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**HOW WILL THE BOSNIAKS, SERBS AND CROATS RESPOND TO EU  
WITHDRAWAL FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA?**

**ANALYTIC METHODS**

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**DR. JONATHAN S. LOCKWOOD**

**BY**

**LAUREN E. WAKEFIELD**

**COLUMBIA, MARYLAND**

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## **SERBIAN, CROATIAN, AND MUSLIM RESPONSES TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF EUROPEAN FORCES FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

### **Overview**

Bosnia-Herzegovina is experiencing a reemergence of the ethnic politics that has been prevalent in the region for over thousands of years. Since 1995 when western democracies stepped in and exerted their influence over the region and pressured these warring ethnicities to sign the Dayton Accords Peace Agreement, there has been a continuing effort to remove these western influences. Fourteen years later with NATO and U.S. actors removed and the European Union on the brink of withdrawing the last of two thousand forces from the Balkan region, Bosnia-Herzegovina is experiencing a period of stagnation and the threat of falling back into their old nationalistic rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> This paper analyzes the plight of the three warring ethnicities in the Balkan area and their possible responses to a complete withdrawal of western influences from the Balkan region. Through use of the Lockwood Analytical Method of Prediction this paper will attempt to predict the possible responses of the Serbians, Croatians and Bosniaks in response to complete withdrawal of the democratic forces that have been present in the region for over fifteen years.

There has been much controversy in the last few months surrounding the removal of the last of the European Union forces from the Balkan region. The European Union currently has approximately two thousand troops remaining in the area tasked with

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<sup>1</sup>Lippman, David. "To the Detriment of Its Citizens, Bosnia's Politicians Continue to Play Nationalist Cards." *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, no. 28 (2009): 1-2.

peacekeeping and aiding in the electoral process in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>2</sup> Over the last fifteen years, the United States, NATO and the EU have been responsible for ensuring peace and stability in the Balkan region and assisting many of the Serbs, Croats and Muslims in returning to their homes unharmed. The concern in Bosnia-Herzegovina is that with the final removal of all outside influences at a time when nationalistic ideals seem to be reemerging there is a high probability for the area to once again become susceptible to ethnic conflict.

In order to correctly analyze how each ethnicity may react to the withdrawal of the European Union it is imperative to know where these ethnic groups diverge. These ethnic groups quarrel in their struggle for nationalistic identities. Many would claim that what occurred in the Balkan region was about ethnic hatred or religious divergence, but the war in the Balkans emerged from a struggle for land. In their struggle for nationalistic identities these groups used ethnicity as a means to establish nationality.<sup>3</sup> The Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats each wanted territory that they could assert their influence over, the way they chose to do this was criminal and inhumane but their plight was no different than any other group who sought its autonomy through physical boundaries.

In his visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina in May 2009, Vice President Biden warned leaders in the Balkan region to put aside their nationalistic ideals, to support the democratic peace process, and to work towards accession into the EU and NATO.<sup>4</sup> The United States along with other developed nations have been forced to prioritize their

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<sup>2</sup> Kim, Julie. "Bosnia: Overview of Current Issues." *Congressional Research Service*, (2008): 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Woodard, Susan. *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Binder, David, Steven Meyer, and Obrad Kesic. "U.S. Policy and Bosnia-Herzegovina: An Assessment." *USIPeace Briefing*. (2009): 1-2.

obligations due to the continuing threat of terrorism and the downturn in the economy. Between 1991 and 2004, the United States has spent over thirteen billion dollars in Bosnia mainly to support military peacekeeping in the region.<sup>5</sup> Now that the fighting has ceased and the EU has taken over much of the peacekeeping mission, the United States has devoted many of those resources to troops in the Middle East and economic reform within its own borders. This does not mean that the United States does not have a viable interest in following through with the process of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although the United States has set other priorities, there is an overwhelming need to support democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### **Background on the Balkan Region**

In order to fully understand the current situation in the Balkan region it is necessary to have a general understanding of the history of ethnic conflict in the Balkan region. This ethnic tension present in the Balkan can be traced back to the days of the Roman Empire when the major civilizations- Western, Orthodox and Islamic-came together in this region. The territory known as Yugoslavia was constructed out of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires by the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920 as the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.<sup>6</sup> There were six states all based on ethnicity: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. After much opposition a Serb (Alexander) was made king. In 1928 when the leader of the Croatian

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<sup>5</sup> Woehrel, Steven. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: Issues for U.S. Policy." *Congressional Research Service*, no. RL32392(2005): 1-13.

<sup>6</sup> Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia: A Short History*. Washington Square: New York University Press, 1994.

assembly was assassinated King Alexander suspended the Constitution and gave the country a new name: Yugoslavia. King Alexander ruled there until his own assassination in 1934.<sup>7</sup>

In 1941 the Regency, who came to power after the assassination of King Alexander in 1934, signed a pact with Nazi Germany. The Regency was overthrown by King Peter II, but soon after the Nazi's invaded Yugoslavia and occupied the country until 1945. During the years that Nazi Germany occupied Yugoslavia, two guerilla forces waged war on one another and Nazi Germany- the Chetniks and the Partisans. What followed was a massive onslaught of brutal ethnic cleansing. The Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Albanians committed mass atrocities towards the Slavs and Jews. Some of the more brutal attacks were committed by Croatia's neo-Nazi Ustashe, led by Ante Pavelic who killed or deported non-Croatians especially Serbs and Jews.

After the ethnic cleansing subsided and the war ended Communist leader, Josip Broz (Tito), won the elections held in 1945 and established the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. In 1948 Tito broke away from Stalin, but the situation in Yugoslavia remained dire. With a lack of a concrete electoral democracy, a failing democracy and regions separated by ethnic boundaries it was only a matter of time before war became inevitable. Tito ruled Yugoslavia until his death in 1980 after which the territory that had survived for the most part on the loans and aid from Western nations, met another challenge: Slobadan Milosevic.

Slobadan Milosevic was visiting Kosovo in 1987 as head of the Communist Party soon became the champion of Serbian rights in Yugoslavia. Milosevic rose to the top in

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<sup>7</sup> Murphey, Dwight. "The Post Cold-War American Intervention into Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, no. 25 (2000): 489-510.

