

Edition #71, October 2011

**EUFOR**  
**forum**



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**Many Nations**  
**One Mission**

## Foreword by Kevin Bingham, Chief Info Ops

As I came to the end of my tour commanding a British reserve regiment I thought it an appropriate time to volunteer for an operational tour. Afghanistan was my choice but received a telephone call asking if I would take up the post of Deputy Chief Information Operations (IO) here in EUFOR. I had no idea of what the post would involve and never heard of EUFOR! Two years and eight months later I find myself still here as well as being the Chief. However, what an interesting and fulfilling time it has been all made easier by working with a most dedicated, enthusiastic and professional team of local staff. I may sit behind the computer screen most of the time but it is these people who really put EUFOR on the map here in BiH. Did you know that over 80% of the population's knowledge of EUFOR comes from IO activity?

In my time the branch has reduced from 13 civilian and military to 6 local civilian. Without doubt the workload has increased and more importantly visibility of EUFOR and respect for it as an organization has continued to rise. Several years ago the Info Ops budget ran into several millions of EUROS each year. However, I have seen that amount reduce considerably and can assure all that it is now a fraction of recent years.

Although due to amalgamate with the Press Office, IO work, aims and objectives are very different to that of the PO. However, in the "stabilisation" phase or "post conflict phase" IO work here has developed into using our tools to promote visibility and awareness of EUFOR and its military Mission. In general the population has, understandably, seen enough military style campaigns on posters and TV to last a life time. They have more important day to day life issues to deal with such as unemployment and finances (like many around the world) so an interest in military activity is not at the top of their thoughts. Therefore, IO has had to look at more subtle approaches to get our EUFOR and EU themed messages out to the public. As such, we have continued to push our



work in the area of mine awareness training and general promotion of the dangers of mines. Concurrently, along with other EU organizations we have focused on the youth; in COM EUFORs own words "The youth are the future". This line IO has used in numerous activities and promotional material. The words are fact and by playing our part in their development, no matter how small, EUFORs activities undoubtedly contribute to stabilizing the country. In giving the youth a taste of working, playing, travelling and even talking on FACEBOOK together can open their eyes to the benefits of a future based on the values and standards that most of us accept as routine. EUFOR youth activity is the one area that has received strong support by all communities throughout BiH and clearly gets a 'thumbs up' from all – especially those who participate.

So, when we "kick off" the EUFOR Cup this month, yes of course it is a great deal of fun but remember the purpose behind it. Over 330 schools are participating so think about the numbers of children and adults this activity will touch over the next few months. Just follow the links and the short clips say more than words;

<http://www.bfbs.com/news/uk/bosnian-school-children-tour-uk-after-winning-unique-football-tournament-46514.html>

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55S\\_sKlg5RQ&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55S_sKlg5RQ&feature=related)

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Dear all!

This month the European Union expressed its readiness to continue with ALTHEA's executive mandate. In light of BiH's Euro-Atlantic commitments and integration paths it was also agreed to put more emphasis on the capacity building and training tasks. The EU will therefore continue to contribute to BiH's continued stability; this means that EUFOR ALTHEA will go on to provide safety and security to this country.



The Council conclusions reaffirm the strengthened commitment to BiH's EU perspective and express united support to the new EU Special Representative to BiH Peter Sorensen. In an exclusive interview for EUFOR FORUM Peter Sorensen points out the challenges and tells us about his military background.

Our Multinational Battalion conducted a demanding exercise. The Integrated Police Unit provides an insight to professional crowd and riot control. And Armed Forces of BiH gain know how in Air Medical Evacuation procedures.

Finally we are proud to report about a very successful common initiative of residents of Camp Butmir, irrespective of rank or position. This was of course the fund raising event that was organized for Pazaric Mental Institution from Sarajevo. The result was very impressive, many thanks to all who gave a helping hand, opened their hearts and their wallets!

Enjoy reading!

Lt Col Gerhard Schweiger, Chief Press Office

## EUFOR FORUM

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## EUFOR Spokesperson Lt Cdr Stuart Cantello **Interview** with Head of the Delegation of the European Union to Bosnia and Herzegovina and EU Special Representative, **Ambassador Peter Sorensen**



Ambassador, on behalf of the soldiers of EUFOR I would like to thank you for the opportunity to present your thoughts and opinions to the readers of the EUFOR magazine “EUFORUM”.

*Ambassador Sorensen, you recently visited the Headquarters of EUFOR in Camp Butmir for the first time since being appointed Head of the Delegation of the European Union to Bosnia and Herzegovina and EU Special Representative. What were your first impressions of the Headquarters and its staff?*

I was impressed with Camp

Butmir and EUFOR staff. It was a pleasure to see a multinational team working for a common goal – peace and security in a Bosnia and Herzegovina on its path to the European Union. It’s even more impressive that EUFOR includes troops from countries that are not EU member states. Importantly, I also met citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina who are working with EUFOR and show no less dedication for the tasks EUFOR puts in front of them.

EUFOR’s role in supporting the Armed Forces of BiH especially in the areas of capacity-building and training is very important because BiH will join

NATO one day and must have Armed Forces working in accordance with the Alliance’s standards.

This may come as a surprise to you, but I was not a diplomat all my life! I was also an officer in Danish Army. I have been in the Army Reserve since 1988, and closely follow developments in the field of security.

*Prior to deploying on Operation Althea our soldiers undertake extensive pre-deployment training. How have you prepared for your appointment here in BiH?*

Well, I have been working in the region since the 1990’s. So far I have lived and worked in Sarajevo, Zagreb, Belgrade, Pristina and Skopje. I would not claim to be an “expert” but I do know this region and its peoples quite well. Even being a blunt Scandinavian myself, it took me some time to get used to the very direct communication we see in the political world here!

