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## CHRONICLE 11

### ELECTIONS AS THE CONSTANT THREAT ON A SECURITY OF B&H CITIZENS

#### INTRODUCTION

Since the first democratic elections in BiH, which have been held in nineties of the last century, having happened at the same time as the ex Yugoslavia had broken down, before the bloody war has started, each new elections in BiH are the bearers of new crisis, troubles and dangerous. Regarding the fact that the electoral cycle BiH was conceived that the elections were held each two years (local as well as general elections), so there are more and more crisis situation as well as potential danger.



Having observed unstable politic, economics and social situation inside BiH as well as the region, each new elections, besides political changes, also bring new safety problems for BiH citizens, as a byproduct of different political manipulations, coalition acts as well as tacit "parties" agreements.

#### A NEW WAR IN BiH AS OPEN POSSIBILITY FOR JEOPARDISED SAFETY OF BiH CITIZENS AND REGION<sup>1</sup>

The new war is real and actual danger on BiH territory. However, hopefully, it's attainable with difficulty because the new war, in the centre of Europe, is not suitable for major world forces in contrast to the beginning of 1990, when the international influence had have its role in the bloody war in Croatia and BiH. The national tensions between the three constitutional nations on BiH territory, which escalated during the war period in 1992. till 1995. had not finished after the war had been over, signing the Dayton Peace Agreement<sup>2</sup>. The animosity, intolerance and distrust among citizens of BiH after the war, have been misused on the best way by the national and quasi socialdemocratic parties which have raised tensions, stirring the fear of the new conflict having a purpose of keeping current leader's political positions in BiH.

The last local elections (October 2016) indicated the best way on which political, national and, so self-styled, socialdemocratic parties influence on electoral body, having influenced on the complete safety of whole BiH citizens.

<sup>1</sup> See addition at the page 8 – „United Nations predict a new war in Bosnia“

<sup>2</sup> [https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daytonski\\_sporazum](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daytonski_sporazum)

Pre-election influences on election bodies, as well as post election manipulations which influence on a growth of intolerance as well as decreasing of BiH citizens safety have its best reflection in the following examples.

### REFERENDUM IN REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

The beginning of pre-election campaign in RS resulted by *Referendum*. The referendum list had only one question that should be voted by the citizens of Republic of Srpska. The question was: **“Do you support that the 9th of January should be marked as the Day of Republic of Srpska?”** However, the referendum was just a part of pre-election campaign of SNSD<sup>3</sup>, RS leading party, with Milorad Dodik as the leader of the party as well as the president of that entity. Besides the constant demand for separation, as the official denial of Srebrenica genocide, the representatives of Bosniaks in the state institutions of Republic of Srpska, have seen the referendum only as one more official separation of Republic of Srpska from BiH. The fact that the Constitutional Court of BiH had already brought the decision that such kind of referendum was not constitutional, was not a problem to a position leaders to hold the referendum. The biggest result of the referendum was that it had shown up that there was a big separation of the political scene of Republic of Srpska, as well as that the position leaders still have the authority because of good personnel policies distribution on different state and economic positions.



The referendum was a stroke to the legal system of BiH. It is also very important to resolve that the referendum, as the method of making a decision about very important matters for all citizens of one community, is a legitimate means. But, in this case, when it was demanded from the citizens to come out for a matter that the Constitutional Court had already brought the decision, it came out it was a serious violation of the principles of a democratic society. The specific harmfulness and the danger of the referendum is in the following: the constitutional system of BiH is very complicated, because in the process of bringing very important decisions there is the mechanism to protect a vital national interest of each ethnicity. Therefore, this system of protection of collective rights is to be eliminated by the referendum.

So, by destroying of the law system of BiH, not respecting the decisions of the Constitutional court of BiH, there is the law predisposition that each future decision could be broken so the state and its citizens could be brought into the position of total anarchy and lawlessness. Even some new territory pretensions by the help of war conflict, are possible. Simply said, if the state institutions do not have an obligation to obey rules and regulations, why should the ordinary people do it?