Yugoslavia and soon became the leader of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). As many of the republics established in Yugoslavia became involved in conflict, Slovenia was able to gain independence. Franco Tudjman gained power in Croatia and soon became the leader and supporter for the Croats. The Croats considered Bosnia-Herzegovina to be part of Croatia and the Muslims present in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be Croats who had allowed themselves to become Islamicized. Milosevic dispatched troops to Croatia in order to render aid to those Serbs who found themselves to be surrounded by Croats. This became a tactic of Milosevic in his program of ethnic cleansing that aimed to eliminate all those not of Serbian ethnicity. Serbs forcefully entered Croat territory and not only committed mass atrocities but also destroyed over five hundred monuments and historical buildings and more than three hundred seventy museums, libraries and archives. Soon both Serbian and Croatian forces targeted mosques in Bosnia-Herzegovina and what began as a fight between two ethnicities soon included the Bosnian Muslims. But the international community recognized the wrongdoing of Milosevic and the Serbian forces and soon the tide began to turn in favor of the Croats.

Radovan Karadzic soon emerged and began to champion the rights of the Bosnians and to establish a Bosnian Republic. An election in 1992 voted to give Bosnia-Herzegovina its independence from Yugoslavia and in 1992 shortly after the election which gave Bosnia-Herzegovina its independence, Karadzic began shelling the city of Sarajevo and the war in Bosnia commenced. The war in the Balkans raged from 1991 until U.S. intervention in 1995. In 1995 startled by the ethnic cleansing and mass atrocities committed by the Serbian forced the United States intervened in support of the Croats and thus began the shift toward Croatian victories.

The United States had supported UN operation in the form of a naval blockade and the enforcement of no-fly zones from the beginnings of the war and soon began a program that dropped supplies and set up safe havens for Bosnian Muslims as early as 1993. In 1995, due to outside intervention the war was brought to an end with the signing of the Dayton Accord. The United States withdrew after the end of the war while the UN remained for two years before turning over the responsibility of peacekeeping in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the European Union.

### **Currently in Bosnia-Herzegovina-**

Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence from Yugoslavia on March 3, 1992. After three years of ethnic conflict between the Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, Bosnia-Herzegovina signed the Dayton Peace Accords on November 21, 1995.<sup>8</sup> The Dayton Peace Accords allowed Bosnia-Herzegovina to retain its national boundaries and created a new multi-ethnic democratic government that was responsible for carrying out foreign, diplomatic and economic policy. There was also a second tier of government created that included two entities relatively equal in size: the Bosniak/Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb Republika Srpska (RS). These two entities were charged with carrying out most government functions. The Office of High Representative (OHR) was put in place to oversee the civilian aspects of the agreement. Since the signing of the Dayton Accords, many nations who have an interest in the establishment of a working democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina have offered assistance in the form of military and rehabilitative support. NATO contributed by sending sixty

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<sup>8</sup> CIA World Factbook. (2009). <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/BK.html>.

thousand troops into the area in 1995 in order to monitor the aspects of the agreement and the EU followed suite and sent seven thousand troops into the area in order to take over the responsibilities of NATO troops. Currently there are two thousand EU troops in the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina whose greatest responsibility has become civil policing.

### **Politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina-**

The three prominent leaders in Bosnia-Herzegovina are currently consumed in a heated battle over constitutional reforms that should be put into place in order to move ahead with the accession into the European Union.<sup>9</sup> What looked like cooperation among the Office of High Representative leader Valentin Inzko, Milorad Dodik (Serb leader and leader of the Republika Srpska), Dragan Covic (Croat leader and leader in the Federation) and Sulejman Tihic (Bosniak leader and leader of the Federation) quickly turned into a heated debate over the authority of the Office of High Representative. After the OHR failed to reprimand Serb leadership for violations of the country's constitution and violations of the OHR's authority, Tihic has pledged not to attend any more meetings and subsequently was absent from the planned meeting on Friday June 26th.<sup>10</sup>

The OHR and the Peace Implementation Council (PIC), which oversees the actions of the OHR, are continually subjected to attacks from the Government of the Republika Srpska against State institutions, competencies and laws. Serbian leader, Dodik, makes no apologies for his assertions and has made repeated claims suggesting that his intention is to ensure Republika Srpska is able to secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina and eventually become part of Serbia. In February of 2009, the

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<sup>9</sup> "Bosnia and Herzegovina politics: A tearing sound." EIU ViewsWire April 3, 2009, <http://www.proquest.com.ezproxy1.apus.edu/> (accessed June 20, 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Latal, Srecko. "Bosnia's Political Talks Hit Wall." Sarajevo. June 26, 2009.



Government of Republika Srpska bypassed state institutions and sent a letter to the Security Council stating that:

“There is no legal basis for the continued exercise of these peremptory powers; moreover their use has violated the Bosnia and Herzegovina Constitution, the Dayton Accords, other international treaties, and the general principles of international law”<sup>11</sup>

The inability of leaders to work together limits the ability of Bosnia-Herzegovina to achieve the necessary reforms required to join the EU. With talks of EU withdrawal from the Balkan region, there is a good probability that this area may once again find itself engaged in a nationalistic battle.

### **1. Determine the Predictive Issue**

**How will the Serbs, Croats and Muslims respond to the final withdrawal of western influences from Bosnia-Herzegovina?**