For this specific position, Head of the EU Delegation and EU Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I had an extensive series of briefing meetings in Brussels. I met members of my new team on more than one occasion, and I also attended a session of the European Parliament where I took MEP’s questions.

*Given the current situation here in BiH – what do you see*

***as your greatest challenge for your time in office?***

We need to assist Bosnia and Herzegovina to accelerate its progress towards the European Union. The country's perspective for membership is real, but progress is presently too slow.

In this effort there is a leading role for citizens, authorities, media and civil society in achieving EU membership for Bosnia and Herzegovina. That's why I have defined 'partnership' as one of the key elements of my approach.

The concrete work plan is set out in the Conclusions of the Council of the European Union of 21 March 2011 which is a good guide for anyone wanting to understand our work here.

There are some clear priorities to address. There have to be credible efforts to follow up the ruling on the Sejdic-Finci case, which deemed Bosnia and Herzegovina to be not compliant with the European Convention on Human Rights. There needs to be an EU-compatible State Aid Law. These two issues and some others will help put into force our 'contract' – the EU's and Bosnia and Herzegovina's Stabilisation and Association Agreement. That will unlock some EU funding programmes, open up new avenues of co-operation between governments and parliaments, speed up harmonization of laws and rules that regulate business and markets and bring the country closer to becoming a full

member of the European Union. We are particularly keen for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be seen as a more attractive business environment in this way.

**There are some clear priorities to address. There have to be credible efforts to follow up the ruling on the Sejdic-Finci case, which deemed Bosnia and Herzegovina to be not compliant with the European Convention on Human Rights. There needs to be an EU-compatible State Aid Law.**

We are also ready to assist with the population census at state level. This task is crucial not only for the country's socio-economic development, but also for Bosnia and Herzegovina to be able to respond to any eventual questions on its road to EU accession. More generally, we want to help ensure that key sectors – the judiciary, the administration, the economy – and key infrastructure are ready for the high demands of EU membership, are competitive and are getting EU financial and technical support.

***From your CV I can see you have held many posts abroad and like our soldiers this means spending time from home. What do you miss the most about Denmark when posted overseas?***

Just like your soldiers, I miss my Danish friends and wider family. I am lucky though that

there is a Sarajevo-Copenhagen direct flight!

Missing loved ones is an issue for everyone deployed overseas. I am lucky that my immediate family is with me.

***Finally Ambassador, do you have a message you would like to send to our Soldiers serving on Operation Althea?***

EUFOR is a very important member of the "EU family" in BiH. What you do here is a key contribution to the Euro-Atlantic integration process of Bosnia. We value your work very highly.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to everyone in EUFOR – soldiers, officers and civilians. You are doing a great job in keeping Bosnia and Herzegovina safe and secure. You are promoting EU values in the country.

LOT teams are in direct communication with citizens of the country, not only in major towns but in places like Mrkonjic Grad or Cazin as well. The fact that you are getting feedback from the grassroots is irreplaceable. EUFOR soldiers talk to ordinary people on the street, mayors and teachers all over BiH. They hear their problems, wishes, ideas. It is very important as organisations and institutions can get detached from local communities. EUFOR has never allowed it to happen and I appreciate it.

Keep up the good work, EUFOR!

## Council of the European Union Conclusions on BiH

The Council of the European Union met in Luxembourg on 10th October 2011. Among other things, the Council debated the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and issued following conclusions

1. Recalling its Conclusions of 21 March, the Council reaffirmed its commitment to strengthen its support to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In this context it welcomed the arrival of Peter Sorensen as EU Special Representative and Head of Delegation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and welcomed him taking the lead in supporting Bosnia and Herzegovina in EU related matters. It looked forward to the implementation of all the elements of the EU policy.

2. The Council called on the political leadership of Bosnia and Herzegovina to form, through an inclusive process, a state level government as a matter of urgency and to address the outstanding urgent and necessary reforms to achieve qualitative steps forward on its path towards the EU.

3. As regards the EU overall strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Council looked forward to the discussion with the international community on the reconfiguration of the international presence, including its downsizing and possible relocation of the OHR, in the appropriate forum.

4. The Council confirmed the EU's readiness to continue at this stage an executive military role to support Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts to maintain the safe and secure environment under a renewed UN mandate. The main effort of Operation Althea will be on capacity-building and training while maintaining situational awareness and a credible reserve in case called upon to support efforts to maintain or restore the safe and secure environment.

The Operation will be reconfigured with forces based in Bosnia and Herzegovina which will focus on capacity-building and training while also retaining the means to contribute to the Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities' deterrence capacity.

A reserve force will be based over the horizon with regular in-country reconnaissance and rehearsal. The Council agreed to keep the operation under regular review including on the basis of the situation on the ground.

5. The Council reiterated its unequivocal commitment to Bosnia and Herzegovina's EU perspective, as agreed at the 2003 Thessaloniki European Council. The Council reaffirmed its unequivocal commitment to the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign and united country.

### Visits to HQ EUFOR



COM EUFOR welcomed Ambassador Fletcher Burton, the new Head of Mission of the Organization for Security and Co-operation (OSCE).



COM EUFOR welcomed His Excellency Mr Fatmir Besimi, Minister of Defence of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

# Crowd Riot Control Training

## We Love It!

The Integrated Police Unit (IPU) is a unit made up of a multinational HQ and a Mobile Company. The characteristic of IPU is, inter alia, the provision of professional police personnel specifically trained for Civil Disturbance Operations (CDOs), Information Gathering Activities (IGAs) and VIPs close protection/escort.

The objective of CDOs is to solve a civil unrest situation through decisive intervention. This intervention must be implemented by using the lowest possible level of force in accordance with Rules of Engagement. Factors assisting in the achievement of a successful outcome in such operations include: the safety and security of own troops, the protection of innocent persons, the prevention of real damage to state property and sites of spe-

cial cultural and historical significance, the long-term consequences of the use of force.