<sup>3</sup> [https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Savez\\_nezavisnih\\_socijaldemokrata](https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Savez_nezavisnih_socijaldemokrata)

## **MOSTAR – DIVIDED CITY WITHOUT POSSIBILITY OF HAVING ELECTIONS<sup>4</sup>**

There was no agreement between the party leaders, which could be led to a solution of organisation of local elections in Mostar, the first after 2008. A patronage of Maurine Cormack, the American ambassador, was not of any help.

There is still a bit of hope that party leaders will succeed in intention to make an agreement, as Dragan Covic, the head leader of BiH HDZ stated.

**“We are of the basic opinion that the election should be held on the 2nd of October. That is a determination. We have discussed all the ideas and suggestions once again, considering all the differences that exist and which could be exceeded. I am convinced that it could be exceeded until the local elections, which must be held during this year. It is better not to talk, but I am too optimistic. I will do my best that no one feel unsecured in Mostar. We guaranteed that the decisions which are to be brought, will also be executed”,** Covic stated.

The less optimistic than Covic were leaders of SBB and SDA. They are of the opinion that the final solution should be a result of hard work, so the SDA/SBB coalition could not accept what HDZ suggested.

**„I must say that the coalition of SDA/SBB had the unique attitude as usual. Unfortunately, we could not accept the attitudes of HDZ so we could not find the solution. We will work hard the next days so we could find a proper solution”,** Fahrudin Radoncic, the leader of SBB, stated.

The leader of SDA Bakir Izetbegovic was the least optimistic. He stated that SDA and HDZ was just about to find a solution of the problem the last winter.

**„There was a separation and the vacuum then. It was good for us that the Embassy of USA and Great Britain helped us to approach our attitudes. SBB was of a help and these days we should intensify our efforts in finding solutions”,** Izetbegovic stated.

The last local elections in Mostar were held in 2008, so the mandate of the city council and the mayor of Mostar had expired. There is a question to be asked about the legacy of all decisions concerning Mostar, brought by such a management, since 2012.



Mostar is the last real monarchy in Europe. Two men, who represent two criminal organisations, which are presented in public as political parties, maintain by money and lives of all citizens of Mostar, without having any democratic supervision by the Law. Regardless of all initiatives in Federal Parliament, where the complete revision of the budget of Mostar was

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<sup>4</sup> <http://radiokameleon.ba/2016/07/politicari-se-opet-nisu-slozili-bez-dogovora-izborima-mostaru/>

required, it has come out that the 50 millions of KM a year, which is the budget of Mostar, had been spent non-transparent, illegally and willingly by the decision of two man.



Mostar is without possibility to have the local elections more than 8 years, because it has been decided by two leader oligarchy. On this way, the divided city was even more divided and such situation was created that the social and ethnic demonstration were so obvious.

#### **STOLAC- ATTEMPT OF MAKING NEW MOSTAR**

*From the Operational Centre of Ministry of Internal Affairs od HNK, was confirmed that there are increased police forces in Stolac, as well as the special police forces are expected to come. The same information were confirmed on the press conference of the central election commission.*



*"We had to strenghten the police forces so the conflict could not escalate. The special police unit will be instructed soon to join the police", was stated from the Operational Centre of Ministry of Internal Affairs of HNK.*

*According to the data of Ministry odg Internal Affairs of HNK, the candidate for the Mayor of Stolac, Samir Kaplan (SDA), physicaly abused the President of Municipal Election Commission, Ivan Peric.*

*„I inform you that these are preliminary information, now we are going to investigate," was said from the operational Centre of Ministry of Internal Affairs of HNK.*

*Ahmet Santic, the president of CIK (Central Election Commission), stated that the incident occurred in the late afternoon hours.*

*Santic also stated that the one of the candidates for the mayor, came into the premises of Municipal Election Commission, attacked the president and the two memebers of the election commission. Two members were transported to the hospital, while the third one was treated at home. Santic also confirmed that the special police forces were sent to Stolac. The information*

from CIK was that Ivan Peric was transported to the hospital, so the election process has stopped. They also confirmed that "persons with masks on its heads" take away the election material.<sup>5</sup>

Stolac case is the best indicator of the state in which we are, It is the state where is literally possible for the candidates and the representatives of the state institutions to get into the fight at the election place. The worst is that the manipulations, which were so obvious, which probably would not be sanctioned, if there was not the above mentioned incident. It was so interesting to see what was going on on two fronts: sanctioning of the candidate who got into the fight, and the decision on repeating (or non repeating) of elections brought by the Central Election Commission. At the end, everything remained the same. There was no repeating of voting and Stolac was enthroned<sup>6</sup> as a deeply divided city. And this divisions leads to the new antagonism, disrespect and underestimation on political and ethnic basis.

