

Bosnia and Herzegovina

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After its independence in 1992 and until 2008, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not considered a democracy based on our coding rules. Bosnia and Herzegovina decided its independence from Yugoslavia through a referendum carried out February and March 1992 in which an ample majority of Bosnians voted for separation. So, the Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic (who was president in the Bosnian Republic since 1990 as the leader of the biggest party) declared independence. This decision was opposed by Bosnian Serbs who responded by violence supported by the Serbian state. Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized internationally on April 1992.

The violent conflict between Muslims, Croats and Serbs lasted until the 1995 Dayton Accords. GWF code the country as warlord from 1993 to 1995. In October 1996 a system of rotating presidents was installed. It rotates every eight months among representatives of each of the three ethnicities. The three members of the presidency are directly elected. Cook (2002, 685) states that Izetbegovic became chairman of the three-man presidency in 1996 and held that office until the rotations formally started in 1998. This means that Izetbegovic's SOLS, even before 1998, were all three parties that were members of the presidency. In fact, Europa World Yearbook (2004) suggests that Izetbegovic already relied on a coalition of three nationalist parties (PDA, SDP, CDU) in 1990, though it is very possible that that coalition fell apart during the war. More importantly, we do not code Bosnia as a democracy, so the SOLS change coding is not based on the concept of "rotating presidencies" but of pre-designated successors. Still, these leaders did all rely on the same SOLS and we code no SOLS changes among them.

In March 2001 the UN High Representative removed the Croat representative Jelavic as a member of the presidency. Faced this situation, the Parliamentary Assembly filled the vacancy seat with Jozo Krizanovic (SDP). Bosniac Beriz Belkic (SBIH), and the Serb Radisic (SPRS) stayed in the group. As this is not considered a democracy, we do not code a minor SOLS change with Krizanovic.

New elections were held in October 2002 in which a new three-member group was elected: the Serb Mirko Sarovic (SDS), the Croat Dragan Covic (HDZ), and the Bosniac Sulejman Tihic (SDA). Sarovic was elected as the first president within this group. The change from Belkic to Sarovic is a not a SOLS because the principle of the rotating presidency among three parties remains in place. While Belkic is not a pre-designated successor in the classical sense, the system did foresee for Belkic to give up his office to a member of a different ethnic group, consequently we do not code a SOLS change.

However, Sarovic resigned in April 2003 and was replaced by Borislav Paravac (SDS) as the Serb member in the rotating group. Moreover, in March 2005 the High Representative

removed Covic as the Croat representative, and the Parliamentary Assembly appointed Ivo Miro Jovic (HDZ) as his replacement. Paravac and Jovic joined the group supported by the same coalition. So, these changes are not SOLS changes.

In October 2006 new elections were held. The new rotating group was formed by Nebojsa Radmanovic (SNSD) for the Republic of Srpska, the Croat Zeljko Komsic (SDP), and the Bosniac Haris Silajdzic (SBiH). Within this group, Radmanovic was elected as the first president on November 2006. The change from Tihic to Radmanovic is a SOLS since the composition of the parties in the rotating presidency changes.

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