Although primacy for the negotiations rests with the local authorities, the IPU element commander on the ground should be involved in the negotiations as early as possible. This phase is intended to convince the opposition to reach a peaceful solution and it includes compulsory use of interpreters (chosen according to parameters acceptable to the opposing parties).

If negotiation fails, IPU troops should quickly move into position to show a firm and steady attitude that can defuse the situation. The IPU element prepares to intervene as needed with the appropriate level of force. This phase should not be implemented until absolutely necessary, as an untimely demonstration of



force can embitter the confrontation. Nevertheless, a display of strength does offer the psychological advantage of a dominant position, which may restrain the opposition.

The issuing of orders to the demonstrators is considered to be the last resort prior to the use of force. Intervention must be limited to the minimum essential level of force. However, the level of force used must be decisive. Once the intervention has begun (for example, the order to charge the demonstrators has been given), the operation must be continued to conclusion. The level of intervention determined is based on the following elements: composition of the opponents, attitude of the opponents, opponents availability of weapons, availability of reinforcements.

Following the intervention, the CDO scene as well as the surrounding area, are to be kept under control in order to prevent the situation from escalating. This requires an accurate situation assessment, which can be provided by holding key positions or by patrolling the area.

By Lt Rus Galin-George



# MNBN Exercise in Southern BiH



A live exercise took place from 1st to 2nd September 2011, involving all manoeuvre units and headquarters staff of the Multi-national Battalion (MNBN), the Integrated Police Unit (IPU) and the EUFOR Helicopter Detachment (HELDET).

On day one, after a well organized convoy, all elements safely reached their assigned staging areas and MNBN HQ staff set up the Tactical Command Post and all communication assets inside Capljina barracks. Detailed planning was then conducted for the rest of the exercise.

Day two of the exercise saw a smooth conduct during all phases of the reception and escort operations, followed by a series of incidents, designed to train the units in responding to emergency situations.

Those scenarios included simulated car accidents, where the

members of the involved units had to send the correct reports and air medical evacuation (Air MEDEVAC) requests and to properly secure the accident area as well as to marshal helicopter operations.

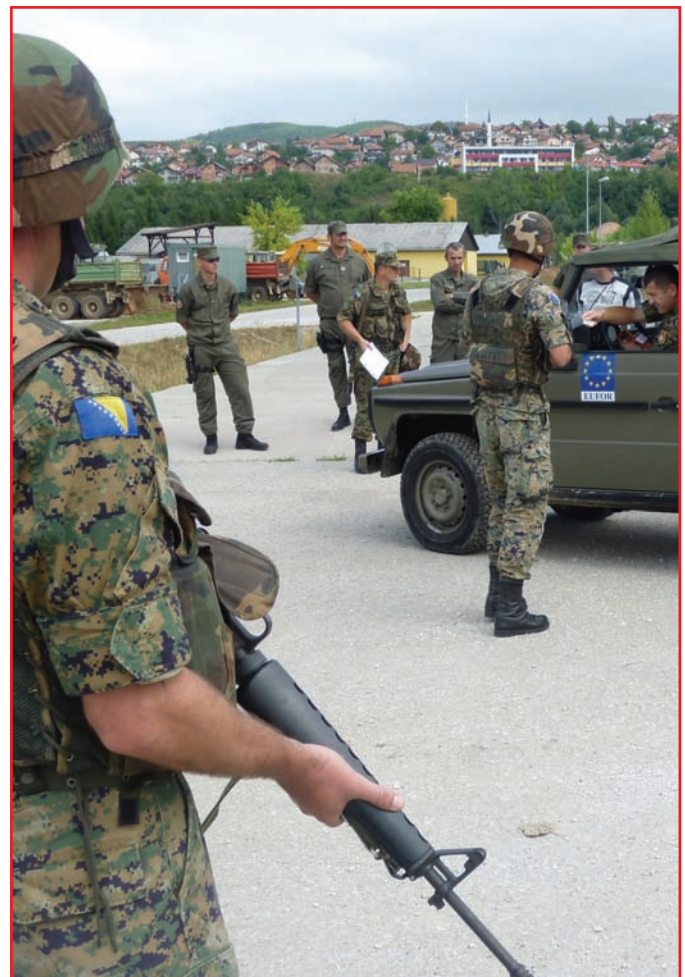
Another incident, when civilian cars blocked the reception area, required sound negotiation skills, proper reporting and the deployment of reserve forces.

Action on the side of the Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) and Med-

ical teams became necessary when one vehicle accidentally entered a mine infested area - an incident that not only required a medical evacuation but also attracted local journalists that had to be dealt with correctly.

Finally, after having successfully handled all those problems and battled high temperatures and rough road conditions, all units safely returned to Camp Butmir, where the Commander of the MNBN, Lt Col Friedrich Ölböck, applauded the troops for their splendid conduct throughout the exercise and expressed his confidence that, as the MNBN, WE STAY PREPARED!