### **SREBRENICA-ELECTIONS-CHANGE OF AUTHORITIES**

*After it had become certain that Mladen Grujicic will be a new mayor of Srebrenica - instead Camil Durakovic, we talked with mothers of Srebrenica which had lost their children as well as many members of their family in Srebrenica genocide.*

*„It is senseless that a person who deny the gnocide and who promote nationalism won in Srebrenica. That was a pre-election campaign on the most dishonorable way. They were coming from Serbia, screaming in Srebrenica. But, it is like that, this is BiH. This ground is poisoned. I will be very sorry if Grujicic win, because of Potocari, and 11th July“ - said Hatidza Mehmedovic, a mother from Srebrenica, whose both sons were killed during the war.*

*She reminded that until now there was a rule that mayor of Srebrenica is the president of Organisational committee for remembering of victims of 11 th July.*

*„The question is how somebody who deny the genocide can be in that role? Until now the major has given us a hope, and now, everything is uncertain“, said Hatidza Mehmedovic.*



*We also talked to Munira Subasic, the president of Associations of mothers of Srebrenica and Zepa enclaves.*

*„Here I am in Srebrenica. We, mothers, are sitting in a house and talking about results of elections. We can't sleep. We hope that Camil Durakovic will win. We are waiting for diaspora to vote, by mail. My mayor will never be a man who has cockade on his forehead, who glorify*

*crimes and criminals, wears T-shirts with war criminals Karadzic and Mladic on it. My mayor will not be a man who deny the genocide“, said Mehmedovic.<sup>7</sup>*

<sup>5</sup> <http://radiokameleon.ba/2016/10/salmir-kaplan-fizicki-nasrnuo-na-ivana-perica-u-stolac-poslata-specijalna-policija/>

<sup>6</sup> Word play – name „Stolac“ translated to english means „chair“, „throne“

<sup>7</sup><http://radiokameleon.ba/2016/10/majke-srebrenice-o-izborima-nas-nacelnik-ne-moze-bit-negator-genocida/>

After a longer of period, the mayor of Srebrenica will not be Bosniac. Therefore, the speculations about possible manipulations during the elections have started (a new counting of voting lists were required but it did not change anything), possible refractions regarding the territories between the national parties, as well as possible increased tensions between citizens of Srebrenica.



It is not, and it should not be a problem that for the mayor of Srebrenica was elected the candidate who declares himself as Serb, but it is not acceptable that somebody who deny a court sentences about Srebrenica genocide, who has not enough intellect and sensibility to calm down anxiety of non –Serb citizens, is elected to be the major of all citizens of Srebrenica. Srebrenica will now be, even more then before, under the "magnifying glass" of international community and USA, but this does not minimize the real danger of possible tensions between Bosniac and Serbian authority representatives, as well as between the ordinary citizens.

## CONCLUSION

In the background of all this events - Stolac, Mostar or Srebrenica are antagonized groups, political groupings which, are determined as constitutive nations in Constitutional - law system of BiH.

The cause of all problems in BiH is the Octroyed constitutional-law system, which was established to disable realization of hegemonistic aspirations of Serbia and Croatia in this geopolitically moment.



As the Dayton peace agreement is international agreement, in that sense there is the responsibility of signatory countries for its implementation. Regarding the fact that the agreement was not completely implemented, the responsibility was thrown over on domestic actors, who, according the principle of monopol above the

events on internal plan, maximize their politic ambitions.

There is no winners in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it is out of the mind that there could be. Bosnia is Bosnia only when we truly recognise each other, when we recognise the needs of all those who live here. The democratic character of the society is needed for this - the one which will not be here for a long time in the future.



