMA Prevodi is a translating agency for English, French, German, Italian and Chinese language. Agency's translators are

especially qualified in translating legal documents and documents related to economics; however, they are equally familiar with military, political, humanitarian and any other terminology.

A1.2.2 Programmes Offered by the International Organisations

OSCE Mission to BiH

- BiH Inter-university Steering Committee on Security Studies (in cooperation with Geneva Centre for Security Policy-GSCP, East-West Institute-EWI, Universities in BiH)

Established in 1999, the Centre is an inter/university body which supports, promotes, coordinates and evaluates security studies within BiH. Its goal is to create environment, which supports young researches and experts in the field of security studies as well as to connect them with the broader international security studies community. Projects:

Problems of return of refugees;

Integration of BiH in the Euro-Atlantic Security system;

Security aspect of geo-economy of BiH.

Up until now, modest results have been achieved.

Security Cooperation

Activities have been managed through the OSCE BiH Department for Security Cooperation (DSC), whose overall aim is to establish conditions in which military force can be eliminated as a means of resolving conflicts in BiH.

Working within the context of the military annexes of the Dayton Peace Accords, the primary goal of the DSC is to contribute to the creation of a framework for peace and stability within BiH, which can be sustained in the aftermath of a withdrawal or a major reduction of the NATO Stabilisation Force (SFOR). This goal is pursued in conjunction with the Office of the High Representative (OHR), SFOR and other members of the International Community.

Projects

- Seminars on the Code of Conduct in political-military aspects of security.

Four seminars annually for young military officers, devoted to the promotion of professionalism in the military profession.

- Seminars for journalists.

Two seminars annually for selected civil journalists dealing with security sector issues, as well as for journalists from specialised military journals. A certain number of MoDs officials for informing and planning has been included, too.

- Defence budget planning.

Different seminars and workshops devoted to planning techniques, audit policy and procedures, defence budget's transparency and defence procurement are organised.

Education Reform

On 4 July 2002 the OSCE Permanent Council in Vienna expressed its support for the request from the High Representative that OSCE facilitate enhanced coordination and cohesion of the International effort in the area of education reform in BiH, consistent with its mandate in the area of human rights. In order to fulfil this responsibility, the Mission has created an Education Department within its Head Office and will add specialist education staff to its existing field structure. The main objective at the present phase of project is development of a framework strategy for education in BiH for presentation to the Peace Implementation Council in September 2002.

The OSCE will focus its coordinating and field monitoring efforts in the following areas:

- access to education;
- equity in the provision of educational opportunities to students of all ages;
- improvement in the quality of education at all levels.

Different initiatives aimed to bridge the existing gap in security sector expert formation could be developed within the project.

Stabilisation Forces (SFOR)

- Re-structuring of the Armed Forces in BiH

SFOR and the OSCE Mission to BiH co-chair the Working Group on the Re-structuring of the Armed Forces in BiH (WG). The WG was established in 2000, and since then plays major role in:

Creation and implementation of the ‘Defence Policy of BiH’ document;

Downsizing of the military personnel;

Structural reforms of the armed forces in BiH, both active and reserve component;

State level defence institution building;

Seminars for the military personal, with support from the SHAPE.

- European Union (EU)

Sarajevo MA European Studies Diploma

The EU has established the TEMPUS programme to assist Central, East and South European countries, the New Independent States and Mongolia in the reform of higher education. Among other states, BiH is eligible to take part in the programme that finances cooperation projects between universities from the EU and the partner countries.

The focus is on university management, curriculum development, institution building and networking. Mobility grants for students and professors are also included. TEMPUS is one of the privileged EU instruments to achieve the objectives of the Stability Pact.

In March 2000, the University of Bologna (Italy) formally recognised the Sarajevo MA European Studies Diploma with a legal status valid for the University of Bologna. Although based in Sarajevo, the MA has an impact on the whole of Bosnia, thanks to the collaboration of the Universities of Banja Luka, Tuzla, East and West Mostar. The London School of Economics is the official contractor for the Tempus project. EU partners in the implementation of the project are the Sussex European Institute and the Centro per l'Europa Centro-Orientale e Balcanica of the University of Bologna, while the Sarajevo Law Centre is responsible for coordinating activities.

Bologna University hopes that this initiative may have a positive impact in supporting policies of inclusion within BiH, and the inclusion of BiH itself in the framework of the European Union.

Rule of Law and Democratisation

Restoring the rule of law and reinforcing the democratic processes remain paramount objectives of the EU in Southeast Europe. Weak institutions and underdeveloped civil societies are unfortunately key features of the countries of the region. Projects include promoting dialogue between different ethnic communities, conflict resolution, training programmes for local NGOs, awareness raising on the role of human rights in building a civil society, promotion of citizen's participation in local democracy projects, voter education etc.

Institution Building, Civil Service in General

- The Stability Pact

Working Table I – WT I (Democratisation and Human Rights)
Education and Youth

Education contributes substantially to the creation of a stable and prosperous civil society. The Graz Process was initiated by Austria in order to promote democratic and peaceful development in the region by supporting and coordinating educational cooperation projects in South Eastern Europe. Projects:

- Support of long-term education reform and system development in SEE countries with a focus on regional cooperation, networking, exchange of expertise, capacity building.
- Networking/dissemination of information among educational communities in the SEE and towards the wider European Education Area.

Parliamentary Cooperation

The aim of the Task Force is to promote democracy by strengthening the role of parliaments in South Eastern Europe and their contribution to stability in the region through enhancing cooperation among them. Projects:

- ‘Democratic control: Education programme for Parliament and Parliamentary staff’

This project aims at providing parliamentarians and parliamentary staff with knowledge and tools, enabling them to demand transparency and hold governments fully accountable in the areas of defence and security. Activities include regional and country workshops on the role of Parliaments and security issues.

- ‘Parliament and Civil Society in SEE: Legislatures and Citizens’

This project aims at developing a true, active working relationship between Parliaments and NGOs in SEE. Activities include civil society feedback on draft legislation and public debates, between NGOs and parliamentarians, focusing on issues identified by the parties concerned.

- ‘Promoting Parliamentary cooperation in SEE: An Action Plan’

This project aims at providing information and transferring skills to parliamentarians in relevant specialised committees including parliamentary practice and procedure, the fight against corruption, and the protection of the cultural heritage. Activities include country workshops and regional conferences for parliamentarians and parliamentary staff, for young parliamentarians and women parliamentarians, as well as exchange visits to parliaments in the SEE region and in the EU.

Working Table III – WT III (Security Issues)
(Sub Table on Defence and Security Issues)

Defence Economics

In an attempt to increase the sense of security and confidence among the countries in the region, the Stability Pact aims at enhancing transparency consolidating progress in the defence and security field.

The Pact has sponsored a Bulgarian-British collaborative effort to establish a regional planning and budgeting centre in Sofia. This centre provides, through both an experts and academic task forces, substantial ideas on how to improve and share experiences in defence planning. The Centre’s first product is an annual yearbook on planning.

Although invited, BiH has no representative in the Centre, and is not included in the Yearbook.