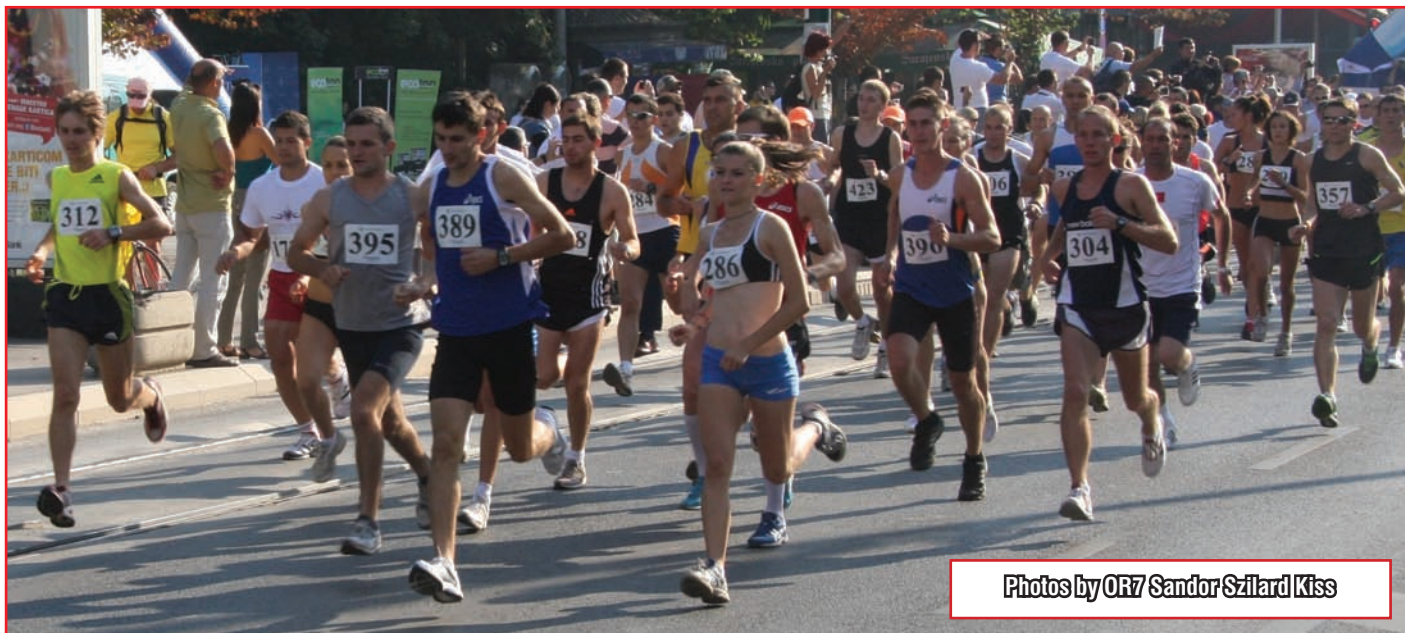
**By Captain Otmar Lindner**





# The Sarajevo Half Marathon 2011

## Running for a Good Cause



Photos by OR7 Sandor Szilard Kiss

On the 18th September 2011, the 5th Sarajevo's Half-Marathon with participation of many EUFOR and NATO HQ members took place. This year starting point was in front of the BBI center which was a novelty for Sarajevo's Olympic half marathon. The distance of 21.6 kilometers (13.4 mi) through Sarajevo was a quite beautiful but also hard run for all of us. Congratulation to all finishers from my side! All runners who completed the half marathon received a medal, t-shirts and gifts from sponsors.

This year the race had a humanitarian character, because all revenue generated would be donated to the Association Centre for Creative Childhood a charity which finances the schooling of children living in extremely difficult conditions across the country.

Over 200 participants from 20 countries finished the race and



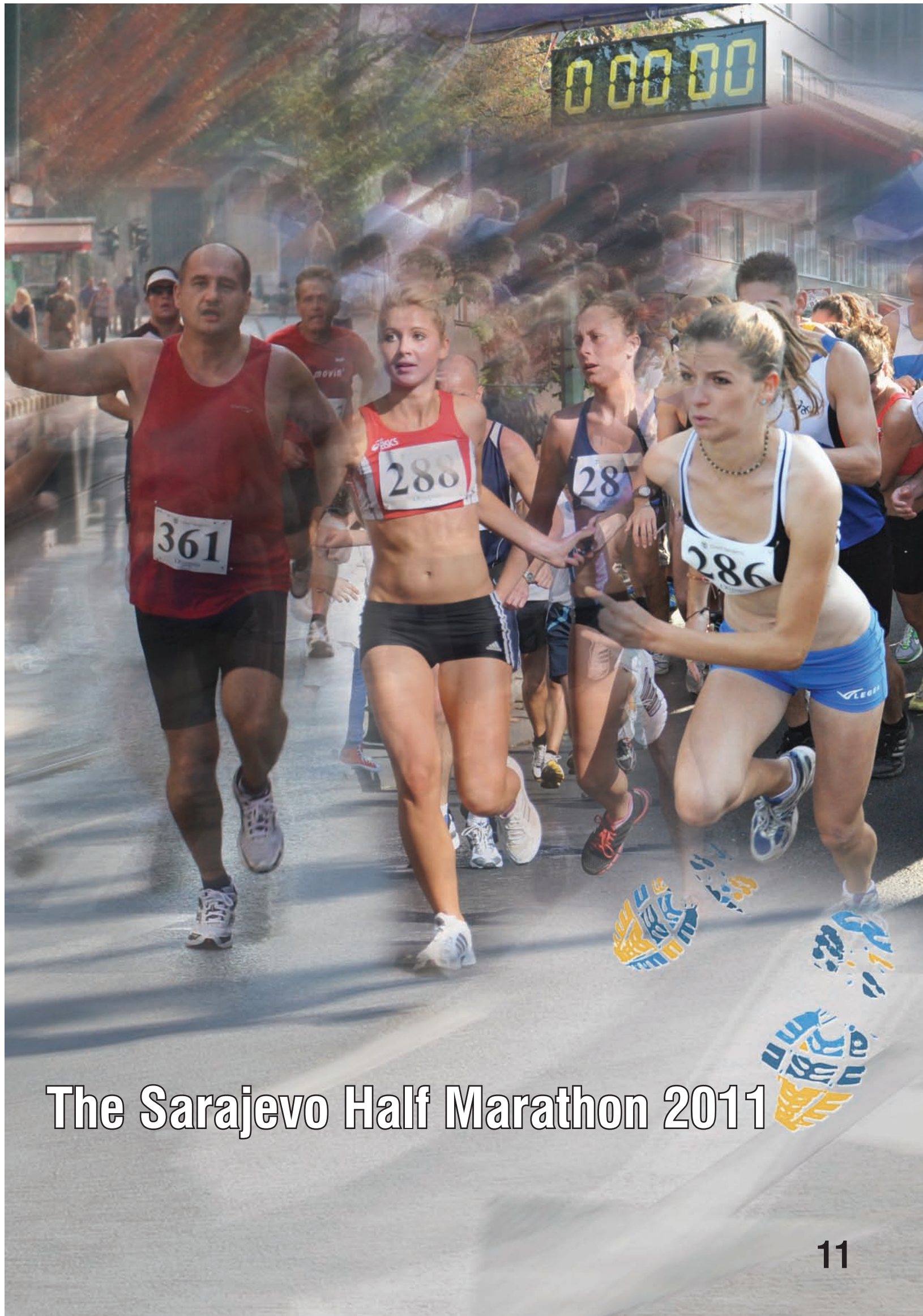
enjoyed the final award ceremony. Congratulations to the organization team of the 5th Sarajevo Half-Marathon and the inhabitants for hosting this impressive event and the amazing atmosphere.