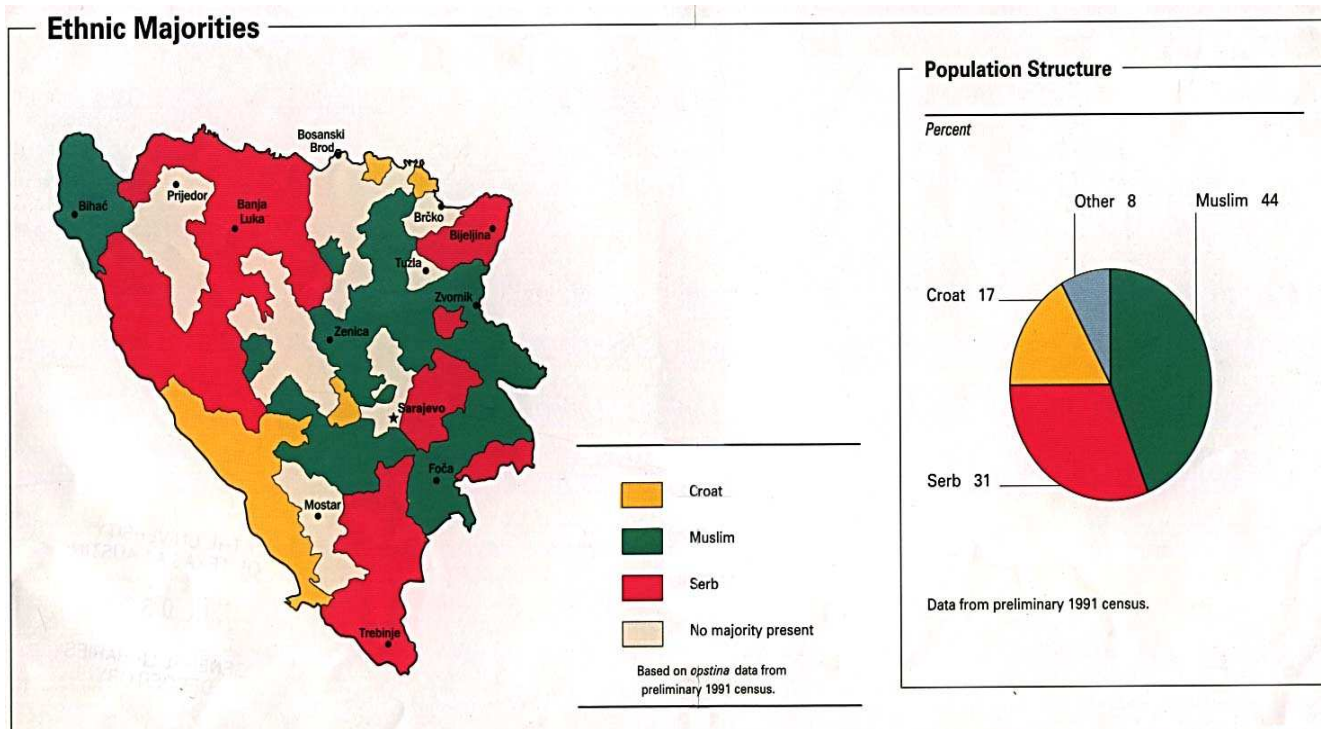
### **2. Specify the Actors Affected by the Removal of Western Influence?**

The removal of the European Union from the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina will have a dramatic affect on the ethnicities present in the region. The Balkan war not only “cleansed” the region of many ethnicities, but it also made Bosnia-Herzegovina the home to many refugees and displaced persons alike. Today, Bosnia-Herzegovina has a population made up of 48% Bosniak, 37.1% Serbian and 14.3% Croatian. The map

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<sup>11</sup> Inzko, Valentin. “Thirty-fifth Report of the High Representative for Bosnia.” 13 May 2009.

below indicates the distribution of the three different ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>12</sup>



**3. Conduct an In-depth Analysis of the Actors Involved and their Perceptions about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.**

**Bosniaks-**

The Bosniaks make up forty-four percent of the population of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The area known as Bosnia-Herzegovina was originally ruled by the Roman Empire and later by the Slavs who began to settle their in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The kingdoms of Serbia and Croatia split Bosnia in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and it was later ruled by

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/bosnia/ethnic\\_majoities\\_bosnia.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/bosnia/ethnic_majoities_bosnia.jpg)

the Kingdom of Hungary until it received its independence in 1200. During this time Bosnia was at the height of its power, however there was internal dissidence between the Catholics, Orthodox, and the Bogomils. This internal conflict weakened Bosnia and it fell under control of the Ottoman Empire at which time many Bosnians converted to Islam. In 1878 Bosnia came under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Understanding the complex history of Bosnia and its many rulers, paints the portrait of a state that became home to so many differing ethnicities.<sup>13</sup>

Before the conflict began in the Balkans in 1991, the area known as Bosnia-Herzegovina had become the only truly multi-ethnic society in the Middle East taking on the characteristics inherent in what Americans might call the “melting pot.” Due to the large number of mixed ethnic identities, Bosnia-Herzegovina took on the ideals of the multi-cultural society present in the United States. In his book, *Slaughterhouse*, Rieff argues:

“We did not think that what was going on was a tragedy- all wars were tragic-but the values that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina exemplified were worth preserving. Those ideals, of a society committed to multi-culturalism and tolerance, and of an understanding of national identity, were precisely the ones which we in the west so assiduously proclaim”<sup>14</sup>

Given their long history of multi-culturalism, Bosniaks have become indifferent to ethnic and national boundaries. They created a society where Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs lived and worked together in peace, however this multi-culturalism that should have strengthened Bosnia-Herzegovina became its downfall as nationalistic identities made

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<sup>13</sup> [http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/yugoslavia\\_ethnicities.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/yugoslavia_ethnicities.htm)

<sup>14</sup> Rieff, David. *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

claims to their lands. The war that started in the Balkan region in 1991 was an attempt by the Serbs to eliminate the Bosniaks in Bosnia-Herzegovina and make claims to their land.

### **Serbs-**

The Serbs originally settled in southern Yugoslavia in 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Serbia reached the height of its territorial expansion under Stefan Dusan who expanded Serbia's boundaries from present day Belgrade to central Greece. The Serbs have a long history of battling the Turks. In the Battle of Kosovo Polje the Serbs were defeated by the Turks and this began the oppression and degradation of the Serbian people. Turkish rule was damaging to Serbia primarily because the Turks cut off Serbian contact with the West during the Renaissance. The Turks were also known to institute brutal policing and drafting of young boys into the Sultan's army. This Turk oppression caused many Serbs to flee to Dalmatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Croatia and southern Hungary. The population in Bosnia-Herzegovina is comprised of thirty-seven percent Serb nationals.

The Serb population is important to our analysis of the effect EU withdrawal will have on Bosnia-Herzegovina because there has been an unwillingness on the part of the Serbs and their leader Dodik to accept and follow the institutions put in place by western democracies. Dodik has argued to the invalidity of the Dayton Accords and the OHR and also voiced an interest in the succession of the Republika Srpska from Bosnia-Herzegovina. With a large percent of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina aligning with the Serb party, there is a strong possibility for this party to once again incite violence and to exert their influence over the land known as Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## **Croats-**

The Croats are considered one of the smallest ethnicities present in Yugoslavia. Today Bosnia-Herzegovina is home to over seven thousand Croatian refugees due to the war in the Balkans.<sup>15</sup> The majority of Croats can still be found in Croatia which lies along the northern border of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croats moved into the region during the 7<sup>th</sup> century and accepted Christianity as their form of religion in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Throughout history Croatia has become known for its interest in creating and maintaining its own autonomy. As early as 1848, Jelacic became involved in a war against the Hungarian revolutionaries on behalf of the Hapsburgs hoping to improve Croatia's situation in the Austrian Empire. In 1867, the Dual Compromise was settled between Hungary and Austria that created the Austro-Hungarian Empire. While other states in the former Yugoslavia were governed by the Ottoman Empire, Croatia was governed by the Austrian Empire and experienced the Enlightenment and the 19<sup>th</sup> century liberal nationalism.

The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina have a strong interest in maintaining a democratic style of government in the region. Being the smallest ethnicity in the area, they are less likely to be able to defend themselves in the event of an outbreak of civil war or to be represented in any style of government that is undemocratic. As seen in the Balkan war between 1992 and 1995, Croats were also the victims of "ethnic cleansing." In March of 1992, Croats were victims of ethnic cleansing when Serbs took control of the area around Bosnaki Brod and then again when Serb forces occupied Posavina in the late

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<sup>15</sup> CIA World Factbook. (2009). <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/BK.html>.

spring of 1992.<sup>16</sup> The thousands of Croats displaced by the ethnic wars who have sought refuge in Bosnia-Herzegovina depend on the outside intervention of the EU for safety as they are a minority in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Once the EU withdrawals from the Balkan area and no one is left to enforce the agreements made in the Dayton Accords, Croats may be forced to leave their homes in Bosnia-Herzegovina or to live separately from other ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be forced to decide either to support the democratic regime put in place by western influences or to resort to the ethnic conflict that started the conflict in 1991. The decision made by the Croats present in Bosnia-Herzegovina will depend largely on the decision of the other ethnicities in the region as they have less influence.

#### **UNITED STATES-**

Although this analysis focuses solely on the analysis of the actions of the differing ethnicities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the United States has a large interest in maintaining global security. An outbreak of civil war in the Balkans could seriously threaten stability in Europe and at the same time put a large strain on the resources of the United States, a nation who is already feeling bombarded by the present economic crisis.

The United States has consistently over the last fifteen years made significant contributions to the Balkan area in the form of military resources, funding for peacemaking and peacekeeping operations, and also aid that provided for the rehabilitation and reconstruction. Bosnia-Herzegovina is not of economic use to the United States. There is little economic value to the United States, Bosnia Herzegovina is

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<sup>16</sup>Burg, Steven , and Paul Shoup. *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 1999.

not located on a major body of water that could be used for transportation, nor is this a region known for its oil reserves or any other commodity that would be beneficial to the United States. Unfortunately, the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina does not show promise of being economically profitable to the United States, much to the contrary the resources allocated to the Balkan Region have placed a significant drain on the American economy. Because of the money and resources that the United States has spent intervening in the affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is very economically sound to make sure that the advances made in the region are kept in place.

In the event that the European Union withdraws its remaining two thousand troops in the area and Bosnia-Herzegovina once again falls into a civil war the United States would possibly be expected to contribute significant funding. At the present time, the United States is experiencing one of the worst periods of economic crisis since the Great Depression. Struggling in order to repair a failing economy and working to keep terrorists at bay, the United States does not have the resources necessary to fight another outbreak of civil war in the Balkan region, especially one they have already fought.

Politically speaking, the United States intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina was a very important decision. When the United States intervened in Bosnia-Herzegovina and championed for a democratic society and elections, it spoke not only to the differing nationalities within Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it spoke to the rest of the world also. The United States sent the message that a democratic government is the best government and the United States will intervene in the politics of foreign nations who seek to establish a democratic regime, but do not have the resources or capabilities to do so alone. Although there is still an underlying current of nationalistic rhetoric, the elections that took place in

2006 marked a milestone not only for the inhabitants in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also for all democracies who worked alongside the U.S., NATO and the E.U. in order to make this election possible.

The United States held back on intervention into Bosnia-Herzegovina as long as it was morally acceptable, but the tides turned when UN peacekeepers lives were put into jeopardy. The Clinton administration could no longer turn their backs to the genocide and attacks on innocent civilians. When Serbian rebels attacked a UN safehaven put in place for Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica in August of 1995 killing over eight thousand innocent individuals, the United States could no longer ignore the human rights abuses. In 1995 the United States deployed over twenty thousand troops to Bosnia who joined the sixty thousand UN peacekeepers already present in the region in order to stop the Serbian attacks on Muslim safe havens and to protect UN peacekeepers that were under attack in the area.<sup>17</sup> Although the U.S. intervention into Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1995 started as a rescue mission directed at UN peacekeepers, it became a mission to intervene in a country in which “ethnic cleansing” and other human rights violations had been the norm for many years. The United States has always had a social and moral responsibility to set the example for the rest of the world and intervening reiterated to the rest of the world that the United States will not accept rape, torture or mass killing no matter where these atrocities occur.

The United States also shares a social interest in Bosnia-Herzegovina because an outbreak of another civil war in this area could potentially make this area a good safe haven for terrorists. Terrorists may try to infiltrate in these areas and conduct terrorist

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<sup>17</sup>Murphey, Dwight. "The Post Cold-War American Intervention into Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, no. 25 (2000): 489-510.



training camps or even recruit individuals who may have lost faith in the Western powers ability to handle the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Given that the United States has had to devote significant resources into troop deployment in Iraq and Afghanistan, there should be a stronger interest in preserving the peace especially in areas that would be particularly attractive to potential terrorist regimes.

### **Research Design-**

This purpose of this research is to analyze the possible future scenarios that could potentially manifest themselves in the event that the European Union withdraws from Bosnia. At the present time there are three separate ethnic groups that could all have differing reactions to the withdrawal. In order to gain an objective view of the likely situations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, this study uses the Lockwood Analytical Method of Prediction. The Lockwood Analytical Method of Prediction takes a multi-faceted approach to study the potential actors involved and their possible actions. The analytical method identifies the main parties, taking an in-depth look at the history and background of these actors and creates a number of possible future alternative using a simple mathematical formula.<sup>18</sup>

**$x^y=z$ , where X is the number of courses of action for each player and Y is the number of players, Z is the total number of futures for each scenario. If you have more than one possible scenario Z should be multiplied times the number of scenarios.**

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<sup>18</sup> Lockwood, Dr. Jonathan S. ed. Course Material. American Military University. Analytic Methods Course IN520. *The Lockwood Analytical Method for Prediction (LAMP)*. Book of Readings Volume 1 (Revised Edition).

It is then necessary to rank the futures in order of most probable by comparing each future to all other futures and assigning one vote to each future that is most probable. The formula used to determine the total number of votes is illustrated below.

$$Z(Z-1)/2$$

Once all futures have been ranked, it is easy to determine which ones are most likely. Then the researcher must determine focal events that would be characteristic of each future. Once the focal events have been identified the analyst then determines key indicators that would point to certain focal events. Once these calculations are complete, the analyst can more easily determine by looking at the similar focal points and key indicators as to which futures are most capable of being transposed into another alternate future. The benefit of using this type of research design is the comparison of so many different alternate futures possible. In ranking the most likely scenario it is best to use you knowledge of the key actors and to make an educated guess as to which future is most likely. Due to the large number of calculations, it will not be possible to research every possibility.

#### **4. Specify the Possible Courses of Action for Each Actor Involved.**

**VIO**-violence toward differing ethnicities/violation of Dayton Accord/support for independent states based on ethnic identities

**DEM**-support for democracy, peace in the Balkans and accession into the EU and NATO/adherence to Dayton Accords

**NS**-neutral, no support for either course of action

### 5. Determine the Major Scenarios Possible.

**Scenario#1- European Union withdraws from Bosnia-Herzegovina**

**Scenario#2-European Union maintains their presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina**

### 6. Calculate the Number of Alternate Futures Possible.

With three possible courses of action (X) for each of three different ethnic groups(Y) present in Bosnia-Herzegovina there are 27 possible alternate futures.<sup>19</sup>

Future #	Bosbiaks	Croats	Serbs
1	VIO	VIO	VIO
2	VIO	VIO	NS
3	VIO	NS	NS
4	VIO	VIO	DEM
5	VIO	DEM	DEM
6	VIO	NS	VIO
7	VIO	DEM	NS
8	VIO	DEM	VIO

<sup>19</sup> Lockwood, Dr. Jonathan S. ed. Course Material. American Military University. Analytic Methods Course IN520. *The Lockwood Analytical Method for Prediction (LAMP)*. Book of Readings Volume 1 (Revised Edition).

9	VIO	NS	VIO
10	NS	NS	NS
11	NS	NS	VIO
12	NS	NS	DEM
13	NS	DEM	DEM
14	NS	VIO	VIO
15	NS	DEM	VIO
16	NS	VIO	DEM
17	NS	DEM	NS
18	NS	VIO	NS
19	DEM	DEM	DEM
20	DEM	DEM	NS
21	DEM	DEM	VIO
22	DEM	NS	NS
23	DEM	VIO	VIO
24	DEM	NS	VIO
25	DEM	VIO	NS
26	DEM	NS	DEM
27	DEM	VIO	DEM

### 7. Do a Pair-Wise Comparison of the Alternate Future Possibilities.

With three different actors each having twenty-seven alternate futures concerning two separate scenarios, there are 351 total votes possible for each scenario.

$$27(26)/2=351$$

**Scenario #1. European Union withdraws forces from Bosnia-Herzegovina**

<b>Future #</b>	<b>Bosniaks</b>	<b>Croats</b>	<b>Serbs</b>	<b># VOTES</b>
<b>1</b>	VIO	VIO	VIO	22
<b>2</b>	VIO	VIO	NS	12
<b>3</b>	VIO	NS	NS	12
<b>4</b>	VIO	VIO	DEM	5
<b>5</b>	VIO	DEM	DEM	3
<b>6</b>	VIO	NS	VIO	20
<b>7</b>	VIO	DEM	NS	14
<b>8</b>	VIO	DEM	VIO	15
<b>9</b>	VIO	NS	DEM	18
<b>10</b>	NS	NS	NS	13
<b>11</b>	NS	NS	VIO	24
<b>12</b>	NS	NS	DEM	3
<b>13</b>	NS	DEM	DEM	4
<b>14</b>	NS	VIO	VIO	22
<b>15</b>	NS	DEM	VIO	20
<b>16</b>	NS	VIO	DEM	4
<b>17</b>	NS	DEM	NS	13
<b>18</b>	NS	VIO	NS	12
<b>19</b>	DEM	DEM	DEM	2
<b>20</b>	DEM	DEM	NS	15
<b>21</b>	DEM	DEM	VIO	18
<b>22</b>	DEM	NS	NS	17
<b>23</b>	DEM	VIO	VIO	21
<b>24</b>	DEM	NS	VIO	23
<b>25</b>	DEM	VIO	NS	12
<b>26</b>	DEM	NS	DEM	5

27	DEM	VIO	DEM	2
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**Scenario #2. European Union maintains their position in Bosnia-Herzegovina**

<b>Future #</b>	<b>Bosniaks</b>	<b>Croats</b>	<b>Serbs</b>	<b># VOTES</b>
1	VIO	VIO	VIO	10
2	VIO	VIO	NS	15
3	VIO	NS	NS	14
4	VIO	VIO	DEM	6
5	VIO	DEM	DEM	6
6	VIO	NS	VIO	18
7	VIO	DEM	NS	12
8	VIO	DEM	VIO	10
9	VIO	NS	DEM	11
10	NS	NS	NS	21
11	NS	NS	VIO	16
12	NS	NS	DEM	12
13	NS	DEM	DEM	5
14	NS	VIO	VIO	10
15	NS	DEM	VIO	8
16	NS	VIO	DEM	7
17	NS	DEM	NS	21
18	NS	VIO	NS	18
19	DEM	DEM	DEM	4

<b>20</b>	DEM	DEM	NS	19
<b>21</b>	DEM	DEM	VIO	15
<b>22</b>	DEM	NS	NS	24
<b>23</b>	DEM	VIO	VIO	14
<b>24</b>	DEM	NS	VIO	12
<b>25</b>	DEM	VIO	NS21	21
<b>26</b>	DEM	NS	DEM	10
<b>27</b>	DEM	VIO	DEM	12

### 8. Rank the order of the Alternative Futures.

#### Scenario #1. European Union withdraws forces from Bosnia Herzegovina.

<b>Future #</b>	<b>Bosniaks</b>	<b>Croats</b>	<b>Serbs</b>	<b>Votes</b>
<b>11</b>	NS	NS	VIO	24
<b>24</b>	DEM	NS	VIO	23
<b>14</b>	NS	VIO	VIO	22
<b>1</b>	VIO	VIO	VIO	22
<b>23</b>	DEM	VIO	VIO	21
<b>6</b>	VIO	NS	VIO	20
<b>15</b>	NS	DEM	VIO	20
<b>21</b>	DEM	DEM	VIO	18
<b>9</b>	VIO	NS	VIO	18
<b>22</b>	DEM	NS	NS	17
<b>8</b>	VIO	DEM	VIO	15
<b>20</b>	DEM	DEM	NS	15

7	VIO	DEM	NS	14
17	NS	DEM	NS	13
10	NS	NS	NS	13
25	DEM	VIO	NS	12
2	VIO	VIO	NS	12
3	VIO	NS	NS	12
18	NS	VIO	NS	12
26	DEM	NS	DEM	5
4	VIO	VIO	DEM	5
13	NS	DEM	DEM	4
16	NS	VIO	DEM	4
12	NS	NS	DEM	3
5	VIO	DEM	DEM	3
19	DEM	DEM	DEM	2
27	DEM	VIO	DEM	2

**Scenario#2. European Union maintains their current position in Bosnia**

**Hercegovina.**

<b>Futures #</b>	<b>Bosniaks</b>	<b>Croats</b>	<b>Serbs</b>	<b>Votes</b>
22	DEM	NS	NS	24
10	NS	NS	NS	21
17	NS	DEM	NS	21



<b>25</b>	DEM	VIO	NS	21
<b>20</b>	DEM	DEM	NS	19
<b>6</b>	VIO	NS	VIO	18
<b>18</b>	NS	VIO	NS	18
<b>11</b>	NS	NS	VIO	16
<b>21</b>	DEM	DEM	VIO	15
<b>2</b>	VIO	VIO	NS	15
<b>3</b>	VIO	NS	NS	14
<b>23</b>	DEM	VIO	VIO	14
<b>12</b>	NS	NS	DEM	12
<b>7</b>	VIO	DEM	NS	12
<b>24</b>	DEM	NS	VIO	12
<b>27</b>	DEM	VIO	DEM	12
<b>9</b>	VIO	NS	DEM	11
<b>26</b>	DEM	NS	DEM	10
<b>8</b>	VIO	DEM	VIO	10
<b>14</b>	NS	VIO	VIO	10
<b>1</b>	VIO	VIO	VIO	10
<b>15</b>	NS	DEM	VIO	8
<b>16</b>	NS	VIO	DEM	7
<b>4</b>	VIO	VIO	DEM	6
<b>5</b>	VIO	DEM	DEM	6
<b>13</b>	NS	DEM	DEM	5
<b>19</b>	DEM	DEM	DEM	4

## 9. Analyze the Consequences of Alternative Futures.

### Scenario #1 Alternate Futures: EU withdrawal from Bosnia-Herzegovina

**ALTERNATE FUTURE #11. BOSNIAKS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE NEITHER SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY NOR ETHNIC RHETORIC, CROATS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE AND SERBS USE VIOLENCE TO PURSUE THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVE. (24 VOTES)** This alternative entails that the

majority of the inhabitants in Bosnia-Herzegovina accept the democratic institutions put into place by NATO and the EU even through the withdrawal of all western support in the region. Although the Bosniaks do not have the resources or police powers to enforce the Dayton Accords they abide by these laws. Bosniaks and Croats alike respect the role that the UN, NATO and the United States took on in order to stop the atrocities that took place in the Balkans and thus respect the institutions that have been put in place in order to promote democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Dodik and Serb nationalists along with the Republika Srpska continue to undermine the authority of the EU and PIC until they incite anger among the Serbs supporters and an ethnic battle ensues.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#24. BOSNIAKS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, CROATS TAKE ON A NEUTRAL STANCE AND SERB NATIONALISTS INCITE VIOLENCE. (23 VOTES).** This alternative suggests that even after the removal of EU peacekeeping forces from the Balkan region there is still a strong support for the democratic process among the

Bosniak population. The area of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is largely populated by Bosniaks will continue to support the electoral process and to work towards the goal of accession into the EU and then further accession into NATO. The Croats who are among the minority in Bosnia-Herzegovina will remain neutral, neither supporting nor denying the benefits of democracy. The Serb population will be angered that the democratic processes put in place by the PIC and OHR continue to flourish in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This will cause Serbs to incite violence, not only amongst one another but also towards the displaced persons who have only become recently able to move back into their original homes due to EU peacekeeping forces.

**Future#14. BOSNIAKS TAKE ON NEUTRAL STANCE NEITHER SUPPORTING NOR DENYING DEMOCRACY, CROATS AND SERBS USE VIOLENCE TO FURTHER THEIR POLITICAL GOALS.(14 VOTES)** Although Bosniaks no longer have the police force in the region and they cannot oversee the electoral process they take on a neutral stance and work to maintain the stability and peace that western identities made possible. Dodik incites violence among the Croats and in an effort to remove them from Serbian territory incites violence among the two nationalities. Covic responds with the same violence in defense of the seven thousand Croats who were displaced by the war and now find a home in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croats who gained the support of the United States during the crisis in the Balkans, use violence if necessary to stop unnecessary harm to the Croats by nationalistic Serb forces.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#1. DUE TO LACK OF CREDIBLE POLICING AGENCY THE BOSNIAKS, SERBS AND CROATS ENGAGE IN VIOLENCE TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER.(22 VOTES)** This scenario entails the outbreak of violence among all nationalities in Bosnia-Herzegovina in response to the withdrawal of EU forces from the Balkan region. The stagnation, lack of cooperation, corruption and withdrawal of police forces make this an opportune time for nationalistic leaders to assert their influence and bring an end to democratic policy in the region. Dodik, who has been resentful of the EU and democratic policies from the start will take advantage of the withdrawal of EU forces and work to cleanse the Serb Republic and to eventually secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#23. BOSNIAKS WORK TO MAINTAIN DEMOCRACY, VIOLENCE ENSUES AMONG CROATS AND SERBS.( 21 VOTES).** This future entails that although the EU forces have left Bosnia-Herzegovina and western authorities are removing all their institutions from the Balkan area, the government setup in Bosnia-Herzegovina continue to regularly meet and discuss actions necessary to get Bosnia-Herzegovina ready for EU and then NATO inclusion. The elections are also carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina although there is still strong nationalistic rhetoric by each of the three leaders put into place. The Croats and the Serbs who have showed less support for the democratic process exert influence over the land in Bosnia-Herzegovina and once again turn towards violence over the ownership of land.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#6. BOSNIAKS USE VIOLENCE TO MAINTAIN DEMOCRATIC REGIME, CROATS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE, SERBS WORK TO VIOLENTLY OVERTHROW THE DEMOCRACY ESTABLISHED BY WESTERN AUTHORITIES.( 20 VOTES).** In this future the removal of EU forces from Bosnia-Herzegovina causes the democratic and electoral processes that have been put in place to fall apart. In order to preserve the government and democracy put in place in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosniaks are forced to violently confront Serbian leaders who have fought against the process of democracy calling both the OHR and the PIC illegal entities. The Serbs fight back once again staking claims on the area known as Republika Srpska and calling for a succession from Bosnia-Herzegovina and eventual accession of the Republika Srpska into Serbia. Croats take a neutral stance and try to reframe from violent tendencies as they are the minority in the region and their government the Federation is ill-equipped to fight a battle against the Republika Srpska.

**Alternate Futures Scenario #2. European Union Forces Maintain their Presence**

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#22-BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CONTINUES SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, CROATS AND SERBS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE NEITHER SHOWING SUPPORT NOR DISSATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.(24 VOTES).** In this scenario the stagnation and corruption found in Bosnia-Herzegovina convinces EU representatives that it is necessary to maintain a EU presence in the region. The recent disagreements between the Bosniaks, Serbs and Croat leaders have put the stability of the

region into jeopardy. What once was a government dedicated to democracy and the accession of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the EU and then NATO has become a government slipping from the ideals associated with democracy back into their old sense of nationalistic rhetoric. Due to the presence of EU forces Croats and especially Serbs have been forced to remain neutral while Bosnia-Herzegovina hangs on by a thread to its democratic institutions.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#10. ALL NATIONALISTIC IDENTITIES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TAKE ON A NEUTRAL STANCE DUE TO EU PRESENCE. (21 VOTES).** Although the EU remains as a presence in the Balkan region, due to the corruption and economic problems the democratic regime continues to fall apart and all sides abandon the idea of a multi-ethnic democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tihic, Dodik and Seuljman abandon EU goals set for accession and manage to work towards reforms within their own respective areas. The EU is able to hold off violence in the area through the use of the EU police force, but nationalistic ideals and will incite violence if EU troops are removed from the area.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#17. CROATS PURSUE A DEMOCRATIC REGIME, BOSNIAKS AND SERBS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE.(23 VOTES).** In this scenario Croats are convinced by Covic of the benefits of adhering to the Dayton Accords and maintaining the democratic process put in place by western authorities. Bosniak leader, Tihic becomes angered at the OHR for not punishing Serb leader Dodik for challenging the country's constitution. Due to this disagreement the Bosniaks and the

Serbs both lose faith in the ability of democracy to quell their problems in the Balkan region and maintain only a neutral stance towards a democratic government.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#25. BOSNIAKS CHAMPION DEMOCRACY, CROATS TURN TOWARDS VIOLENCE AND SERBS SEEK A NEUTRAL STANCE.(21**

**VOTES).** In this analysis Bosniaks try to maintain the democratic institutions and the electoral process that the EU forces have worked to put in place. Croat leader Covic incites violence among the Croatians claiming that Bosniaks and Serbs have not followed the principles of the Dayton Accords. Serbs take a neutral stance fearing reprisal from EU troops and possibly NATO if they were to retaliate against the Croats and Bosniaks. EU forces are the only link left in maintaining peace in the region and the last hope for a democratic presence in the Balkans.

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#20-BOSNIAKS AND CROATS PRESERVE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND REFORMS, WHILE SERBS REMAIN NEUTRAL NEITHER SUPPORTING NOR WORKING AGAINST**

**DEMOCRATIC EFFORTS. (19 VOTES).** In this future the presence of EU peacekeeping forces maintained in the Balkan region allows for both Bosniaks and Croats to work together maintaining the electoral process and working towards better stabilization in the area. Serbs do not support the democratic processes and have chosen to withdraw their criticisms of the OHR and the PIC due to fear of sanctions or retaliation from the west. While Tihic and Covic work side by side with Office of the High Representative Official, Valentin Inzko, Dodik has become absent from these meetings

with the hopes that one day he will find a way for Republika Srpska to sucede from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## **10. Determine the Focal Events for Alternative Futures.**

### **Scenario #1. European Union Withdrawals from Bosnia-Herzegovina.**

**ALTERNATE FUTURE #11. BOSNIAKS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE NEITHER SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY NOR DENYING ETHNIC RHETORIC, CROATS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE AND SERBS USE VIOLENCE TO PURSUE THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVE. (24 VOTES)**

FOCAL EVENT-SERBS ATTACK BOSNIAK AND CROATS INFRASTRUCTURES

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CEASE

FOCAL EVENT-BREAKDOWN OF TWO TIER GOVERNMENT SYSTEM AND A

CEASE IN POLITICAL MEETINGS BETWEEN TIHIC, COVIC AND DODIK

FOCAL EVENT-ABSOLUTION OF THE OFFICE OF HIGH REPRESENTATIVE

FOCAL EVENT-EU PEACEKEEPERS LEAVE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#24. BOSNIAKS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, CROATS TAKE ON A NEUTRAL STANCE AND SERB NATIONALISTS INCITE VIOLENCE. (23 VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS VISIBLE

FOCAL EVENT-COVIC WITHDRAWS FROM DEMOCRATIC MEETINGS



FOCAL EVENT-EU FORCES LEAVE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVING

FOCAL EVENT-DODIK MAKES CLAIMS ON BOSNIAKS LAND AND

CONTINUES TO REQUEST TO SECEDE FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

**Future#14. BOSNIAKS TAKE ON NEUTRAL STANCE NEITHER  
SUPPORTING NOR DENYING DEMOCRACY, CROATS AND SERBS USE  
VIOLENCE TO FURTHER THEIR POLITICAL GOALS.(14 VOTES)**

FOCAL EVENT-EU REMOVES PRESENCE FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-VIOLENCE ENSUES BETWEEN SERBS AND CROATS WITH NO

POLICE FORCE IN THE AREA

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS DISSOLVE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-DAYTON ACCORDS AGREEMENTS ARE NOT KEPT

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#1. DUE TO LACK OF CREDIBLE POLICING  
AGENCY THE BOSNIAKS, SERBS AND CROATS ENGAGE IN VIOLENCE  
TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER.(22 VOTES)**

FOCAL EVENT-EU FORCES LEAVE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-DAYTON ACCORD AGREEMENTS ARE NOT KEPT

FOCAL EVENT-PROCESSES REQUIRED FOR EU ACCESSION ARE

DISREGARDED

FOCAL EVENT-GENOCIDE AND ETHNIC CLEANSING IN A FIGHT OVER

BOUNDARIES

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#23. BOSNIAKS WORK TO MAINTAIN DEMOCRACY, VIOLENCE ENSUES AMONG CROATS AND SERBS.( 21 VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-EU LEAVES BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS STILL IN PLACE

FOCAL EVENT-DAYTON ACCORDS AGREEMENT BROKEN BY SERBS AND CROATS

FOCAL EVENT-INSTABILITY IN THE BALKANS

FOCAL EVENT-DODIK AND CROVIC ABSENT FROM MEETINGS WITH TIHIC

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#6. BOSNIAKS USE VIOLENCE TO MAINTAIN DEMOCRATIC REGIME, CROATS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE, SERBS WORK TO VIOLENTLY OVERTHROW THE DEMOCRACY ESTABLISHED BY WESTERN AUTHORITIES.( 20 VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-EU LEAVES BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS CEASE

FOCAL EVENT-OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN SERBS AND BOSNIAKS

FOCAL EVENT-DISSOLUTION OF THE DAYTON ACCORDS AGREEMENT

**Scenario #2. EU remains in Bosnia-Herzegovina**

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#22-BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CONTINUES SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, CROATS AND SERBS TAKE A**

**NEUTRAL STANCE NEITHER SHOWING SUPPORT NOR  
DISSATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.(24 VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-EU REMAINS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS ARE IN PLACE

FOCAL EVENT-SERB AND CROAT LEADERS IGNORE DAYTON ACCORD  
AGREEMENTS

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#10. ALL NATIONALISTIC IDENTITIES IN BOSNIA-  
HERZEGOVINA TAKE ON A NEUTRAL STANCE DUE TO EU PRESENCE. (21  
VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-EU MAINTAINS PRESENCE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-DISSOLUTION OF THE DAYTON ACCORDS AGREEMENT

FOCAL EVENT-ABSENCE OF VIOLENCE OR AGREEMENT

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#17. CROATS PURSUE A DEMOCRATIC REGIME,  
BOSNIAKS AND SERBS TAKE A NEUTRAL STANCE.(23 VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-EU REMAINS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-COVIC MAINTAINS RELATIONSHIP WITH OHR AND PIC

FOCAL EVENT-BOSNIAK AND SERBS ABSENT FROM POLITICAL MEETINGS

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#25. BOSNIAKS CHAMPION DEMOCRACY, CROATS  
TURN TOWARDS VIOLENCE AND SERBS SEEK A NEUTRAL STANCE.(21  
VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-EU REMAINS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS STILL IN PLACE

FOCAL EVENT-CROATS ABSENT FROM DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

**ALTERNATE FUTURE#20-BOSNIAKS AND CROATS PRESERVE  
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND REFORMS, WHILE SERBS REMAIN  
NEUTRAL NEITHER SUPPORTING NOR WORKING AGAINST  
DEMOCRATIC EFFORTS. (19 VOTES).**

FOCAL EVENT-EU FORCES REMAIN IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS STILL IN PLACE

FOCAL EVENT-SERBS ABSENT FROM DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

## **11. Develop Indicators for Each Focal Event.**

### **FOCAL EVENT-EU FORCES REMAIN IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

KEY INDICATORS-peace and stability in the region

KEY INDICATORS-lack of violent rhetoric

KEY INDICATORS-land boundaries remain drawn as in Dayton Accords

### **FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS STILL IN PLACE**

KEY INDICATORS-two tier government still in tact

KEY INDICATORS-support for democracy in the region

### **FOCAL EVENT-LEADERS ABSENT FROM DEMOCRATIC FORUMS**

KEY INDICATOR-disregard for Dayton Accords

KEY INDICATOR-claim of illegitimacy of OHR and PIC

KEY INDICATOR-lack of support for electoral process

### **FOCAL EVENT-DISSOLUTION OF THE DAYTON ACCORDS AGREEMENT**

KEY INDICATOR-lack of respect for boundaries drawn

KEY INDICATOR-elections cease

KEY INDICATOR-lack of support for EU accession

### **FOCAL EVENT-REMOVAL OF EU FORCES FROM BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA**

KEY INDICATOR-nationalistic violence

KEY INDICATOR-lack of support for democracy

KEY INDICATOR-elections cease

### **FOCAL EVENT-INSTABILITY IN THE BALKANS**

KEY INDICATOR-outbreak of nationalistic violence

KEY INDICATOR-dissension among leaders

KEY INDICATOR-increase in corruption

FOCAL EVENT-ELECTIONS DISSOLVE

KEY INDICATOR-totalitarian/ communist leader comes into power

KEY INDICATOR-support for democracy increases

KEY INDICATOR-no organized leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina

## **12. Assess the Potential for Transposition between Alternate Futures.**

Based on an analysis of focal events and key indicators it is easy to hypothesize about which future scenarios may be transposed during the course of the future. The two futures scenarios at greatest risk of being transposed include: Alternate scenario #23 and Alternate Scenario #24. These two scenarios are the most likely to be transposed because of the similarity that can be seen in their focal points and key indicators. In alternate scenario #24 which states that Bosnia-Herzegovina will support democracy, Croats will be neutral and Serbs will incite violence, the focal events include: democratic elections visible, EU forces leave Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dayton Accords not met and nationalistic leaders make claims on the land of other nationalistic identities. These focal events are most directly in line with the focal events that are shown for alternate scenario #23 where the Bosniaks continue to support democracy and violence ensues between the Serbs and Croats. What could potentially happen is that the Bosniaks will support democracy in either future and while the Croats appear to be neutral they will have no choice but to fight when Serbs use violence against them. While they initially tried to remain neutral

they will be transposed into a situation where it will be necessary that they fight against Serbs. What this means is that what was initially future #23 will be transposed to future #24.

## **CONCLUSION:**

The area known as Bosnia-Herzegovina was rescued from ruins when the U.S., NATO and European Union forces stepped in during the Balkan war. With the signing of the Dayton Accords new hope was brought to the region. The area that had become known for genocide and ethnic cleansing had the potential to produce a democratic government. Over a decade later, when the efforts of democracy should be the most evident, there is dissension among the leaders who are returning to their nationalistic rhetoric, the economy is failing and corruption is running rampant. What once appeared to be a concerted effort among leaders towards maintaining the agreements made in the Dayton Accords and EU and NATO accession has now turned into an argument among leaders who are split along nationalistic boundaries. Through the use of the Lockwood Analytical Method of Prediction, it can be predicted that violence should be expected in the event that the EU leaves the region. It is also safe to say that while the threat is less, there is also the possibility of violence even in the event that the EU maintains their presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although there are only two thousand EU forces remaining in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is important to know if their presence is having an impact, because in the event that it is not, these forces should be removed and used elsewhere. Through an in-depth analysis of the two possible scenarios it is clear that the

ability of the area to remain peaceful and stable is enhanced with the presence of the European Union forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.



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