There is no reason for discontent in BiH. The fact is that the authorities were legally elected and that they represent the true will of BiH citizens. And also the fact that the citizens of BiH are not lever in the true democracy, but only the voters in the democratic system, says enough about the source of the problems.

Current BiH governmental-political system, as well as constitutional-law system is absolutely incompatible with the character of the society. At the moment when the citizen realize that the coexistence and collaboration are necessary, not only because of the mere existence, but because of the progress too, this will be applied on a micro-cosmos of Bosnia, and in this meaning, the step forward will be made.

Unfortunately, this will not happen during our time, or at least, not that soon.

Regarding all of the facts, the elections are not bringing anything good for us, and their future is also so black for us....

**Mario Vranješ**  
**Tuzla, November, 2016.**

**Supplement: "United Nations predict a new war conflict in Bosnia"<sup>8</sup>**

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<sup>8</sup> <http://radiokameleon.ba/2016/04/ujedinjene-nacije-predvidaju-novi-rat-bosni/>

## UNITED NATIONS PREDICT A NEW WAR CONFLICT IN BOSNIA



There will be a war conflict in BiH! At least says so the research of UN office located in Sarajevo. This research was presented to the representatives of the Administrative committee for peace implementation.

Although it was said in the research that there will not be a "real war", it shows that 35,7% citizens of BiH believe that there will be some kind of violence in our country, and 2/3 citizens of BiH, from all ethnic groups, believe there will not be new war conflict in BiH in the next 5 years.

### **A weak wish to defend the complete territory**

More than 1/3 of researched citizens, believe that there will be some kind of violence in BiH, such as demonstrations, separated ethnic incidents as well as wider ethnic conflicts and increasing of the crime.

Ethnically observed, 58,8% of Bosniacs, 55% of Croats and 44,7% of Serbs believe that the peaceful separation can not happen. But, the research shows that if there will be a "threat to a complete territory of BiH", 13,5% of Bosniacs, 12,6% of Croats and 1,5% of Serbs will be ready to "take a weapon".

The representatives of PIC were presented the fact that 28,4% of Bosniacs will be with no reactions if the BiH territory fall apart. 40% of Croats and 64,9% of Serbs will also be without any reaction if the BiH territory fall apart and will take no action in the new war conflict.

Concerning the present borders, 28,5% of BiH citizens from all ethnic groups want to live in BiH, within the current borders, while 71,9% of Serbs and 53,6% of Croats want to live in their own entity.

### **Bosniac entity and a reconciliation**

Only 36,7% of Bosniacs want to live within the current borders in BiH, but they are also not so sure what they really want because only 20,6% of Bosniacs want to live in independent entity. It is emphasized that 73% of BiH citizens from the all ethnic groups, prefer to live in the communities dominated by their ethnic group.

Unfortunately, the research shows that only 13% of citizens from the all three ethnic groups believe that the reconciliation would be possible, while 39,7% believe that the reconciliation has already happened between the nations.



At about 1/3 of citizens of BiH Federation and 1/4 citizens of Republic of Srpska believe that the membership in EU is the only way for BiH to survive. It is the same relation of those who think that the BiH membership in EU is desirable but not of that importance.

It is also interesting that 17.7% population of Republic of Srpska, and only 7.4% population of Federation of BiH believe that EU will fall apart before BiH become part of it, while 11.8% of RS population and 5.1% of BiH Federation population believe that BiH will fall apart before it becomes the part of EU.

### **The lethargic citizens**

In BiH Federation 5% of population think that EU does not care for BiH, while 4.1% of RS think the same. 7% of citizens of RS as well as BiH Federation say that they do not care about EU.

In the final conclusions of the research, published in Dnevni list, it was stated that BiH citizens are "lethargic", what stops possibilities for any changes, as well as that citizens are "passive, except their life is not in the directly threatened"

"There is a crisis of the common identity, as well as all of the levels of the society and this can not be changed by any constitutional reforms. A big majority of population is still of the opinion that their ethnic group is jeopardized", is quoted in EU research. It is also quoted that there is completely "wrong perception of the role of international community". "The future is unpredictable", was the conclusion of UN research.



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