By Major Christian Deutinger





Photos by OR7 Sándor Szilárd Kiss  
Photo collage by Jasmin Zeherovic



# The Sarajevo Half Marathon 2011

## AIRMEDEVAC – New Challenge for AFBiH

We all think that AIRMEDEVAC is something that is used for saving lives. AIRMEDEVAC, what does it really mean?

The timely and efficient movement and en route care provided to injured persons from the place where there has been an accident to a hospital or to a location where specialized personnel can take care of them with suitable equipment.

This kind of transportation often uses the terms “Airlifted” or “LifeFlighted”, although medevac is a common term used by civilians as well. AIRMEDEVAC is the best and the most rapid way for improving the chances of surviving a major trauma.

BiH has mountainous terrain and that means that evacuating casualties can often extend beyond what doctors call the “golden hour”: that crucial 60 minutes during which a traumatically-injured person has to reach a hospital before their survival chances plummet. A good AIRMEDEVAC organization was one of the priorities which was taken into consideration in 2010 when a training plan for Armed Forces of BiH (AFBiH) pilots and medical personnel was established. The training consists of four different topics: AIRMEDEVAC Organization, AIRMEDEVAC Medical Crew, AIRMEDEVAC Air Maintenance Crew and SAR (Search and Rescue) and the Air Crew & Maintenance. There is a long way to go for the AFBiH to reach all the requirements regarding AIRMEDEVAC and un-



til now only the first topic was covered by a Mobile Training Team (MTT).

Since the implementation of MTT training, a Task Plan was developed for providing proper AIRMEDEVAC education to AFBiH, in particular to the BiH Air Force/Air Defense Brigade, in accordance with NATO standards. A Romanian MTT consisting of 2 officers, one Helicopter pilot and one military doctor, has been fulfilling their job for almost 8 months.

On 19th August 2011, Helicopter pilot Captain Gabriel Goaga provided his last training lesson in Banja Luka. What did he say about the training?

*“Good opportunity for me, as well as for the students I had, to improve the skills in AIRMEDEVAC. There were some obstacles we had to pass together in order to reach higher standards of training, but with the common efforts both from AF BiH Joint Staff and EUFOR, we have managed to accomplish the goals we established from the first beginning”.*

On 18th and 19th August 2011, Lt Col Jens Wittig from Operational Training Team and Major Marian Niculae from Training Planning Co-ordination Team attended this last training lesson.

They visited the Air Force Squadron in Banja Luka and participated as CBTD representatives in a meeting with Major Sinfet Kasumovic from BiH Air Force / Air Defense BDE.

The main points discussed, were the combined Field Training Exercise (FTX) which will certify the students who have attended the courses, and the training calendar for 2012 for which a mentoring Romanian MTT has been offered.

We look forward to having both pilots and medical personnel from AF BiH to save lives, and to take part in Peace Support Operations (PSO), NATO or EU operations and to see that they have all of the knowledge needed for interoperability between the actors involved.

**By Major Marian Niculae**

## CBRN Opening Ceremony

On the 5th September 2011, a combined Austrian and Polish Mobile Training Team (MTT) has launched the 3rd phase of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) training in Tuzla. On behalf of Chief of Capacity Building and Training Division (CBTD) military assistant Lt Col Milan Korbar attended the Opening ceremony which was held at Eagle Base in Tuzla, where a CBRN Company of Armed Forces of BiH (AFBiH) is located. During this ceremony the representative of TSB (Tactical Support Brigade) of AFBiH was also present.



Major Huskič from TSB wished the student's good luck with the course and hoped they would achieve positive results. The main aim of the course which is going to be finished on the 11th of November is to increase their knowledge of 9 participants of AF BiH in areas of CBRN reconnaissance and decontamination. All members successfully under-

went previous phases of training and they are eager again to do their best. Combined MTT is composed of five instructors, 2 officers and 3 NCO's. The MTT is a part of Capacity Building and Training Division (CBTD) located within EUFOR Headquarters, Camp Butmir in Sarajevo.

**By Major Radek Tomas**

## CIS Geographic Services GEO Information Producer Course Certificate Ceremony

EUFOR IAD GEO Cell in the form of a Mobile Training Team (MTT), successfully delivered a 5 day Advanced GEO Training Course to the members of Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (AFBiH). The MTT was composed of one officer (GEO Cell Chief) and two civilian technicians. MTT had close coordination with the Capacity Building and Training Division (CBTD) which is responsible for coordinating, mentoring, advising and assisting AFBiH in all training activities.



Rajlovac Barracks, in the Military Intelligence (MI) Battalion, 22-26 August 2011. The Certificate Award Ceremony took place on 26th August this was attended by Lt Col Van Essen from EUFOR CBTD, Lt Col Paszkowski from EUFOR IAD, Major Prijić from AFBiH J2 and Major Kablay from EUFOR CBTD. CBTD ETB Chief Lt Col Van Essen and IAD GEO Cell

Chief Lt Col Paszkowski thanked the instructors and congratulated the participants on their approach to the course, their eager willingness to learn and their efforts during the training course.

Advanced GEO Training Course consisted of Coordinate Systems /Transformations /Measuring, Reference Surfaces for Mapping, Map Projections, Geodetic Network, Vertical/Horizontal Datum, Terrain Features and Map Interpretation topics.

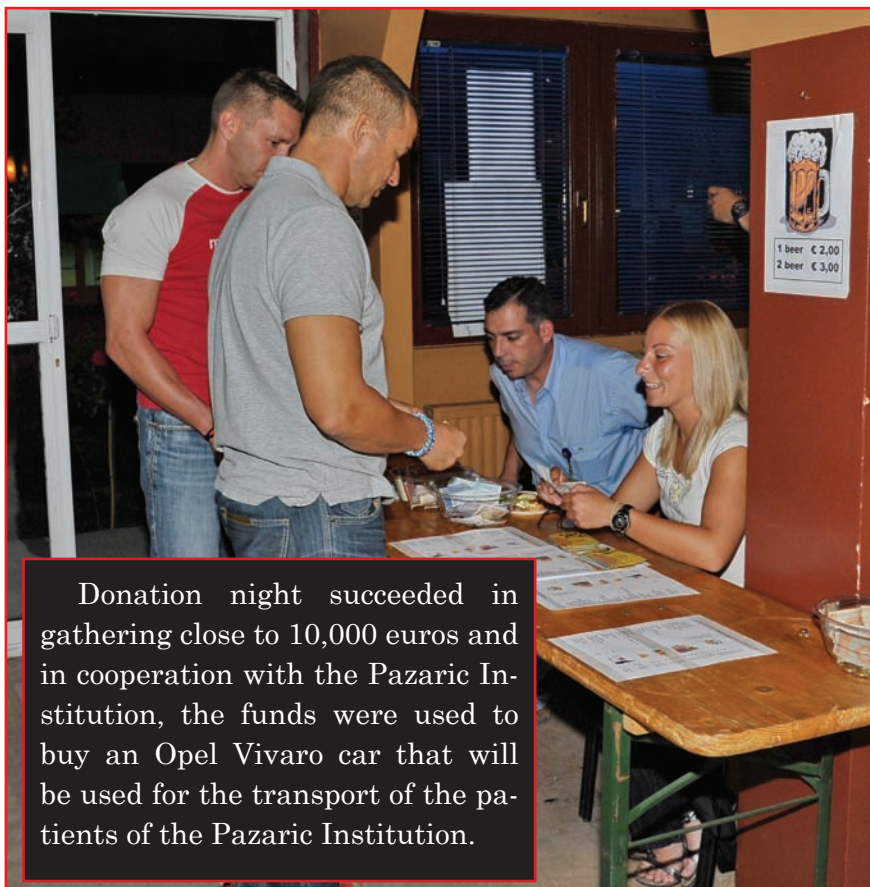
The course highlighted the continuing level of cooperation that exists between EUFOR and AFBiH.

**By Major Muhammet Kablay**

There were 11 participants (7 officers and 4 NCOs) that successfully completed the course at

## Fund raising party in Camp Butmir

# A Huge Success!



Donation night succeeded in gathering close to 10,000 euros and in cooperation with the Pazaric Institution, the funds were used to buy an Opel Vivaro car that will be used for the transport of the patients of the Pazaric Institution.

A group of volunteers from all ranks and nations in Camp Butmir decided to help the residents of the Pazaric Mental Institution, Sarajevo. In order to do this the volunteers organized a charity party at Butmir's Millennium Bar on 16th September 2011. The project was originally started in July 2011 by Staff Sergeant Tanja Spasenoska who put all her heart in this.

Pazaric Institution cares for approximately 400 patients with both mild and severe mental and physical disabilities ranging from 5 year old children to elderly people in excess of 80 years old. The institute is manned by a dedicated team of doctors, nurses and care workers. However most of the facilities and equipment are not up to western standards. The facility also receives



very limited funding hence the choice of this institute for charitable help.

**All expectations were surpassed**

A highly motivated team created the “Pazarić volunteers”, a concept of activities which took place during this event. Several competitions were organized,

such as penalty shoot out, air gun shooting and auctions of several art objects made by Pazarić residents and volunteers. Almost 250 (maybe more) visitors of all EUFOR and NATO contribution countries and several civilians enjoyed this overwhelming evening and donated close to 10,000 Euros for Pazarić Mental Institution.

Many thanks, to all of you who organized this wonderful event and a big thank you to all of you who attended the fund raising party. You did a great job and have contributed to charity event that will improve living conditions for Pazarić residents over the coming weeks and months.

