

2005

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Recommended Citation

Ingram, Lauren (2005) "Human Rights and Post-War Reconstruction: Neotrusteeship in Bosnia," *Human Rights & Human Welfare*: Vol. 5 : Iss. 1 , Article 36.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/hrhw/vol5/iss1/36>

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Neotrusteeship in Bosnia

by Lauren Ingram

The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea--something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to... (Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness).

The conflict in Bosnia resulted in 4.3 million displaced people, 250,000 estimated casualties, and more than 200,000 wounded including 50,000 children. (Cousens and Carter 25). In 1995, these facts became known to the world when the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), NATO, and the United States were able to reach a peace agreement with warring factions. As in World War II, Bosnian-Serbians, Bosnian-Croatians, Croatians, Muslim were active combatants. However, unlike World War II, no single governing authority emerged. Instead, the U.N., with key U.S. involvement, had to institute not only peace but also an administration that could uphold that peace. The Dayton Peace Accords insisted that all parties in Bosnia respect the two separate regions Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska created by the accords, the full support of human rights for all citizens, and the reinstatement of all refugees to their pre-war residence.

A large number of international bodies exerted their authority to help Bosnians reach these accords. NATO's multinational Implementation Force (IFOR) took over policing and security, while the World Bank took over economic reconstruction. There was no single body to protect civil and cultural rights. Instead, a large number of U.N. bodies and NGOs undertook the areas of human rights, assisting refugees, and preserving national monuments.

Challenges

2000. "Crime and corruption threaten successful implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement." United States Embassy in Italy. http://www.usembassy.it/file2000_07/alia/a0071906.htm.

Report given to U.S. officials explaining that continued support for Bosnia-Herzegovina will be needed. Local parties have not successfully rid the area of corruption especially concerning law enforcement and administering justice.

Mark Baskin. "Between Exit and Engagement: On the Division of Authority in Transitional Administrations." 10(1): 119.

Baskin reviews the dilemma the U.N. transitional government in Bosnia when attempting to establish stability and local actors' abilities to assume authority.

David Chandler. "Anti-Corruption Strategies and Democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina." 9(2): 101.

Abstract: Examines the relationship between anti-corruption initiatives and democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Role of corruption in preventing democratization; Details of the anti-corruption strategies in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Analysis of the effectiveness of the initiatives in meeting democratization goals.

United States of America General Accounting Office. 1999. Bosnia Peace Operation: Pace Of Implementing Dayton Accelerated As International Involvement Increased. 160771. U.S. GAO. January 8, 1998.

An updated report given to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by request. It provides an update on the progress made in achieving the four key Dayton objectives: providing adequate security, creating a unified democratic state that adheres to human rights, rebuilding the economy, and supporting the return to refugees.

Harold J. Johnson. 2000. Bosnia: crime and corruption threaten successful implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement: statement of Harold J. Johnson, Associate Director, International Relations and Trade Issues, National Security and International Affairs Division, before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives. [Washington, D.C.]: U.S. General Accounting Office.

Explores the impact corruption has had on the success of the Dayton Accords. Although international actors has put forth efforts to curb corruption and the financial support of private armies, there has been limited support by local leaders and favorable outcomes.

Harold J. Johnson. 1997. Bosnia peace operation: progress toward the Dayton Agreement's goals -- an update: statement of Harold J. Johnson, Associate Director, International Relations and Trade Issues, National Security and International Affairs Division, before the Subcommittee on European Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office of the United States.

Johnson reports that while political and economic institutions have stabilized, grave matters of refugee human rights, the trial of war criminals, and democratization have yet to be addressed in Bosnia.

Julie Kim. 1998. Bosnia civil implementation of the peace agreement. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Library of Congress.
<http://countingcalifornia.cdlib.org/crs/ascii/96-177>.

This report is a summary of the advancements and challenges multilateral actors have and need to accomplish after the Dayton Accords were signed only two years earlier.

Lois McHugh. 1996. Bosnia-Former Yugoslavia refugee repatriation and humanitarian assistance under the peace agreement. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Library of Congress.

This article argues that a disconnect that has occurred between implementing the military forces to bring about adequate security and civil rest especially when addressing the issue of refugees.

Steven M. Riskin. 1999. Three dimensions of peacebuilding in Bosnia: findings from U.S. IP-sponsored research and field projects. Washington D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS5405>.

Excellent and extended report on the difficulty Bosnia-Herzegovina has had in peaceful stabilization. Explores foreign aid, human rights, and reconciliation.

Daniel Paul Serwer. 1996. Bosnia, peace by piece. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies.
http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/SF_81/forum81.html.

Serwer predicts what difficulties outside powers will confront in bring about stability before the Dayton Accords are even about to take hold.

Military Aspects

1996. "Bosnia civil implementation of the peace agreement." CRS report for Congress. [Washington, D.C.]: Congressional Research Service Library of Congress.
<http://countingcalifornia.cdlib.org/crs/ascii/96-177>.

This report extrapolates on the objectives of the U.N. Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilization Force (SFOR) after the Dayton Accords and their various roles: building functioning governmental institutions, furthering democratization and the protection of human rights, reforming the police, encouraging economic growth, and fostering the return of refugees.

1999. Bosnia Peace Operation: Mission, Structure, And Transition Strategy Of NATO's Stabilization Force. 161245. U.S. GAO. October 8, 1998. <http://www.fas.org/man/gao/nsiad-99-019.htm>.

Andrew Bair. 1995. "Which end game in Bosnia." Institute for National Strategic Studies. Washington D.C. http://www.ndu.edu/inss/strforum/SF_16/forum16.html.

1995 report that details the conflict of opinions surround airstrikes and embargoes between the various nations that have troops involved in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Steven Bowman, Julie Kim, and Steven Woehrel. 1998. "Bosnia Stabilization Force (SFOR) and U.S. Policy." Central and Eastern Europe in Transition. Frank H. Columbus, ed. Commack, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers.

Bill Clinton. 1994. Efforts to achieve peace and security in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Washington, D.C. United States General Publishing Office.

Letter from President Clinton explaining actions taking to retrieve weapons stolen by rebel forces. Interesting insight into the workings of U.S. pre sense and UNPROFOR.

Bill Clinton. 1994. No-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina: communication from the President of the United States transmitting further information on the deployment of United States combat-equipped aircraft to support NATO's enforcement of the no-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Washington: U.S. G.P.O.

Douglas V. Johnson; Peter G. Dausen; Curtis M. Scaparrotti; Michael J. Jones; Jeffery W. Hammond; James D. Sharpe; Thomas M. Dockens; William T. Bester; Sherrie L. Balko and Army War College (U.S.). Strategic Studies Institute. 1999. *Warriors in peace operations*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute U.S. Army War College: May be obtained from the Publications and Production Office. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS12144>.

Abstract: Students in the U.S. AWC War College Class of 1998 wrote a unique group of monographs focused on operations in Bosnia. This compendium is comprised of a set of those monographs covering experiences by branch, thus presenting a fairly comprehensive overview of the deployments of U.S. forces in support of the Dayton Accords.

Kari Osland. "The EU police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 11(3): 544.

Abstract: The main problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is its legacy from the war. The European Security Strategy (ESS) builds on the assumption that different instruments are needed in order to contribute to the state-building process where the aim is a democratic and accountable state with legitimate control over its executive power. This article argues that if the EU is to be judged successful in Bosnia, it must put a halt to such activities as organized crime and corruption, as these are counterproductive to democracy. If these challenges are not properly addressed, it will have serious consequences not only for BiH and Europe but also for the further development of the European Security and Defence Policy, and hence also for the premises of the ESS.

United States. Congress. House. Committee on Rules. 1995. Providing for debate and consideration of three measures relating to U.S. troop deployments in Bosnia: report (to accompany H. Res. 304). Washington, D.C.: United States General Publishing Office.

United States. General Accounting Office. 1998. Bosnia peace operation mission, structure, and transition strategy of NATO's Stabilization Force: report to the chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Washington, D.C.: The Office.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS16705>.

This report explores the advancements of the Dayton Accords since mid-1997: the Security Forces were established (SFOR), Multinational Specialized Unit forming inside SFOR, refugees have greater support returning to pre-war communities, and improved ability to tackle violence and arms trade. While improvements have been made, forces are still necessary.

United States. President (1993-2001: Clinton). 1997. Follow-up report on the deployment of United States Armed Forces to Bosnia and other states in the region communication from the President of the United States. support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-led Implementation Force (IFOR)--recieved in the United States House of Representatives, December 20, 1996.
Washington: U.S. G.P.O. Y 1.1/7:105-2.1

Robert A. Wisher, Mark A. Sabol, and Hal R. Ozkaptan. 1996. "Retention of "peace support operations," tasks during Bosnia deployment a basis for refresher training." [Alexandria, VA]: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences. Shipping list no.: 98-0259-M. D 101.60/6:b 65.