**By Major Christian Deutinger**



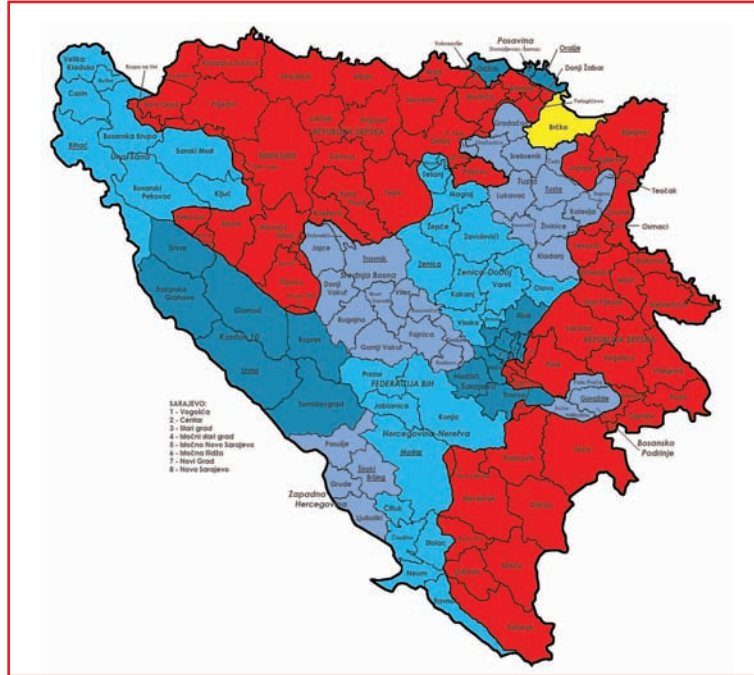
# Negotiating Division and Cooperation in Today's BiH

EUFOR Forum brings you the second part of the analysis about the current situation in BiH.

## “Counting Blood Cells”

Both transnational and sub-national structures and networks have been unable to overcome or to short-circuit the cumbersome decision-making processes within Bosnia. While there is widespread agreement that institutions in Bosnia which require consent across national lines have struggled to take decisions for years, the frequency of blockages increased since 2006 when Milorad Dodik came to power in the Republika Srpska for a second time and pursued a confrontational stance towards international actors and Bosniak parties.

The fact that neither the state nor the Federation have had a government for more than four months after the elections in October 2010 is indicative of the tense political environment. The reason for the political blockages can be easily attributed to, depending on the perspective, the President of the RS, Milorad Dodik, or Bosniak politicians insisting on further centralization of the state. The modest legislative record of the Bosnian parliament in recent years and the slow gov-



ernment formation, however, are not caused only by a particular politician, or particular elite.

Instead, it might be tempting to shift all the blame to the power-sharing arrangement established at Dayton. With its emphasis on ethnicity and strong linkages between ethnicity and territory, it seems to provide a recipe for confrontational ethnopolitics. Nevertheless, it is equally misleading to consider the entire political system as a source of the current crisis in Bosnian politics.

While it is true that just as there are populist politicians which thrive on the current impasse, there are also institutions with multiple veto points and excessive emphasis on ethnic representation, colloquially known in

Bosnia as “counting blood cells”, i.e. pre-determining peoples professional opportunities based on their ethnic belonging. In order to find out why Bosnia is struggling, we need to explore other causes.

## “Low Trust State”

As survey for UNDP in 2007 found Bosnia to be at the bottom of international leagues when it comes to social trust. Only 7.8% of surveyed citizens indicate that they trust others, considerably lower than other countries, including those in South Eastern Europe. This low level of trust transfers into low levels of trust in institutions and low levels of interest in politics, again significantly less than in any other country in the region. What is striking about the findings is that Bosnia is less characterized by low levels of trust between ethnic groups, or by particular groups towards some institutions - by Serbs towards the state for example - but by a generally low level of trust, not ethnically neutral, but preferences along ethnic lines are overshadowed by the general breakdown in trust.



International supervision since Dayton has often interfered into political decisions due to low trust in local political elites (often for good reason). The political discourse of elites has been based on the rhetoric of low trust: a key theme of Milorad Dodik's party SNSD over recent years has been the need to preserve the RS against threats from Bosniak parties and international pressure. The supposed threat and low trust in both parties from other ethnic groups and international actors were the core message. Similarly, Dodik recently rejected the introduction of a new article in the Bosnian constitution, known as the "Europe clause" which would allow for laws essential to EU integration to pass with fewer veto rights. Similarly, Croat parties have emphasized the need for a third entity to protect Croat interests from being marginalized. Finally, predominantly Bosniak parties emphasize their distrust toward the RS and the intentions of the non-Bosniak parties towards the state.

### Different Types of Distrust

The Bosnian system of government is thus characterized by the tension between the different types of distrust: the distrust by citizens, as captured by surveys, is based on the perception of corruption and abuse of office, as well as by the inability of the state (and sub-state units) to deliver services citizens expect, such as health care, social

protection and employment. The low levels of trust along ethnic lines, as promoted by most political parties, on the other hand reinforces ineffective institutions and legitimizes the (ab)use of office to further a particular mono-ethnic agenda, often in conjunction with party and individual interests.

The two different sources of low trust in Bosnia thus are seemingly disconnected, yet mutually reinforcing. This has made institutional change and the emergence of new elites more difficult in Bosnia than in neighboring countries.

What does this experience tell us about post-conflict institutions and international intervention? First, if the institutions have as many veto points as in Bosnia (a law proposed by government can be blocked in at least four different ways by both entities and "constituent people" before being passed), the risks of blockages increases and the state fails to deliver, further undermining the legitimacy of the state; Second, if the state lacks incentives for cooperation and instead constantly has to compete with national 'spheres' or sub-state units which can govern in the absence of multi-ethnic decision making, the prospects for elites finding an interest in making institutions work decreases; Third, without islands of 'success', where the state can generate trust and legitimacy, the underperformance of the state only helps to legitimize alterna-

tive state projects; Fourth, while political contestation might often have ethnic overtones, social concerns are shaped by fear, distrust and low levels of social cohesion, with limited ethnic dimensions. In brief, the causes for ethnic politics might not be found in ethnicity, but in other dimensions of alienation and exclusion.

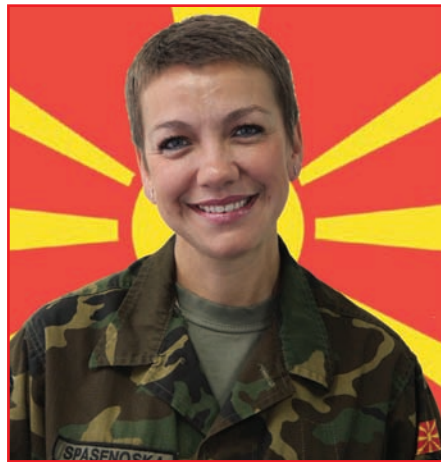
### About the author



Florian Bieber is a political scientist working on inter-ethnic relations, ethnic conflict and nationalism, focusing on Southeastern Europe. He is a Professor in South East European Studies at the Center for South East European Studies of the University of Graz. Previously, he was a Lecturer in East European Politics at the Department of Politics and International Relations of the University of Kent, Canterbury, UK. From January to May 2009, he held the Luigi Einaudi Chair at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York and in Spring 2010, he was a visiting fellow at LSEE – Research on South Eastern Europe at the London School of Economics. He is the editor in chief of Nationalities Papers.

Staff Sergeant Tanja Spasenoska is EUFOR's Soldier in the Spotlight for this month. Tanja has been here at Camp Butmir since 2nd May and is scheduled to re-deploy in early November. Since that time she has certainly left her mark on the community both in Camp Butmir and in the local community. Tanja has enough energy to light the sun and she has used all of that energy to help those with whom she comes in contact.

Tanja's position here at Camp Butmir is a medical technician at the HQ EUFOR Medical Cell. In that capacity she helps all EUFOR and NATO soldiers who come in for preventive medicine, injuries and illnesses. She received her training in Skopje in the Civilian High Medical School and Military Academy. Since that time she has been working in her national Ministry of Defense. Her total service is 20 years and she



Staff Sergeant Tanja Spasenoska

was chosen for this assignment through a rigorous selection process. In addition to her duties, she is married to a supportive husband and is the mother of two young children, a son and a daughter, who keep her occupied with their basketball and ballet practices and rehearsals.

Presently Tanja is completing her efforts with a hugely successful fundraising event that she masterminded and with the help of legions executed magnificent. Tanja was introduced

to the Institute for Taking Care of Mentally Disabled Children and Youth Pazaric by an Irish colleague in the medical arena, Cpl Darren McDade. As he was planning to re-deploy to Ireland he worried that no one would continue his visits to the Institution. Tanja immediately took up the mantle and embraced Pazaric as her own mission. She has introduced countless EUFOR and NATO soldiers to the residents and facility in many visits and raised close to 10,000 Euro in her September 16th Fund Raising effort. Her plan is to help the institution purchase badly needed equipment to help improve the lives of the Pazaric residents. In addition to her duties at the medical cell, her many visits to Pazaric and her fundraising efforts, she is a superb salsa dancer and an avid participant in the International Gym's circuit training.

By Lt Col Moira Carpenter, NHQSa

## Flags of EUFOR

### Albania Flag Meaning

The eagle is taken from an Albanian folk tale. The eagle faithfully watches over and guides the king or the "son of the eagle."

### Albania Flag History

The current version of the Albania flag was adopted on April 7th 1992. The coat of arms was adopted May 22nd, 1993. Some modern versions of the Albania flag have a helmet or star above the eagle. A version of the Albanian flag with a red star and a yellow border dates back to the Communist take-over in 1946 and has recently been removed. The eagle dates back to George Castriota, an Albanian Christian who became a Turkish general in the



15th century under the name of Iskander Bey, or Skanderberg. Castriota used the double-headed eagle on his seals and this has led it to being on the modern flag. Albania declared independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1912. All versions of the Albanian flag since then have featured an

eagle, even during the Italian occupation of World War II, and its communist regime after the war. Albania became a republic again in 1992.

### Interesting Albania Flag Facts

The nickname of the Albania flag is 'flamur e Skenderbeut' (Skanderbeg's flag).

## Diving in Mostar – Brave or Crazy?

On recent visit to Mostar I was lucky to be on the famous Stari Most (Old Bridge) when a local man dived off the edge into the river below. Having witnessed this spectacle first hand I was intrigued to find out why he had done it – was it a dare, was he having fun or was he just crazy? On return to Camp Butmir I spoke to one of local colleagues and they informed of the history of this activity. Diving from the bridge has been a local tradition and goes back as far as 1664 and is done by local men to demonstrate their skill and bravery. In 1968 an official diving competition was organised which still happens every year in July.

If you are thinking you are brave enough to attempt this feat – it is not advisable as the dive is 24 metres and the river is ice cold even in the summer – therefore this is an extremely hazardous activity that only trained divers should attempt. So in conclusion are the divers brave or crazy? – I think a little bit of both but I'm sure the Euros they collect from the tourists compensates for all of this!!

Don't forget if you have seen anything interesting on your travels in BiH let us know all about it.

**By Lt Cdr Stuart Cantellow**



## Pets of EUFOR – Poppy the Hungarian Vizsla

High everybody my name is Poppy and I am a Hungarian Vizsla, some of you may have seen a picture of me in my Daddies office and wondered what type of dog I am.

Hungarian Vizsla's are a very old breed of dog – in fact the first reference to my ancestors was in 1357. Aside from being a very important member of my family I am pointer-retriever dog – this means



I point out the location of game and retrieve it after it has been shot. I am a very active dog and love being outside running about in fields and swimming in rivers and lakes.

However I do like cuddling up in the evening with my family on the sofa.

I would love to hear about other pets in EUFOR – please let the Press Office know!!

**Poppy**

ČAS O OPASNOSTIMA OD MINA

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ZA SIGURNIJU BIH