Role of the World Bank

2000. Bosnia and Herzegovina: post-conflict reconstruction. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank. Bosnia and Herzegovina - Urban Infrastructure and Services Delivery Project, Vol. 1 of 1. Click [here](#) for more information and to access the document.

Abstract: The objectives of the Urban Infrastructure and Services Delivery Project are threefold: a) improve the availability, quality, and reliability of basic municipal services, in particular, water supply and sanitation; b) strengthen the ability of cantonal, and municipal governments to improve management, and institutional capacity for infrastructure development through Urban Management Development Plans, and, c) as possible, foster deeper social cohesion, through improvements in living conditions. Project components aim at: 1) supporting financial management, and training to strengthen, and build institutional capacity; drafting annual business plans for each utility; training for the preparation of Urban Management Development Plans. A study on the institutional capacity and Government's role will focus on appropriate capacity building; 2) financing the preparation of Urban Management Development Plans in selected areas, to identify priorities, improving operations and maintenance, and maximizing investment benefits.

World Bank. 1997. Bosnia and Herzegovina: from recovery to sustainable growth. Click [here](#) for more information and to access the document.

Abstract: This report looked at the near-term reform issues that were essential to generating employment and providing a firm institutional and policy foundation for reconstruction and sustained economic growth. Key areas of focus included policies and expenditure reforms, including institutions for macroeconomic management, bank and enterprise privatization, and pensions and the social safety net.

World Bank. 2000. MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS ON A COUNTRY ASSISTANCE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD BANK GROUP FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. Click [here](#) for more information, and to access the document.

Recent report on the World Bank's objective to foster greater private sector growth, social stability, governance and private sector management, as well as completion of reconstruction.

Alcira Kreimer. 1998. The World Bank's experience with post-conflict reconstruction.

<http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2002/wb-postconflict-jun98.pdf>.

Examines the role of the World Bank in post-conflict areas. Particular focus is given to improve partnerships with other international actors, roles in rebuilding governments and economies, and assessments of past actions in various case studies, including Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Role of NGOs

Amnesty International. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: 'Who's Living in My House?' Obstacles to a Safe Return of Refugees and Internally Displaced People."

<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGEUR630011997?open&of=ENG-SVN>.

Analyzes the ability of refugees and internally displaced people--especially Muslims--to return to their pre-war homes. Attention is given to the prevention of refugee return and what international actors, such as U.N. police force, are doing to address this issue.

Amnesty International. 1998. Bosnia-Herzegovina, all the way home: safe "minority returns" as a just remedy and for a secure future. New York, N.Y.: Amnesty International U.S.A.
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGEUR630021998?open&of=ENG-390>.

This article reports on the return of refugees in the Dayton Accords and how this policy is not being fully realized. Makes recommendations for the governing bodies to bring about further implementation of the return of refugees and international displaced people.

Branka Peuraca. 2003. Can faith-based NGOs advance interfaith reconciliation? The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace.
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS34340>.

This article explores the success faith-based NGOs have had in bringing about peaceful reconciliation between community members in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Laura Pitter. 2001. Bosnia and Herzegovina: Human Rights developments.
<http://www.hrw.org/wr2k1/europe/bosnia.html>.

An update on the advancements made in human rights up to 2000. One significant report is focused on the increasing return of refugees in the year 2000.

International Helsinki Federation on Human Rights. 1999. ANNUAL REPORT 1999 Bosnia - Herzegovina. http://www.ihf-hr.org/viewbinary/viewhtml.php?doc_id=3516.

Three years after the signing of the Dayton Accord this report explores the lack of commitment that local actors have had in bringing about greater civil human rights.

Human Rights Watch. 2002. Bosnia and Herzegovina: hopes betrayed: trafficking of women and girls to post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for forced prostitution.
<https://www.humanrightswatch.org/reports/2002/bosnia/>.

From 1992 through 1995, thousands of women and girls suffered rape and other forms of sexual violence during the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including abuse in rape camps and detention centers scattered throughout the country. With the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in December 1995, violence against women and girls in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not cease. In an investigation from 1999 through 2001, Human Rights Watch uncovered conclusive evidence of widespread trafficking of women and girls into the sex industry throughout both Bosnian entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska.